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PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

FROM THE

ORIGINAL GREEK,

WITH NOTES,

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND CHRONOLOGICAL.

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

TRANSLATED BY

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WITH

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

WHEN Sylla had made himself master of Rome*, he endeavoured to bring Cæsar to repudiate Cornelia, daughter to Cinna, one of the late tyrants, and finding he could not effect it either by hopes or fears†, he confiscated her dowry. Indeed, Cæsar, as a relation to Marius, was naturally an enemy to Sylla. Old Marius had married Julia, Cæsar's aunt, and therefore young Marius, the son he had by her, was Cæsar's cousin-german. At first Sylla, amidst the vast number of proscriptions that engaged his attention, overlooked this enemy; but Cæsar, not content with escaping so, presented himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood‡, though he was not yet come to years of maturity. Sylla exerted his influence against him, and he miscarried. The dictator afterwards thought of having him taken off, and when some said, there was no need to put such a boy to death, he answered, "Their sagacity was small, if they did not, in that boy, see many Mariuses."

This saying being reported to Cæsar, he concealed himself a long time, wandering up and down in the country of the Sabines. Amidst his movements from house to house he fell sick, and on that account was forced to be carried in a litter. The soldiers employed by Sylla to search those parts, and drag the proscribed persons from their retreats, one night fell in with him; but Cornelius, who commanded them, was prevailed on by a bribe of two talents to let him go.

* Some imagine that the beginning of this life is lost; but, if they look back to the introduction to the Life of Alexander, that notion will vanish.

† Cæsar would not make such a sacrifice to the dictator as Piso had done, who, at his command, divorced his wife Annia. Pompey, too, for the sake of Sylla's alliance, repudiated Antistia.

‡ Cæsar had the priesthood before Sylla was dictator. In the seventeenth year of his age, he broke his engagement to Cossutia, though she was of a consular and opulent family, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, by whose interest, and that of Marius, he was created *Flamen Dialis*, or priest of Jupiter. Sylla, when absolute master of Rome, insisted upon his divorcing Cornelia, and, on his refusal, deprived him of that office.—*Sueton. in Julio.*

He then hastened to sea, and sailed to Bithynia, where he sought protection of Nicomedes the king. His stay, however, with him, was not long. He re-embarked, and was taken, near the isle of Pharmacusa, by pirates, who were masters of that sea, and blocked up all the passages with a number of galleys and other vessels. They asked him only twenty talents for his ransom. He laughed at their demand, as the consequence of their not knowing him, and promised them fifty talents. To raise the money, he despatched his people to different cities, and in the mean time remained with only one friend and two attendants among these Cilicians, who considered murder as a trifle. Cæsar, however, held them in great contempt, and used to send, whenever he went to sleep, and order them to keep silence. Thus he lived among them thirty-eight days, as if they had been his guards, rather than his keepers. Perfectly fearless and secure, he joined in their diversions, and took his exercises among them. He wrote poems and orations, and rehearsed them to these pirates, and, when they expressed no admiration, he called them dunces and barbarians; nay, he often threatened to crucify them. They were delighted with these freedoms, which they imputed to his frank and facetious vein. But as soon as the money was brought from Miletus, and he had recovered his liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus*, in order to attack these corsairs. He found them still lying at anchor by the island, took most of them, together with the money, and imprisoned them at Pergamus. After which he applied to Junius, who then commanded in Asia, because to him, as prætor, it belonged to punish them. Junius having an eye upon the money, which was a considerable sum, demurred about the matter; and Cæsar, perceiving his intention, returned to Pergamus, and *crucified* all the prisoners, as he had often threatened to do at Pharmacusa, when they took him to be in jest.

When the power of Sylla came to be upon the decline, Cæsar's friends pressed him to return to Rome. But first he went to Rhodes to study under Apollonius, the son of Molo, who taught rhetoric there with great reputation, and was a man of irreproachable manners. Cicero also was one of his scholars. Cæsar is said to have had happy talents from nature for a public speaker, and he did not want an ambition to cultivate them; so that undoubtedly he was the second orator in Rome; and he might have been the first, had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms. Thus he never rose to that pitch of eloquence to which his powers would have brought him, be-

* Dacier reads *Melos*, which was one of the Cyclades, but does not mention his authority.

ing engaged in those wars and political intrigues which at last gained him the empire. Hence it was, that afterwards, in his *Anticato*, which he wrote in answer to a book of Cicero's, he desired his readers "not to expect in the performance of a military man the style of a complete orator, who had bestowed all his time upon such studies."

Upon his return to Rome, he impeached Dolabella for misdemeanors in his government, and many cities of Greece supported the charge by their evidence. Dolabella was acquitted. Cæsar, however, in acknowledgment of the readiness Greece had shewn to serve him, assisted her in the prosecution of Publius Antonius for corruption. The cause was brought before Marcus Lucullus, prætor of Macedonia; and Cæsar pleaded it in so powerful a manner, that the defendant was forced to appeal to the tribunes of the people; alleging that he was not upon equal terms with the Greeks in Greece.

The eloquence he showed at Rome, in defending persons impeached, gained him a considerable interest, and his engaging address and conversation carried the hearts of the people: for he had a condescension not to be expected from so young a man. At the same time, the freedom of his table, and the magnificence of his expence, gradually increased his power, and brought him into the administration. Those who envied him, imagined that his resources would soon fail, and therefore at first made light of his popularity, considerable as it was: but when it was grown to such a height that it was scarce possible to demolish it, and had a plain tendency to the ruin of the constitution, they found out, when it was too late, that no beginnings of things, however small, are to be neglected; because continuance makes them great; and the very contempt they are held in gives them opportunity to gain that strength which cannot be resisted.

Cicero seems to be the first who suspected something formidable from the flattering calm of Cæsar's political conduct, and saw deep and dangerous designs under the smiles of his benignity. "I perceive," said the orator, "an inclination for tyranny in all he projects and executes; but, on the other hand, when I see him adjusting his hair with so much exactness, and scratching his head with one finger, I can hardly think that such a man can conceive so vast and fatal a design as the destruction of the Roman commonwealth." This, however, was an observation made at a much later period than that we are upon.

The first proof he had of the affection of the people was when he obtained a tribuneship in the army before his competitor Caius Popilius. The second was more remarkable: it was on occasion of his

pronouncing from the rostrum the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius, in which he failed not to do justice to her virtue: at the same time he had the hardiness to produce the images of Marius, which had not been seen before during Sylla's administration; Marius and all his adherents having been declared enemies to the state. Upon this some began to raise a clamour against Cæsar; but they were soon silenced by the acclamations and plaudits of the people, expressing their admiration of his courage, in bringing the honours of Marius again to light, after so long a suppression, and raising them, as it were, from the shades below.

It had long been the custom in Rome for the aged women to have funeral panegyrics, but not the young. Cæsar first broke through it, by pronouncing one for his own wife, who died in her prime. This contributed to fix him in the affections of the people: they sympathized with him, and considered him as a man of great good-nature, and one who had the social duties at heart.

After the funeral of his wife, he went out quæstor into Spain with Antistius Veter* the prætor, whom he honoured all his life after: and when he came to be prætor himself, he acknowledged the favour by taking Veter's son for his quæstor. When that commission was expired, he took Pompeia to his third wife; having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

Many people, who observed his prodigious expense, thought he was purchasing a short and transient honour very dear; but, in fact, he was gaining the greatest things he could aspire to at a small price. He is said to have been a thousand three hundred talents in debt before he got any public employment. When he had the superintendence of the Appian Road, he laid out a great deal of his own money; and, when ædile, he not only exhibited three hundred and twenty pair of gladiators, but in the other diversions of the theatre, in the processions and public tables, he far outshone the most ambitious that had gone before him. These things attached the people to him so strongly, that every one sought for new honours and employments to recompense his generosity.

There were two factions in the state; that of Sylla, which was the strongest, and that of Marius, which was in a broken and low condition. Cæsar's study was to raise and revive the latter. In pursuance of which intention, when his exhibitions as ædile were in the highest reputation, he caused new images of Marius to be privately made, together with a representation of his victories adorned with

* See Vell. Paterculus, ii. 43.

trophies, and one night placed them in the capitol. Next morning these figures were seen glittering with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship, and bearing inscriptions which declared them the achievements of Marius against the Cimbri. The spectators were astonished at the boldness of the man who erected them; nor was it difficult to know who he was. The report spread with the utmost rapidity, and the whole city assembled to see them. Some exclaimed, that Cæsar plainly affected the tyranny, by openly producing those honours which the laws had condemned to darkness and oblivion. This, they said, was done to make a trial of the people, whom he had prepared by his caresses, whether they would suffer themselves to be entirely caught by his venal benefactions, and let him play upon them, and make what innovations he pleased. On the other hand, the partisans of Marius, encouraging each other, ran to the capitol in vast numbers, and made it echo with their plaudits. Some of them even wept for joy at the sight of Marius's countenance. They bestowed the highest encomiums upon Cæsar, and declared he was the only relation worthy of that great man.

The senate was assembled on the occasion, and Lutatius Catulus, a man of the greatest reputation in Rome, rose and accused Cæsar. In his speech against him was this memorable expression: "You no longer attack the commonwealth by mines, but by open battery." Cæsar, however, defended his cause so well, that the senate gave it for him: and his admirers, still more elated, desired him to keep up a spirit of enterprise, for he might gain every thing with the consent of the people, and easily become the first man in Rome.

Amidst these transactions died Metellus, the principal pontiff. The office was solicited by Isauricus and Catulus, two of the most illustrious men in Rome, and of the greatest interest in the senate: nevertheless, Cæsar did not give place to them, but presented himself to the people as a candidate. The pretensions and prospects of the competitors seemed almost equal, and Catulus, more uneasy than the others under the uncertainty of success, on account of his superior dignity, sent privately to Cæsar, and offered him large sums, on condition that he would desist from his high pursuit: but he answered, "He would rather borrow still larger sums to carry his election."

When the day of election came, Cæsar's mother attending him to the door, with her eyes bathed in tears, he embraced her and said, "My dear mother, you will see me this day either chief pontiff or an exile." There never was any thing more strongly contested; the suffrages, however, gave it for Cæsar. The senate, and others of the

principal citizens, were greatly alarmed at this success; they apprehended that he would now push the people into all manner of licentiousness and misrule. Therefore Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero much for sparing Cæsar, when Catiline's conspiracy gave him an opportunity to take him off. Catiline, whose intention was not so much to make alterations in the constitution, as entirely to subvert it, and throw all into confusion, upon some slight suspicions appearing against him, quitted Rome before the whole was unravelled; but he left behind him Lentulus and Cethegus to conduct the conspiracy within the city.

Whether Cæsar privately encouraged and supported them is uncertain. What is universally agreed upon is this: the guilt of those two conspirators clearly appearing, Cicero, as consul, took the sense of the senators as to the punishment that should be inflicted upon them; they all gave it for death, till it came to Cæsar's turn, who, in a studied speech, represented, "That it seemed neither agreeable to justice, nor to the customs of their country, to put men of their birth and dignity to death, without an open trial, except in cases of extreme necessity: but that they should rather be kept in prison, in any of the cities of Italy that Cicero might pitch upon, till Catiline was subdued; and then the senate might take cognisance of the crimes of each conspirator in full peace, and at their leisure."

As there appeared something humane in this opinion, and it was powerfully enforced by the orator, those who gave their voices afterwards, and even many who had declared for the other side of the question, came into it. But Cato and Catulus carried it for death. Cato, in a severe speech against the opinion of Cæsar, scrupled not to declare his suspicions of him; and this, with other arguments, had so much weight, that the two conspirators were delivered to the executioner. Nay, as Cæsar was going out of the senate-house, several of the young men who guarded Cicero's person ran upon him with their drawn swords; but we are told that Curio covered him with his gown, and so carried him off; and that Cicero himself, when the young men looked at him for a nod of consent, refused it, either out of fear of the people, or because he thought the killing him unjust and unlawful. If this was true, I know not why Cicero did not mention it in the history of his consulship. He was blamed, however, afterwards, for not availing himself of so good an opportunity as he then had, and for being influenced by his fears of the people, who were indeed strongly attached to Cæsar: for, a few days after, when Cæsar entered the senate, and endeavoured to clear himself of the suspicions he lay under, his defence was received with indignation

and loud reproaches; and, as they sat longer than usual, the people beset the house, and with violent outcries demanded Cæsar, absolutely insisting on his being dismissed.

Cato, therefore, fearing an insurrection of the indigent populace, who were foremost in all seditions, and who had fixed their hopes upon Cæsar, persuaded the senate to order a distribution of bread-corn among them every month, which added five millions five hundred thousand *drachmas* to the yearly expense of the state*. This expedient certainly obviated the present danger, by seasonably reducing the power of Cæsar, who was now prætor elect, and more formidable on that account.

Cæsar's prætorship was not productive of any trouble to the commonwealth, but that year there happened a disagreeable event in his own family. There was a young patrician, named Publius Clodius, of great fortune and distinguished eloquence, but at the same time one of the foremost among the vicious and the profligate. This man entertained a passion for Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, nor did she discountenance it: but the women's apartment was so narrowly observed, and all the steps of Pompeia so much attended to by Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, who was a woman of great virtue and prudence, that it was difficult and hazardous for them to have an interview.

Among the goddesses the Romans worship, there is one they call *Bona Dea, the Good Goddess*, as the Greeks have one they call *Gynæcea*, the *Patroness of the Women*. The Phrygians claim her as the mother of their king Midas; the Romans say she was a Dryad, and wife of Faunus; and the Greeks assure us she is that mother of Bacchus whose name is not to be uttered: for this reason the women, when they keep her festival, cover their tents with vine branches; and, according to the fable, a sacred dragon lies at the feet of the goddess. No man is allowed to be present, nor even to be in the house, at the celebration of her orgies. Many of the ceremonies the women then perform by themselves are said to be like those in the feasts of Orpheus.

When the anniversary of the festival comes, the consul or prætor (for it is at the house of one of them it is kept) goes out, and not a male is left in it. The wife now, having the house to herself, decorates it in a proper manner; the mysteries are performed in the night; and the whole is spent in music and play. Pompeia this year was directress of the feast. Clodius, who was yet a beardless youth, thought he might pass in women's apparel undiscovered, and having taken the garb and instruments of a female musician, perfectly re-

* But this distribution did not continue long.

sembled one. He found the door open, and was safely introduced by a maid-servant who knew the affair. She ran before to tell Pompeia; and as she staid a considerable time, Clodius durst not remain where she left him; but, wandering about the great house, endeavoured to avoid the lights. At last Aurelia's woman fell in with him, and, supposing she spoke to a woman, challenged him to play: upon his refusing it, she drew him into the midst of the room, and asked him who he was, and whence he came? He said he waited for Abra, Pompeia's maid; for that was her name. His voice immediately detected him: Aurelia's woman ran up to the lights and the company, crying out she had found a man in the house. The thing struck them all with terror and astonishment. Aurelia put a stop to the ceremonies, and covered up the sympols of their mysterious worship. She ordered the doors to be made fast, and with lighted torches hunted up and down for the man. At length Clodius was found lurking in the chamber of the maid-servant who had introduced him. The women knew him, and turned him out of the house; after which they went home immediately, though it was yet night, and informed their husbands of what had happened.

Next morning the report of the sacrilegious attempt spread through all Rome, and nothing was talked of but that Clodius ought to make satisfaction with his life to the family he had offended, as well as to the city and to the gods. One of the tribunes impeached him of impiety; and the principal senators strengthened the charge, by accusing him to his face of many villanous debaucheries, and, among the rest, of incest with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus. On the other hand, the people exerted themselves with equal vigour in his defence, and the great influence the fear of them had upon his judges was of much service to his cause. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia; yet, when called as an evidence on the trial, he declared he knew nothing of what was alleged against Clodius. As this declaration appeared somewhat strange, the accuser demanded, why, if that was the case, he had divorced his wife? "Because," said he, "I would have the chastity of my wife clear even of suspicion." Some say Cæsar's evidence was according to his conscience; others, that he gave it to oblige the people, who were set upon saving Clodius: be that as it may, Clodius came off clear; most of the judges having confounded the letters upon the tablets, that they might neither expose themselves to the resentment of the plebeians, if they condemned him, nor lose their credit with the patricians, if they acquitted him.

The government of Spain was allotted Cæsar after his prætorship. But his circumstances were so indifferent, and his creditors so cla-

morous and troublesome, when he was preparing for his departure, that he was forced to apply to Crassus, the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of Cæsar's warmth and vigour to keep up the balance against Pompey. Crassus, therefore, took upon him to answer the most inexorable of his creditors, and engaged for eight hundred and thirty talents; which procured him liberty to set out for his province.

It is said, that when he came to a little town, in passing the Alps, his friends, by way of mirth, took occasion to say, "Can there here be any disputes for offices, any contentions for precedency, or such envy and ambition as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar answered with great seriousness, "I assure you I had rather be the first man here, than the second man in Rome."

In like manner we are told, that, when he was in Spain, he bestowed some leisure hours in reading part of the history of Alexander, and was so much affected with it, that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst out into tears. As his friends were wondering what might be reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficient cause for concern, when Alexander, at my age, reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious achievement to boast."

From this principle it was, that, immediately upon his arrival in Spain, he applied to business with great diligence; and having added ten new-raised cohorts to the twenty he received there, he marched against the Callæcians and Lusitanians, defeated them, and penetrated to the ocean, reducing nations by the way, that had not felt the Roman yoke. His conduct in peace was not inferior to that in war: he restored harmony among the cities, and removed the occasions of quarrel between debtors and creditors; for he ordered that the creditor should have two-thirds of the debtor's income, and the debtor the remaining third, till the whole was paid. By these means he left the province with great reputation, though he had filled his own coffers, and enriched his soldiers with booty, who, upon one of his victories, saluted him *Imperator*.

At his return, he found himself under a troublesome dilemma; those that solicit a triumph being obliged to remain without the walls, and such as sue for the consulship to make their personal appearance in Rome. As these were things that he could not reconcile, and his arrival happened at the time of the election of consuls, he applied to the senate for permission to stand candidate, though absent, and offer his service by his friends. Cato strongly opposed his request, insisting on the prohibition by law; and, when he saw numbers influenced by Cæsar, he attempted to pre-

vent his success by gaining time; with which view he spun out the debate till it was too late to conclude upon any thing that day; Cæsar then determined to give up the triumph, and solicit the consulship.

As soon as he had entered the city, he went to work upon an expedient which deceived all the world except Cato. It was the reconciling of Pompey and Crassus, two of the most powerful men in Rome. By making them friends, Cæsar secured the interest of both to himself; and while he seemed to be only doing an office of humanity, he was undermining the constitution. For it was not, what most people imagine, the disagreement between Cæsar and Pompey that produced the civil wars, but rather union. They first combined to ruin the authority of the senate, and, when that was effected, they parted to pursue each his own designs. Cato, who often prophesied what would be the consequence, was then looked upon as a troublesome and over-busy man; afterwards, he was esteemed a wise, though not a fortunate counsellor.

Meantime Cæsar walked to the place of election between Crassus and Pompey, and, under the auspices of their friendship, was declared consul with distinguished honour, having Calpurnius Bibulus given him for his colleague. He had no sooner entered upon his office, than he proposed laws not so suitable to a consul as to a seditious tribune; I mean the bills for the division of lands and a distribution of corn, which were entirely calculated to please the plebeians. As the virtuous and patriotic part of the senate opposed them, he was furnished with the pretext he had long wanted: He protested with great warmth—"That they threw him into the arms of the people against his will, and that the rigorous and disgraceful opposition of the senate laid him under the disagreeable necessity of seeking protection from the commons." Accordingly he did immediately apply to them.

Crassus planted himself on one side of him, and Pompey on the other. He demanded of them aloud, "Whether they approved his laws?" and, as they answered in the affirmative, he desired their assistance against those who threatened to oppose him with the sword. They declared they would assist him; and Pompey added, "Against those who come with the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler." This expression gave the patricians great pain: it appeared not only unworthy of his character, the respect the senate had for him, and the reverence due to them, but even desperate and frantic. The people, however, were pleased with it.

Cæsar was willing to avail himself still further of Pompey's interest. His daughter Julia was betrothed to Servilius Cæpio, and not-

withstanding that engagement, he gave her to Pompey; and told Servilius he should have Pompey's daughter, whose hand was not properly at liberty, for she was promised to Faustus the son of Sylla. Soon after this, Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and procured the consulship for Piso for the year ensuing. Meanwhile Cato exclaimed loudly against these proceedings, and called both gods and men to witness how insupportable it was, that the first dignities of the state should be prostituted by marriages, and that this traffic of women should gain them what governments and forces they pleased.

As for Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, when he found his opposition to their new laws entirely unsuccessful, and that his life, as well as Cato's, was often endangered in the public assemblies, he shut himself up in his own house during the remainder of the year.

Immediately after this marriage, Pompey filled the *forum* with armed men, and got the laws enacted which Cæsar had proposed, merely to ingratiate himself with the people. At the same time the government of Gaul, both on this and the other side of the Alps, was decreed to Cæsar for five years; to which was added Illyricum, with four legions. As Cato spoke against these regulations, Cæsar ordered him to be taken into custody, imagining he would appeal to the tribunes: but when he saw him going to prison without speaking one word, and observed that it not only gave the nobility great uneasiness, but that the people, out of reverence for Cato's virtue, followed him in melancholy silence, he whispered one of the tribunes to take him out of the *lictor's* hands.

Very few of the body of senators followed Cæsar on this occasion to the house. The greatest part, offended at such acts of tyranny, had withdrawn. Considius, one of the oldest senators that attended, taking occasion to observe, "That it was the soldiers and naked swords that kept the rest from assembling," Cæsar said, "Why does not fear keep you at home too?" Considius replied, "Old age is my defence; the small remains of my life deserve not much care or precaution."

The most digraceful step, however, that Cæsar took in his whole consulship, was the getting Clodius elected tribune of the people; the same who attempted to dishonour his bed, and had profaned the mysterious rites of the Good Goddess. He pitched upon him to ruin Cicero; nor would he set out for his government before he had em broiled them, and procured Cicero's banishment: for history informs us, that all these transactions preceded his wars in Gaul. The wars he conducted there, and the many glorious campaigns in which he reduced that country, represent him as another man: we begin, as it

were, with a new life, and have to follow him in quite a different track. As a warrior and a general, we behold him not in the least inferior to the greatest and most admired commanders the world ever produced: for, whether we compare him with the Fabii, the Scipios, and Metelli; with the generals of his own time, or those who flourished a little before him; with Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or with Pompey himself, whose fame in every military excellence reached the skies, Cæsar's achievements bear away the palm. One he surpassed in the difficulty of the scene of action, another in the extent of the countries he subdued; this in the number and strength of the enemies he overcame, that in the savage manners and treacherous disposition of the people he humanized; one in mildness and clemency to his prisoners, another in bounty and munificence to his troops; and all in the number of battles that he won, and enemies that he killed: for, in less than ten years war in Gaul, he took eight hundred cities by assault, conquered three hundred nations, and fought pitched battles at different times with three millions of men, one million of which he cut in pieces, and made another million prisoners.

Such, moreover, was the affection of his soldiers, and their attachment to his person, that they, who under other commanders were nothing above the common rate of men, became invincible where Cæsar's glory was concerned, and met the most dreadful dangers with a courage that nothing could resist. To give three or four instances:

Acilius, in a sea-fight near Marseilles, after he had boarded one of the enemy's ships, had his right hand cut off with a sword, yet he still held his buckler in his left, and pushed it in the enemies' faces, till he defeated them, and took the vessel.

Cassius Scæva, in the battle of Dyrrhachium, after he had an eye shot out with an arrow, his shoulder wounded with one javelin, his thigh run through with another, and had received a hundred and thirty darts upon his shield*, called out to the enemy, as if he would surrender himself: upon this, two of them came up to him, and he gave one of them such a stroke upon the shoulder with his sword, that the arm dropped off; the other he wounded in the face, and made him retire.—His comrades then came up to his assistance, and he saved his life.

* Cæsar (*Bell. Civ*, l. iii.) says, this brave soldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his shield, and adds, that he rewarded his bravery with two hundred thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first. He likewise ordered the soldiers of that cohort double pay, besides other military rewards.

In Britain, some of the vanguard happened to be entangled in a deep morass, and there were attacked by the enemy, when a private soldier, in the sight of Cæsar, threw himself into the midst of the assailants, and, after prodigious exertions of valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men; after which, the soldier, with much difficulty, partly by swimming, partly by wading, passed the morass, but in the passage lost his shield.—Cæsar and those about him, astonished at the action, ran to meet him with acclamations of joy; but the soldier, in great distress, threw himself at Cæsar's feet, and with tears in his eyes, begged pardon for the loss of his shield.

In Africa, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, on board of which was Granius Petronius, lately appointed quæstor, put the rest to the sword, but told the quæstor, "He gave him his life." Petronious answered, "It is not the custom of Cæsar's soldiers to take but to give quarter," and immediately plunged his sword in his breast.

This courage, and this great ambition, were cultivated and cherished, in the first place, by the generous manner in which Cæsar rewarded his troops, and the honours which he paid them: for his whole conduct showed that he did not accumulate riches in the course of his wars to minister to luxury, or to serve any pleasures of his own, but that he laid them up in a common bank, as prizes to be obtained by distinguished valour, and that he considered himself no further rich than as he was in a condition to do justice to the merit of his soldiers. Another thing that contributed to make them invincible was their seeing Cæsar always take his share in danger, and never desire any exemption from labour and fatigue.

As for his exposing his person to danger, they were not surprised at it, because they knew his passion for glory; but they were astonished at his patience under toil, so far in all appearance above his bodily powers: for he was of a slender make, fair, of a delicate constitution, and subject to violent headachs and epileptic fits. He had the first attack of the falling sickness at Corduba. He did not, however, make these disorders a pretence for indulging himself; on the contrary, he sought in war a remedy for his infirmities, endeavouring to strengthen his constitution by long marches, by simple diet, by seldom coming under covert. Thus he contended with his distemper, and fortified himself against its attacks.

When he slept, it was commonly upon a march, either in a chariot or a litter, that rest might be no hinderance to business. In the day-time he visited the castles, cities, and fortified camps, with a servant at his side, whom he employed, on such occasions, to write for him, and with a soldier behind, who carried his sword. By these

means he travelled so fast, and with so little interruption, as to reach the Rhone in eight days after his first setting out for those parts from Rome.

He was a good horseman in his early years, and brought that exercise to such perfection by practice, that he could sit a horse at full speed with his hands behind him. In this expedition he also accustomed himself to dictate letters as he rode on horseback, and found sufficient employment for two secretaries at once, or, according to Oppius, for more. It is also said, that Cæsar was the first who contrived to communicate his thoughts by letter to his friends, who were in the same city with him, when any urgent affair required it, and the multitude of business, or great extent of the city, did not admit of an interview.

Of his indifference with respect to diet, they give us this remarkable proof: happening to sup with Valerius Leo, a friend of his, at Milan, there was sweet ointment poured upon the asparagus, instead of oil. Cæsar ate of it freely notwithstanding, and afterwards rebuked his friends for expressing their dislike of it. "It was enough," said he, "to forbear eating, if it was disagreeable to you. He who finds fault with any rusticity is himself a rustic."

One day, as he was upon an excursion, a violent storm forced him to seek shelter in a poor man's hut, where there was only one room, and that scarce big enough for a man to sleep in. Turning, therefore, to his friends, he said, "Honours for the great, and necessaries for the infirm," and immediately gave up the room to Oppius, while himself and the rest of the company slept under a shed at the door.

His first expedition into Gaul was against the Helvetians and the Tigurini: who, after having burnt twelve of their own towns, and four hundred villages, put themselves under march, in order to penetrate into Italy through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Tuetones would have done before them. Nor were these new adventurers inferior to the other in courage; and in numbers they were equal; being in all three hundred thousand, of which a hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. Cæsar sent his lieutenant Labienus against the Tigurini, who routed them near the river Arar*. But the Helvetians suddenly attacted Cæsar, as he was upon the march to a confederate town†. He gained, however,

* Cæsar says himself that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raised from the lake of Geneva to Mount Jura, and that he marched in person, at the head of three legions, to attack the Tigurini in their passage over the Arar, now the Saone, and killed great numbers of them.

† Bibracte, now Autun.

a strong post for his troops, notwithstanding the surprise; and, when he had drawn them up, his horse was brought him: upon which he said, "When I have won the battle, I shall want my horse for the pursuit; at present let us march as we are against the enemy."—Accordingly he charged them with great vigour on foot*.

It cost him a long and severe conflict to drive their army out of the field; but he found the greatest difficulty when he came to their rampart of carriages; for not only the men made a most obstinate stand there, but the very women and children fought till they were cut in pieces; insomuch that the battle did not end before midnight.

To this great action he added a still greater: he collected the barbarians who had escaped out of the battle, to the number of a hundred thousand and upwards, and obliged them to resettle in the country they had relinquished, and to rebuild the cities they had burnt.—This he did, in fear that, if the country were left without inhabitants, the Germans would pass the Rhine and seize it.

His second war was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans†, though he had before honoured their king Ariovistus with the title of an ally of Rome.—They proved insupportable neighbours to those he had subdued, and it was easy to see, that instead of being satisfied with their present acquisitions, if opportunity offered, they would extend their conquests over all Gaul. He found, however, his officers, particularly those of the young nobility, afraid of this expedition; for they had entered into Cæsar's service only in hopes of living luxuriously, and making their fortunes. He therefore called them together, and told them, before the whole army, "That they were at liberty to retire, and needed not hazard their persons against their inclination, since they were so unmanly and spiritless: for his part, he would march with the tenth legion only against those barbarians; for they were neither better men than the Cimbrians, nor was he a worse general than Marius." Upon this the tenth legion deputed some of their corps to thank him. The other legions laid the whole blame upon their officers, and all followed him with great spirit and alacrity. After a march of several days, they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy.

* He sent back his horse, and the rest followed his example. This he did to prevent all hopes of a retreat, as well as to show his troops that he would take his share in all the danger.—*Vide Bell. Gall.* lib. i.

† The Ædui implored his protection against Ariovistus, king of the Germans, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long subsisted between them and the Arverni, had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the Sequani, and obliged the Ædui to give him their children as hostages. The Ædui were the people of Autun; the Arverni of Auvergne; and the Sequani of Frenche Comté.—*Cæs. Bell. Gall.* lib. i.

Cæsar's arrival broke the confidence of Ariovistus. Instead of expecting that the Romans would come and attack him, he had supposed they would not dare to stand the Germans, when they went in quest of them. He was much surprised, therefore, at this bold attempt of Cæsar; and, what was worse, he saw his own troops were disheartened. They were dispirited still more by the prophecies of their matrons who had the care of divining, and used to do it by the eddies of rivers, the windings, the murmurs, or other noise made by the stream. On this occasion they charged the army not to give battle before the new moon appeared.

Cæsar having got information of these matters, and seeing the Germans lie close in their camp, thought it better to engage them while thus dejected, than to sit still and wait their time. For this reason he attacked their intrenchments, and the hills upon which they were posted; which provoked them to such a degree, that they descended in great fury to the plain. They fought and were entirely routed. Cæsar pursued them to the Rhine, which was three hundred furlongs from the field of battle*, covering all the way with dead bodies and spoils. Ariovistus reached the river time enough to get over with a few troops. The number of killed is said to have amounted to eighty thousand.

After he had thus terminated the war, he left his army in winter-quarters in the country of the Sequani, and repaired to Gaul, on this side the Po, which was part of his province, in order to have an eye upon the transactions in Rome: for the river Rubicon parts the rest of Italy from Cisalpine Gaul. During his stay there, he carried on a variety of state intrigues. Great numbers came from Rome to pay their respects to him, and he sent them all away satisfied; some laden with presents, and others happy in hope. In the same manner, throughout all his wars, without Pompey's observing it, he was conquering his enemies by the armies of the Roman citizens, and gaining the citizens by the money of his enemies.

As soon as he had intelligence that the Belgæ, who were the most powerful people in Gaul, and whose territories made up a third part of the whole country, had revolted and assembled a great army, he marched to that quarter with incredible expedition. He found them ravaging the lands of those Gauls who were allies of Rome, defeated the main body, which made but a feeble resistance, and killed such numbers, that lakes and rivers were filled with the dead, and bridges were formed of their bodies. Such of the insurgents as dwelt upon the sea-coast surrendered without opposition.

From thence he led his army against the Nervii†, who live among

* Cæsar says it was only five miles from the field of battle.

† Their country is now called Hainault and Cambresis.

thick woods. After they had secured their families and most valuable goods, in the best manner they could, in the heart of a large forest, at a great distance from the enemy, they marched, to the number of sixty thousand, and fell upon Cæsar as he was fortifying his camp, and had not the least notion of such an attack*. They first routed his cavalry, and then surrounded the twelfth and seventh legions, and killed all the officers. Had not Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of his own men, forced his way through the combatants before him, and rushed upon the barbarians; or had not the tenth legion, seeing his danger, ran from the heights where they were posted, and mowed down the enemy's ranks, in all probability not one Roman would have survived the battle: but though, encouraged by by this bold act of Cæsar, they fought with a spirit above their strength, they were not able to make the Nervii turn their backs. Those brave men maintained their ground, and were hewed to pieces upon the spot. It is said that out of sixty thousand, not above five hundred were saved; and out of four hundred Nervian senators, not above three.

Upon the news of this great victory, the senate of Rome decreed that sacrifices should be offered, and all manner of festivities kept up, for fifteen days together, which was a longer term of rejoicing than had ever been known before. Indeed, the danger appeared very great, on account of so many nations rising at once; and as Cæsar was the man who surmounted it, the affection the people had for him made the rejoicing more brilliant. After he had settled the affairs of Gaul on the other side the Alps, he crossed them again, and wintered near the Po, in order to maintain his interest in Rome, where the candidates for the great offices of state were supplied with money out of

* As this attack was unexpected, Cæsar had, in a manner, every thing to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprise he ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour, and, having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but, as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and the tenth legions did wonders, drove the Atrebates into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place the eight and the eleventh legions repulsed the Veromandui, and drove them before them. But, in the right wing, the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely: they were entirely surrounded by the Nervii, all the centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity Cæsar snatched a buckler from one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, and being joined by the two legions which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the Nervii, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havoc among them.

his funds to corrupt the people, and, after they had carried their election, did every thing to extend his power. Nay, the greatest and most illustrious personages went to pay their court to him at Lucca, among whom were Pompey, Crassus, Appius, governor of Sardinia, and Nepos proconsul in Spain; so that there were a hundred and twenty lictors attending their masters, and two hundred senators honoured him with their assiduities. After they had fixed upon a plan of business, they parted. Pompey and Grassus were to be consuls the year ensuing, and to get Cæsar's government prolonged for five years more, with supplies out of the treasury for his occasions. The last particular appeared extremely absurd to all men of sense. They who received so much of Cæsar's money persuaded the senate to give him money, as if he was in want of it; or rather, they insisted it should be done, and every honest man sighed inwardly while he suffered the decree to pass. Cato, indeed, was absent, having been sent with a commission to Cyprus, on purpose that he might be out of the way: but Favonius, who trod in Cato's steps, vigorously opposed these measures; and when he found that his opposition availed nothing, he left the house, and applied to the people, exclaiming against such pernicious counsels. No one, however, attended to him; some being overawed by Pompey and Crassus, and others influenced by regard for Cæsar, in whose smile alone they lived, and all their hopes flourished.

Cæsar, at his return to his army in Gaul, found another furious war lighted up in the country; the Usipètes and the Teuchteri*, two great German nations, having crossed the Rhine to make conquests. The account of the affair with them we shall take from Cæsar's own Commentaries. These barbarians sent deputies to him to propose a suspension of arms, which was granted them. Nevertheless, they attacked him as he was making an excursion. With only eight hundred horse, however, who were not prepared for an engagement, he beat their cavalry, which consisted of five thousand. Next day they sent other deputies to apologize for what had happened, but without any other intention than that of deceiving him again. These agents of theirs he detained, and marched immediately against them; think-

* The people of the *March* and of Westphalia, and those of Munster and Cleves.—This war happened under the consulship of Crassus and Pompey, which was in the year of Rome 693. But there were several intermidiate transactions of great importance, which Plutarch has omitted, viz. The reduction of the Advatici by Cæsar; of seven other nations by P. Crassus, the son of the triumvir; offers of submission from several nations beyond the Rhine; the attempt upon Galba in his winter-quarters at Octodurus, and his brave defence and victory; the severe chastisement of the Veneti, who had revolted; and the complete reduction of Aquitania. These particulars are contained in part of the second and the whole third book of the war in Gaul.

ing it absurd to stand upon honour with such perfidious men, who had not scrupled to violate the truce. Yet Canusius writes, that when the senate were voting a public thanksgiving and processions on account of the victory, Cato proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the barbarians to expiate that breach of faith, and make the divine vengeance fall upon its author, rather than upon Rome.

Of the barbarians that had passed the Rhine, there were four hundred thousand killed. The few who escaped repassed the river, and were sheltered by a people of Germany, called Sicambri. Cæsar laid hold on this pretence against that people, but his true motive was an avidity of fame to be the first Roman that ever crossed the Rhine in a hostile manner. In pursuance of his design, he threw a bridge over it, though it was remarkably wide in that place, and at the same time so rough and rapid, that it carried down with it trunks of trees and other timber, which much shocked and weakened the pillars of his bridge. But he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent. By these means he exhibited a spectacle astonishing to thought, so immense a bridge finished in ten days. His army passed over it without opposition, the Suevi and the Sicambri, the most warlike nations in Germany, having retired into the heart of their forests, and concealed themselves in cavities overhung with wood. He laid waste the enemy's country with fire, and confirmed the better disposed Germans in the interest of Rome*; after which he returned into Gaul, having spent no more than eighteen days in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain discovered the most daring spirit of enterprise: for he was the first who entered the Western Ocean with a fleet, and, embarking his troops on the Atlantic, carried war into an island whose very existence was doubted. Some writers had represented it so incredibly large that others contested its being, and considered both the name and the thing as a fiction: yet Cæsar attempted to conquer it, and to extend the Roman empire beyond the bounds of the habitable world. He sailed thither twice from the opposite coast in Gaul, and fought many battles, by which the Britons suffered more than the Romans gained; for there was nothing worth taking from a people who were so poor, and lived in so much wretchedness†. He did not, however, terminate the war in the manner he could have wished: he only received hostages of the king, and

* The Ubii, the people of Cologne.

† It does not appear that there was much corn in Britain in Cæsar's time; for the inhabitants, he says, lived chiefly on milk and flesh. *Lacte et carne vivunt.*

appointed the tribute the island was to pay, and then returned to Gaul.

There he received letters, which were going to be sent over to him, and by which his friends in Rome informed him that his daughter, the wife of Pompey, had lately died in childbed. This was a great affliction both to Pompey and Cæsar. Their friends, too, were very sensibly concerned to see that alliance dissolved which kept up the peace and harmony of the state, otherwise in a very unsettled condition: for the child survived the mother only a few days. The people took the body of Julia, and carried it, notwithstanding the prohibition of the tribunes, to the *Campus Martius*, where it was interred.

As Cæsar's army was now very large*, he was forced to divide it for the convenience of winter-quarters; after which he took the road to Italy, according to custom. But he had not been long gone, before the Gauls, rising again, traversed the country with considerable armies, fell upon the Roman quarters with great fury, and insulted their intrenchments. The most numerous and the strongest body of the insurgents was that under Ambiorix, who attacked Cotta and Titurius in their camp, and cut them off with their whole party. After which he went and besieged the legion under the command of Q. Cicero, with sixty thousand men; and though the spirit of those brave Romans made a resistance above their strength, they were very near being taken, for they were all wounded.

Cæsar, who was at a great distance, at last getting intelligence of their danger, returned with all expedition; and having collected a body of men, which did not exceed seven thousand, hastened to the relief of Cicero. The Gauls, who were not ignorant of his motions, raised the siege, and went to meet him; for they despised the smallness of his force, and were confident of victory. Cæsar, to deceive them, made a feint as if he fled, till he came to a place convenient for a small army to engage a great one, and there he fortified his camp. He gave his men strict orders not to fight, but to throw up a strong rampart, and to barricade their gates in the securest manner; contriving, by all these manœuvres, to increase the enemy's contempt of him. It succeeded as he wished; the Gauls came up with great insolence and disorder to attack his trenches. Then Cæ-

* This army consisted of eight legions; and as there was almost a famine in the country, the consequence of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to separate his troops for their better subsistence. He was therefore under the necessity of fixing the quarters at such a distance, which would otherwise have been impolitic. He tells us (lib. v.) that all the legions except one, which was in a quiet country, were posted within the compass of a hundred miles.

sar, making a sudden sally, defeated and destroyed the greatest part of them. This success laid the spirit of revolt in those parts; and for further security he remained all the winter in Gaul, visiting all the quarters, and keeping a sharp eye upon every motion towards war. Besides, he received a reinforcement of three legions in the room of those he had lost; two of which were lent him by Pompey, and one lately raised in Cisalpine Gaul.

After this*, the seeds of hostilities, which had long before been privately scattered in the more distant parts of the country by the chiefs of the more warlike nations, shot up into one of the greatest and most dangerous wars that was ever seen in Gaul; whether we consider the number of troops and store of arms, the treasures amassed for the war, or the strength of the towns and fastnesses they occupied. Besides, it was then the most severe season of the year; the rivers were covered with ice, the forests with snow, and the fields overflowed in such a manner that they looked like so many ponds; the roads lay concealed in snow, or in floods disembogued by the lakes and rivers; so that it seemed impossible for Cæsar to march, or to pursue any other operations against them.

Many nations had entered into the league; the principal of which were the Arverni† and Carnutes‡. The chief direction of the war was given to Vercingetorix, whose father the Gauls had put to death for attempting at monarchy. Vercingetorix having divided his forces into several parts, and given them in charge to his lieutenants, had the country at command as far as the Arar. His intention was to raise all Gaul against Cæsar, now when his enemies were rising against him at Rome: but, had he staid a little longer, till Cæsar was actually engaged in the civil war, the terrors of the Gauls would not have been less dreadful to Italy now, than those of the Cimbri were formerly.

Cæsar, who knew perfectly how to avail himself of every advantage in war, particularly of time, was no sooner informed of this great defection, than he set out to chastise its authors; and by the swiftness of his march, in spite of all the difficulties of a severe winter, he showed the barbarians that his troops could neither be conquered nor resisted: for where a courier could scarce have been supposed to come in many days, Cæsar was seen with his whole army, ravaging

* Plutarch passes over the whole sixth book of Cæsar's Commentaries, as he had done the third. Many considerable events happened between the victory last mentioned, and the affair with Vercingetorix; such as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæsar's second passage over the Rhine, and the pursuit of Ambiorix.

† The people of Auvergne, particularly those of Clermont and St. Flour.

‡ The people of Chartres and Orleans.

the country, destroying the castles, storming the cities, and receiving the submission of such as repented. Thus he went on, till the Edui* also revolted, who had styled themselves brothers to the Romans, and had been treated with particular regard. Their joining the insurgents spread uneasiness and dismay through Cæsar's army. He therefore decamped in all haste, and traversed the country of the Lingones†, in order to come into that of the Sequani‡, who were fast friends, and nearer to Italy than the rest of the Gauls.

The enemy followed him thither in prodigious numbers, and surrounded him. Cæsar, without being in the least disconcerted, sustained the conflict, and after a long and bloody action, in which the Germans were particularly serviceable to him, gave them a total defeat. But he seems to have received some check at first, for the Arverni still show a sword suspended in one of their temples, which they declare was taken from Cæsar. His friends pointed it out to him afterwards, but he only laughed; and when they were for having it taken down, he would not suffer it, because he considered it as a thing consecrated to the gods.

Most of those who escaped out of the battle retired into Alesia‖ with their king. Cæsar immediately invested the town, though it appeared impregnable, as well on account of the height of the walls, as the number of troops there was to defend it. During the siege he found himself exposed to a danger from without, which makes imagination giddy to think on. All the bravest men in Gaul assembled from every quarter, and came armed to the relief of the place, to the number of three hundred thousand; and there were not less than seventy thousand combatants within the walls. Thus shut up between two armies, he was forced to draw two lines of circumvallation, the interior one against the town, and that without against the troops that came to its succour; for, could the two armies have joined, he had been absolutely lost. This dangerous action at Alesia contributed to Cæsar's renown on many accounts. Indeed, he exerted a more adventurous courage and greater generalship than on any other occasion. But what seems very astonishing is, that he could engage and conquer so many myriads without, and keep the action a secret to the troops in the town§. It is still more wonderful that the Romans who were left before the walls should not know it, till the victory was announced by the cries of the men in Alesia, and the lamentations of

* The people of Auton, Lyons, Macon, Chalens upon Sone, and Nevers.

† The district of Langres.

‡ The district of Besançon.

‖ Cæsar calls it Alexia, now Alice, near Flavigny.

§ Cæsar says, that those in the town had a distinct view of the battl..

the women, who saw the Romans on each side of the town bringing to their camp a number of shields adorned with gold and silver, helmets stained with blood, drinking vessels, and tents of the Gaulish fashion. Thus did this vast multitude vanish and disappear like a phantom or a dream, the greatest part being killed on the spot.

The besieged, after having given both themselves and Cæsar much trouble, at last surrendered. Their general Vercingetorix armed himself, and equipped his horse in the most magnificent manner, and then sallied out at the gate. After he had taken some circuits about Cæsar as he sat upon the tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and placed himself at Cæsar's feet, where he remained in profound silence, till Cæsar ordered a guard to take him away, and keep him for his triumph.

Cæsar had been some time resolved to ruin Pompey, and Pompey to destroy Cæsar. For Crassus, who alone could have taken up the conqueror, being killed in the Parthian war, there remained nothing for Cæsar to do, to make himself the greatest of mankind, but to annihilate him that was so; nor for Pompey to prevent it, but to take off the man he feared. It is true, it was no long time that Pompey had entertained any fear of him; he had rather looked upon him with contempt, imagining he could as easily pull him down as he had set him up: whereas Cæsar, from the first, designing to ruin his rivals, had retired at a distance, like a champion, for exercise. By long service and great achievements in the wars of Gaul, he had so improved his army, and his own reputation too, that he was considered as on a footing with Pompey; and he found pretences for carrying his enterprise into execution, in the times of the misgovernment at Rome. These were partly furnished by Pompey himself; and indeed all ranks of men were so corrupted, that tables were publicly set out, upon which the candidates for offices were professedly ready to pay the people the price of their votes; and the people came not only to give their voices for the man who had bought them, but with all manner of offensive weapons to fight for him. Hence it often happened that they did not part without polluting the tribunal with blood and murder, and the city was a perpetual scene of anarchy. In this dismal situation of things, in these storms of epidemic madness, wise men thought it would be happy if they ended in nothing worse than monarchy. Nay, there were many who scrupled not to declare publicly, that monarchy was the only cure for the desperate disorders of the state, and that the physician ought to be pitched upon who would apply that remedy with the gentlest hand; by which they hinted at Pompey.

Pompey, in all his discourse, pretended to decline the honour of a

dictatorship, though at the same time every step he took was directed that way. Cato, understanding his drift, persuaded the senate to declare him sole consul; that, satisfied with a kind of monarchy more agreeable to law, he might not adopt any violent measures to make himself dictator. The senate not only agreed to this, but continued to him his governments of Spain and Africa, the administration of which he committed to his lieutenants; keeping armies there, for whose maintenance he was allowed a thousand talents a-year out of the public treasury.

Upon this, Cæsar applied, by his friends, for another consulship, and for the continuance of his commission in Gaul, answerable to that of Pompey. As Pompey was at first silent, Marcellus and Lentulus, who hated Cæsar on other accounts, opposed it with great violence, omitting nothing, whether right or wrong, that might reflect dishonour upon him: for they disfranchised the inhabitants of Novocomum in Gaul, which had lately been erected into a colony by Cæsar; and Marcellus, then consul, caused one of their senators, who was come with some complaints to Rome, to be beaten with rods; and telling him, "The marks on his back were so many additional proofs that he was not a Roman citizen," bade him go show them to Cæsar.

But, after the consulship of Marcellus, Cæsar opened the treasures he had amassed in Gaul to all that were concerned in the administration, and satisfied their utmost wishes; he paid off the vast debts of Curio the tribune; he presented the consul Paulus with fifteen hundred talents, which he employed in building the celebrated public hall near the *forum*, in the place where that of Fulvius had stood. Pompey, now alarmed at the increase of Cæsar's faction, openly exerted his own interest, and that of his friends, to procure an order for a successor to Cæsar in Gaul. He also sent to demand the troops he had lent him for his wars in that country, and Cæsar returned them with a gratuity of two hundred and fifty drachmas to each man.

Those who conducted these troops back spread reports among the people, which were neither favourable nor fair with respect to Cæsar, and which ruined Pompey with vain hopes. They asserted that Pompey had the hearts of all Cæsar's army, and that if envy and a corrupt administration hindered him from gaining what he desired at Rome, the forces in Gaul were at his service, and would declare for him immediately upon their entering Italy, so obnoxious was Cæsar become, by hurrying them perpetually from one expedition to another, and by the suspicions they had of his aiming at absolute power.

Pompey was so much elated with these assurances, that he ne-

glected to levy troops, as if he had nothing to fear, and opposed his enemy only with speeches and decrees, which Cæsar made no account of. Nay, we are told that a centurion whom Cæsar had sent to Rome, waiting at the door of the senate-house for the result of the deliberations, and being informed that the senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his commission, layed his hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, Cæsar's requisitions had a great appearance of justice and honour. He proposed to lay down his arms on condition that Pompey would do the same, and that they should both, as private citizens, leave it to their country to reward their services; for to deprive him of his commission and troops, and continue Pompey's, was to give absolute power to the one, to which the other was unjustly accused of aspiring. Curio, who made these propositions to the people in behalf of Cæsar, was received with the loudest plaudits; and there were some who even threw chaplets of flowers upon him, as they would upon a champion victorius in the ring.

Antony, one of the tribunes of the people, then produced a letter from Cæsar to the same purport, and caused it to be read, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from the consuls. Hereupon Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, proposed in the senate, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms by such a day, he should be declared an enemy to the state; and the consuls putting it to the question, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his forces?" and again, "Whether Cæsar should disband his?" few of the members were for the first, and almost all for the second*. After which Antony put the question, "Whether both should lay down their commissions?" and all with one voice answered in the affirmative. But the violent rage of Scipio, and the clamours of the consul Lentulus, who cried out, that "Not decrees but arms should be employed against a public robber," made the senate break up; and, on account of the unhappy dissension, all ranks of the people put on black, as in a time of public mourning.

Soon after this, other letters arrived from Cæsar with more moderate proposals. He offered to abandon all the rest, provided they would continue to him the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, with two legions, till he could apply for a second consulship. And Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, and very desirous of effecting a reconciliation, used all possible means to soften Pompey. Pompey agreed to all but the article of the two legions; and

* Dio says, there was not a man for the first question, whereas the whole house was for the second, except Cœlius and Curio. Nor is this to be wondered at: Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with his army.

Cicero endeavoured to accommodate the matter, by persuading Cæsar's friends to be satisfied with the two provinces and six thousand soldiers only. Pompey was on the point of accepting the compromise, when Lentulus the consul, rejecting it with disdain, treated Antony and Curio with great indignity, and drove them out of the senate-house. Thus he furnished Cæsar with the most plausible argument imaginable, and he failed not to make use of it to exasperate his troops, by showing them persons of distinction, and magistrates, obliged to fly in hired carriages, and the habit of slaves*; for their fears had made them leave Rome in that disguise.

Cæsar had not then with him above three hundred horse and five thousand foot. The rest of his forces were left on the other side of the Alps, and he had sent them orders to join him. But he saw the beginning of his enterprise, and the attack he meditated did not require any great numbers. His enemies were rather to be struck with consternation by the boldness and expedition with which he began his operations; for an unexpected movement would be more likely to make an impression upon them then, than great preparations afterwards. He therefore ordered his lieutenants and other officers to take their swords, without any other armour, and make themselves masters of Ariminum, a great city in Gaul, but to take all possible care that no blood should be shed, or disturbance raised. Hortensius was at the head of this party. As for himself, he spent the day at a public show of gladiators; and a little before evening bathed, and then went into the apartment where he entertained company. When it was growing dark, he left the company, after having desired them to make merry till his return, which they would not have long to wait for. To some of his friends he had given previous notice to follow him, not altogether, but by different ways. Then taking a hired carriage, he set out a different way from that which led to Ariminum, and turned into that road afterwards.

When he arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which divides Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his reflections became more interesting in proportion as the danger drew near. Staggered by the greatness of his attempt, he stopped to weigh with himself its inconveniences; and, as he stood revolving in silence the arguments on both sides, he many times changed his opinion. After which he deliberated upon it with such of his friends as were by, among whom was Asinius Pollio; enumerating the calamities which the passage of that river would bring upon the world, and the reflections that might be made upon it by posterity. At last, upon some sudden impulse,

* Cassius Longinus went with them in the same disguise.

bidding adieu to his reasonings, and plunging into the abyss of futurity, in the words of those who embark in doubtful and arduous enterprises, he cried, "The die is cast!" and immediately passed the river. He travelled so fast the rest of the way, that he reached Ariminum before day-light, and took it. It is said, that the preceding night he had a most abominable dream; he thought he lay with his mother.

After the taking of Ariminum, as if war had opened wide its gates both by sea and land, and Cæsar, by going beyond the bounds of his province, had infringed the laws of his country; not individuals were seen, as on other occasions, wandering in distraction about Italy, but whole cities broken up, and seeking refuge by flight. Most of the tumultuous tide flowed into Rome, and it was so filled with the hasty conflux of the circling people, that, amidst the violent agitation, it would hardly either obey the magistrate, or listen to the voice of reason, but was in the utmost danger of falling by its own violence: for the whole was a prey to contrary passions, and the most violent convulsions: those who favoured these disorders were not satisfied with enjoying them in private, but reproached the other party amidst their fears and sorrows, and insulted them with menaces of what was to come; which is the necessary consequence of such troubles in a great city.

Pompey himself, who was already confounded at the turn things had taken, was still more disturbed by a variety of censures on his conduct. Some said, he justly suffered for exalting Cæsar against himself and his country; others, for permitting Lentulus to overrule him, when Cæsar departed from his first demands, and offered equitable terms of peace. Favonius went so far as to bid him "Stamp with his foot;" alluding to a vaunting speech he had made in the senate, in which he bade them take no thought about preparation for the war; for, as soon as he marched out of Rome, if he did but stamp with his foot, he should fill Italy with his legions.

Pompey, however, at that time was not inferior in numbers to Cæsar, but his partisans would not suffer him to proceed according to his own opinion. By false reports and groundless terrors, as if the enemy was at the gates, and had carried all before him, they forced him along with the general torrent. He had it decreed, therefore, that things were in a tumultuous state, and nothing to be expected but hostilities, and then left Rome, having first ordered the senate and every man to follow, who preferred his country and liberty to the rod of a tyrant. The consuls, too, fled with him, without offering the sacrifices which custom required before they took their departure from Rome. Most of the senators snatched up those things

in their houses that were next at hand, as if the whole was not their own, and joined in the flight. Nay, there were some, who before were well affected to Cæsar, that in the present terror changed sides, and suffered themselves without necessity to be carried away by the torrent. What a miserable spectable was the city then! in so dreadful a tempest, like a ship abandoned by its pilots, tost about at all adventures, and at the mercy of the winds and seas. But though flight was so unpromising an alternative, such was the love the Romans had for Pompey, that they considered the place he retired to as their country, and Rome as the camp of Cæsar: for even Labienus, one of Cæsar's principal friends, who, in quality of his lieutenant, had served under him with the greatest alacrity in the wars of Gaul, now went over to Pompey; nevertheless, Cæsar sent him his money and his equipage.

After this, Cæsar invested Corfinium, where Domitius with thirty cohorts, commanded for Pompey.—Domitius*, in despair, ordered a servant of his, who was his physician, to give him poison. He took the draught prepared for him, as a sure means of death; but, soon after, hearing of Cæsar's extraordinary clemency to his prisoners, he lamented his own case, and the hasty resolution he had taken: upon which the physician removed his fears, by assuring him that what he had drank was a sleeping potion, not a deadly one. This gave him such spirits that he rose up and went to Cæsar. But though Cæsar pardoned him, and gave him his hand, he soon revolted and repaired again to Pompey.

The news of this transaction being brought to Rome, gave great relief to the minds of the people, and many who had fled came back again. In the mean time Cæsar having added to his own army the troops of Domitius, and all others that Pompey had left in garrison, was strong enough to march against Pompey himself. The latter, however, did not wait for him, but retired to Brundusium, from whence he sent the consuls with part of the forces to Dyrrachium, and a little after, upon the approach of Cæsar, sailed thither himself, as we have related at large in his life. Cæsar would have followed him immediately, but he wanted ships. He therefore returned to Rome, with the glory of having reduced Italy in sixty days, without spilling a drop of blood.

Finding the city in a more settled condition than he expected, and many senators there, he addressed them in a mild and gracious manner, and desired them to send deputies to Pompey to offer ho-

* Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus was nominated to succeed Cæsar, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of Transalpine Gaul: but he imprudently shut himself up in Corfinium before he left Italy.

nourable terms of peace: but not one of them would take upon him the commission: whether it was that they were afraid of Pompey, whom they had deserted, or whether they thought Cæsar not in earnest in the proposal, and that he only made it to save appearances. As Metellus, the tribune, opposed his taking money out of the public treasury, and alleged some laws against it, Cæsar said, "Arms and laws do not flourish together. If you are not pleased at what I am about, you have nothing to do but to withdraw: indeed, war will not bear much liberty of speech. When I say this, I am departing from my own right; for you, and all whom I found exciting a spirit of faction against me, are at my disposal."—Saying this, he approached the doors of the treasury, and as the keys were not produced, he sent for workmen to break them open. Metellus opposed him again, and some praised his firmness; but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to put him to death, if he gave him any further trouble. "And, young man," said he, "you are not ignorant that this is harder for me to say than to do." Metellus, terrified with his menace, retired, and afterwards Cæsar was easily and readily supplied with every thing necessary for the war.

His first movement was to Spain, from whence he was resolved to drive Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and after having made himself master of their troops and provinces, to march against Pompey, without leaving any enemy behind him. In the course of this expedition, his life was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army had to combat with famine; yet he continued his operations against the enemy, either by pursuit, or offering them battle, or forming lines of circumvallation about them, till he forced their camp, and added their troops to his own. The officers made their escape, and retired to Pompey.

Upon his return to Rome, his father-in-law, Piso, pressed him to send deputies to Pompey to treat of an accommodation; but Isauricus, to make his court to Cæsar, opposed it. The senate declared him dictator, and, while he held that office, he recalled the exiles; he restored to their honours the children of those who had suffered under Sylla, and relieved debtors by cancelling part of the usury. These, and a few more, were his acts during his dictatorship, which he laid down in eleven days. After this, he caused himself to be declared consul with Servilius Isauricus, and then went to prosecute the war. He marched so fast to Brundusium, that all his troops could not keep up with him. However, he embarked with only six hundred select horses, and five legions. It was at the time of the winter solstice, the beginning of January, which answers to the Athenian month *Poseideon*, that he set sail. He crossed the Ionian, made himself master of Ori-

cum and Apollonia, and sent back* his ships to Brundusium to bring over the forces that were left behind: but those troops, exhausted with fatigue, and tired out with the multitude of enemies they had to engage with, broke out into complaints against Cæsar, as they were on their march to the port: "whither will this man lead us," said they, "and where will be the end of our labours? will he harass us for ever, as if we had limbs of stone, or bodies of iron? but iron itself yields to repeated blows; our very shields and cuirasses call out for rest. Will not Cæsar learn from our wounds that we are mortal, that we have the same feelings, and are liable to the same impressions with other men? the gods themselves cannot force the seasons, or clear the winter seas of storms and tempests; and it is in this season that he would expose us, as if he was flying from his enemies, rather than pursuing them."

Amidst such discourse as this, they moved on slowly to Brundusium: but when they arrived there, and found that Cæsar was gone, they changed their language, and reproached themselves as traitors to their general. They vented their anger upon their officers, too, for not hastening their march; and, sitting upon the cliffs, they kept their eyes upon the sea towards Epirus, to see if they could discover the transports that were to fetch them.

Meantime, Cæsar not having a sufficient force at Apollonia to make head against the enemy, and seeing the troops at Brundusium delayed to join him, to relieve himself from the anxiety and perplexity he was in, undertook a most astonishing enterprise. Though the sea was covered with the enemy's fleets, he resolved to embark in a vessel of twelve oars, without acquainting any person with his intention, and sail to Brundusium†. In the night, therefore, he took the habit of a slave, and throwing himself into the vessel like a man of no account, sat there in silence. They fell down the river Anias‡ for the sea, where the entrance is generally easy, because the land-wind, rising in the morning, used to beat off the waves of the sea, and smooth the mouth of the river: but unluckily that night a strong sea-wind

* He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. That officer, losing the opportunity of the wind, fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, and burnt them all, together with their pilots and mariners, in order to intimidate the rest.

† Most historians blame this as a rash action; and Cæsar himself, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of this, or of another less dangerous attempt, which is related by Suetonius. While he was making war in Gaul, upon advice that the Gauls had surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.

‡ Strabo, in his seventh book (Ed. Par. p. 316, B. C.), calls this river *Aous*: In Polybius it is called *Lous*; but that is a corruption, the A being changed, by the fault of the transcriber, into a A.

sprung up, which overpowered that from the land; so that, by the rage of the sea and the counteraction of the stream, the river became extremely rough; the waves dashed against each other with a tumultuous noise, and formed such dangerous eddies, that the pilot despaired of making good his passage, and ordered the mariners to turn back. Cæsar, perceiving this, rose up, and showing himself to the pilot, who was greatly astonished at the sight of him, said, "Go forward, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune." The mariners then forgot the storm, and, plying their oars with the utmost vigour and alacrity, endeavoured to overcome the the resistance of the waves: but such was their violence at the mouth of the river, and the water flowed so fast into the vessel, that Cæsar, at last, though with great reluctance, permitted the pilot to turn back. Upon his return to his camp, the soldiers met him in crowds, pouring out their complaints, and expressing the greatest concern that he did not assure himself of conquering with them only, but, in distrust of their support, gave himself so much uneasiness, and exposed his person to so much danger, on account of the absent.

Soon after, Antony arrived from Brundusium with the troops*. Cæsar, then in the highest spirits, offered battle to Pompey, who was encamped in an advantageous manner, and abundantly supplied with provisions both from sea and land; whereas Cæsar at first had no great plenty, and afterwards was in extreme want. The soldiers, however, found great relief from a root † in the adjoining fields, which they prepared in milk. Sometimes they made it into bread, and going up to the enemy's advanced guards, threw it in among them, and declared, "That as long as the earth produced such roots, they would certainly besiege Pompey."

Pompey would not suffer either such bread to be produced, or such speeches to be reported in his camp; for his men were already discouraged, and ready to shudder at the thought of the impenetratable hardness of Cæsar's troops, who could bear as much as so many wild beasts. There were frequent skirmishes about Pompey's intrenchments ‡, and Cæsar had the advantage in them all, except one, in

* Antony and Calenus embarked on board the vessels which had escaped Bibulus, eight hundred horse and four legions, that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and, when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships for the rest of the forces.

† This root was called *Clera*. Some of Cæsar's soldiers, who had served in Sardinia, had there learned to make bread of it.

‡ Cæsar observed an old camp which he had occupied in the place where Pompey was enclosed, and afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it, Pompey had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post Cæsar attempted to reduce, and it

in which his party was forced to fly with such precipitation, that he was in danger of having his camp taken. Pompey headed the attack in person, and not a man could stand before him. He drove them upon their own lines in the utmost confusion, and filled their trenches with the dead.

Cæsar ran to meet them, and would have rallied the fugitives, but it was not in his power. He laid hold of the ensign-staves to stop them, and some left them in his hands, and others threw them on the ground, insomuch, that no less than thirty-two standards were taken. Cæsar himself was very near losing his life; for having laid hold of a tall and strong man to stop him and make him face about, the soldier, in his terror and confusion, lifted up his sword to strike him; but Cæsar's armour-bearer prevented it by a blow which cut off his arm.

Cæsar saw his affairs that day in so bad a posture, that after Pompey, either through too much caution, or the caprice of fortune, instead of giving the finishing stroke to so great an action, stopped as soon as he had shut up the enemy within their intrenchments, and sounded a retreat, he said to his friends as he withdrew, "This day victory would have declared for the enemy, if they had had a general who knew how to conquer." He sought repose in his tent, but it proved the most melancholy night of his life; for he gave himself up to endless reflections on his own misconduct in the war. He considered how wrong it was, when the wide countries and rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly were before him, to confine himself to so narrow a scene of action, and sit still by the sea while the enemy's fleets had the superiority, and in a place where he suffered the inconveniences of a siege from the want of provisions, rather than besiege the enemy by his arms. Thus agitated and distressed by the perplexities and difficulties of his situation, he resolved to decamp, and march against Scipio in Macedonia; concluding that he should either draw Pompey after him, and force him to fight where he could not receive supplies, as he had done, from the sea; or else that he should easily crush Scipio, if he found him unsupported.

Pompey's troops and officers were greatly elated at this retreat of Cæsar; they considered it as a flight, and an acknowledgment that he was beaten, and therefore wanted to pursue: but Pompey himself was unwilling to hazard a battle of such consequence: he was well provided with every thing requisite for waiting the advantages of time, and for that reason chose, by protracting the war, to wear out the

was in this attempt that he suffered so much loss. He lost nine hundred and sixty foot, four hundred horse, among whom were several Roman knights, five tribunes, and thirty two centurions. We mentioned just now that Pompey was enclosed, as in fact he was on the land-side, by a line of circumvallation drawn by Cæsar.

the little vigour the enemy had left. The most valuable of Cæsar's troops had, indeed, an experience and courage which were irresistible in the field; but age had made them unfit for long marches, for throwing up intrenchments, for attacking walls, and passing whole nights under arms. They were too unwieldy to endure much fatigue, and their inclination for labour lessened with their strength. Besides, there was said to be a contagious distemper among them, which arose from their strange and bad diet: and, what was still a more important circumstance, Cæsar wanted both money and provisions, so that it seemed as if he must shortly fall of himself.

These were Pompey's reasons for declining a battle; but not a man, except Cato, was of his opinion; and he, only, because he was willing to spare the blood of his countrymen: for when he saw the bodies of the enemy who fell in the late action, to the number of a thousand, lie dead upon the field, he covered his face, and retired weeping. All the rest censured Pompey for not deciding the affair immediately with the sword, calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, as if he was unwilling to be deprived of the monarchy he was in possession of, and delighted to see so many generals waiting his orders, and attending to pay their court. Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato's bold manner of speaking, but carried it much too far, lamented that Pompey's wanting to keep the kingly state he had got would prevent their eating figs that year at Tusculum. And Afranius, lately come from Spain, where he had succeeded so ill in his command, that he was accused of having been bribed to betray his army, asked Pompey, "Why he did not fight that merchant who trafficked in provinces?"

Piqued at these reproaches, Pompey, against his own judgment, marched after Cæsar, who proceeded on his route with great difficulty; for on account of his late loss, all looked upon him with contempt, and refused to supply him with provisions. However, upon his taking Gomphi*, a town in Thessaly, his troops not only found sufficient refreshments, but recovered surprisingly of the distemper; for, drinking plentifully of the wine they found there, and afterwards marching on in a Bacchanalian manner, the new turn their blood took threw off the disorder, and gave them another habit of body.

When the two armies were encamped opposite each other on the plains of Pharsalia, Pompey returned to his old opinion, in which he was confirmed by some unlucky omens, and an alarming dream: he dreamed that the people of Rome received him in the theatre with

* Cæsar, perceiving of how much importance it was to his service to make himself master of the place before Pompey or Scipio could come up, gave a general assault, about three in the afternoon, and, though the walls were very high, carried it before sunset.

loud plaudits, and that he adorned the chapel of Venus *Nicephora*, from whom Cæsar derived his pedigree. But if Pompey was alarmed, those about him were so absurdly sanguine in their expectations of victory, that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled about Cæsar's Pontificate; and numbers sent to Rome to engage houses convenient for consuls and prætors, making themselves sure of being soon raised to those high offices after the war. But the cavalry testified the greatest impatience for a battle; so proud were they of their fine arms, of the condition of their horses, and the beauty and vigour of their persons; besides, they were much more numerous than Cæsar's, being seven thousand to one thousand. Nor were the numbers of infantry equal; for Pompey had forty-five thousand, and Cæsar only twenty-two thousand.

Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them, "That Cornificius was well advanced on his way with two more legions, and that he had fifteen cohorts, under the command of Calenus, in the environs of Megara and Athens." He then asked them, "Whether they chose to wait for those troops, or to risk a battle without them?" They answered aloud, "Let us not wait; but do you find out some stratagem to bring the enemy, as soon as possible, to an action."

He began with offering sacrifices of purification for his army, and, upon opening the first victim, the soothsayer cried out, "You will fight within three days." Cæsar then asked him, if there appeared in the entrails any auspicious presage? he answered, "It is you who can best resolve that question. The gods announce a great change and revolution in affairs. If you are happy at present, the alteration will be for the worse; if otherwise, expect better fortune." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, there appeared a luminous phenomenon in the air, like a torch, which, as it passed over his camp, flamed out with great brightness, and seemed to fall in that of Pompey. And, in the morning, when the guards were relieved, a tumult was observed in the enemy's camp, not unlike a panic terror. Cæsar, however, so little expected an action that day, that he had ordered his troops to decamp and march to Scotusa*.

But, as they were striking their tents, his scouts rode up, and told him the enemy were coming down to give him battle. Happy in the news, he made his prayer to the gods, and then drew up his army, which he divided into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus was to command the centre, Antony the left wing, and himself the right, where he intended to charge at the head of the tenth legion. Struck with the number and magnificent appearance of the enemy's cavalry,

* Cæsar hoped, by his frequent decampings, to provide better for his troops, and perhaps gain a favourable opportunity of fighting.

who were posted over against him, he ordered six cohorts privately to advance from the rear. These he placed behind the right wing, and gave them instructions what to do when the enemy's horse came to charge*. Pompey's disposition was this: he commanded the right wing himself, Domitius the left, and his father-in-law, Scipio, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing; for they designed to surround the right of the enemy, and to make a successful effort where Cæsar fought in person, thinking that no body of foot could be deep enough to bear such a shock, but they must necessarily be broken in pieces upon the first impression.

When the signal was ready to be given, Pompey ordered his infantry to stand in close order, and wait the enemy's attack, till they were near enough to be reached by the javelin. Cæsar blamed this conduct. He said Pompey was not aware what weight the swift and fierce advance to the first charge gives to every blow, nor how the courage of each soldier is inflamed by the rapid motion of the whole†.

He was now going to put his troops in motion, when he saw a trusty and experienced centurion encouraging his men to distinguish themselves that day. Cæsar called him by his name, and said, "What cheer, Caius Crassinus‡? How, think you, do we stand?"—"Cæsar," said the veteran, in a bold accent, and stretching out his hand, "the victory is ours. It will be a glorious one; and this day I shall have your praise either alive or dead." So saying, he ran in upon the enemy, at the head of his company, which consisted of a hundred and twenty men. He did great execution among the first ranks, and was pressing on with equal fierceness, when one of his antagonists pushed his sword with such force in his mouth, that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

While the infantry were thus warmly engaged in the centre, the cavalry advanced from Pompey's left wing with great confidence, and extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar's right wing: but, before they could begin the attack‖, the six cohorts which Cæsar had

* Cæsar and Appian agree that Pompey posted himself in his left wing, not in the right. It is also highly probable that Afranius, not Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, commanded Pompey's right wing. Cæsar does not, indeed, expressly say who commanded there, but he says, "On the right was posted the legion of Cilicia, with the cohorts brought by Afranius out of Spain, which Pompey esteemed the flower of his army."—See the notes on the Life of Pompey.

† Cæsar was so confident of success, that he ordered his intrenchments to be filled up, assuring his troops that they would be masters of the enemy's camp before night.

‡ Plutarch, in the Life of Pompey, calls him *Crassianus*, Cæsar calls him *Crastinus*.

‖ Cæsar says, they did engage his right wing, and obliged his cavalry to give ground. *Bell. Civil.* lib. iii.

placed behind came up boldly to receive them. They did not, according to custom, attempt to annoy the enemy with their javelins at a distance, nor strike at the legs and thighs when they came nearer, but aimed at their eyes, and wounded them in the face, agreeably to the orders they had received: for Cæsar hoped that these young cavaliers, who had not been used to wars and wounds, and who set a great value upon their beauty, would avoid, above all things, a stroke in that part, and immediately give way, as well on account of the present danger as the future deformity. The event answered his expectation. They could not bear the spears pointed against their faces, or the steel gleaming upon their eyes, but turned away their faces, and covered them with their hands. This caused such confusion, that at last they fled in the most infamous manner, and ruined the whole cause: for the cohorts which had beaten them off surrounded their infantry, and, charging them in the rear as well as in front, soon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, when, from the other wing, he saw his cavalry put to the rout, was no longer himself, nor did he remember that he was Pompey the Great; but, like a man deprived of his senses by some superior power, or struck with consternation at his defeat, as the consequence of the divine decree, he retired to his camp without speaking a word, and sat down in his tent to wait the issue. At last, after his whole army was broken and dispersed, and the enemy had got upon his ramparts, and were engaged with the troops appointed to defend them, he seemed to come to himself, and cried out, "What! into my camp too?" Without uttering one word more, he laid aside the ensigns of his dignity as general, and taking a habit that might favour his flight, he made his escape privately. What misfortune befel him afterwards, how he put himself in the hands of the Egyptians, and was assassinated by the traitors, we have related at large in his life.

When Cæsar entered the camp, and saw what numbers of the enemy lay dead, and those they were then despatching, he said with a sigh, "This they would have, to this cruel necessity they reduced me: for had Cæsar dismissed his troops, after so many great and successful wars, he would have been condemned as a criminal." Asinius Pollio tells us, Cæsar spoke those words in Latin, and that he afterwards expressed the sense of them in Greek. He adds, that most of those who were killed at the taking of the camp were slaves, and that there fell not in the battle above six thousand soldiers*.

* Cæsar says, there fell about fifteen thousand of the enemy, and that he took about twenty-four thousand prisoners; and that, on his side, the loss amounted only to about two hundred private soldiers and thirty centurions.

Cæsar incorporated with his own legions most of the infantry that were taken prisoners, and pardoned many persons of distinction. Brutus, who afterwards killed him, was of the number. It is said, that when he did not make his appearance after the battle, Cæsar was very uneasy, and that, upon his presenting himself unhurt, he expressed great joy.

Among the many signs that announced this victory, that at Tralles was the most remarkable. There was a statue of Cæsar in the temple of victory, and though the ground about it was naturally hard, and paved with hard stone besides, it is said that a palm-tree sprung up at the pedestal of the statue. At Padua, Caius Cornelius, a countryman and acquaintance of Livy, and a celebrated diviner, was observing the flight of birds the day the battle of Pharsalia was fought: by this observation, according to Livy's account, he first discerned the time of action, and said to those that were by, "The great affair now draws to a decision; the two generals are engaged." Then he made another observation, and the signs appeared so clear to him, that he leaped up in the most enthusiastic manner, and cried out, "Cæsar, thou art the conqueror." As the company stood in great astonishment, he took the sacred fillet from his head, and swore "He would never put it on again, till the event had put art beyond question." Livy affirms this for a truth.

Cæsar granted the whole nation of Thessaly their liberty, for the sake of the victory he had gained there, and then went in pursuit of Pompey. He bestowed the same privilege on the Cnidians, in compliment to Theopompus, to whom we are indebted for a collection of fables; and he discharged the inhabitants of Asia from a third part of their imposts.

Upon his arrival at Alexandria, he found Pompey assassinated, and when Theodotus presented the head to him, he turned from the sight with great abhorrence. The signet of that general was the only thing he took, and, on taking it, he wept. As often as any of Pompey's friends and companions were taken by Ptolemy, wandering bout the country, and brought to Cæsar, he loaded them with favours, and took them into his own service. He wrote to his friends t Rome, "That the chief enjoyment he had of his victory was, in aving every day one or other of his fellow-citizens who had borne arms against him."

As for his Egyptian war, some assert that it was undertaken without necessity, and that his passion for Cleopatra engaged him in a quarrel which proved both prejudicial to his reputation, and dangerous to his person. Others accuse the king's ministers, particularly the eunuch Photinus, who had the greatest influence at court, and

who, having taken off Pompey, and removed Cleopatra, privately meditated an attempt against Cæsar. Hence it is said, that Cæsar began to pass the night in entertainments among his friends, for the greater security of his person. The behaviour, indeed, of this eunuch in public, all that he said and did with respect to Cæsar, was intolerably insolent and invidious. The corn he supplied his soldiers with was old and musty, and he told them, "They ought to be satisfied with it, since they lived at other people's cost. He caused only wooden and earthen vessels to be served up at the king's table, on pretence that Cæsar had taken all the gold and silver ones for debt: for the father of the reigning prince owed Cæsar seventeen million five hundred thousand *drachmas*. Cæsar had formerly remitted to his children the rest, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at this time for the maintenance of his army. Photinus, instead of paying the money, advised him to go and finish the great affairs he had upon his hands, after which he should have his money with thanks: but Cæsar told him, "He had no need of Egyptian counsellors," and privately sent for Cleopatra out of the country.

This princess, taking only one friend, Apollodorus the Sicilian, with her, got into a small boat, and in the dusk of the evening made for the palace. As she saw it difficult to enter it undiscovered, she rolled herself up in a carpet; Apollodorus tied her up at full length, like a bale of goods, and carried her in at the gates to Cæsar. This stratagem of hers, which was a strong proof of her wit and ingenuity, is said to have first opened her the way to Cæsar's heart; and the conquest advanced so fast by the charms of her conversation, that he took upon him to reconcile her brother to her, and insisted that she should reign with him.

An entertainment was given on account of this reconciliation, and all met to rejoice on the occasion; when a servant of Cæsar's, who was his barber, a timorous and suspicious man, led by his natural caution to inquire into every thing, and to listen every where about the palace, found that Achillas the general, and Photinus the eunuch, were plotting against Cæsar's life. Cæsar, being informed of their design, planted his guards about the hall, and killed Photinus: but Achillas escaped to the army, and involved Cæsar in a very difficult and dangerous war; for with a few troops he had to make head against a great city and a powerful army.

The first difficulty he met with* was the want of water, the Egyptians having stopped up the aqueducts that supplied his quarter†.

* He was in great danger before, when attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himself master of Alexandria.—*Cæs. Bell. Civil.* lib. iii. *sub finem.*

† They also contrived to raise the sea-water by engines, and pour it into Cæsar's re-

The second was, the loss of his ships in harbour, which he was forced to burn himself, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands; when the flames unfortunately spreading from the dock to the palace, burnt the great Alexandrian library. The third* was in the sea-fight near the Isle of Pharos, when, seeing his men hard pressed, he leaped from the mole into a little skiff to go to their assistance. The Egyptians making up on all sides, he threw himself into the sea, and, with much difficulty, reached his gallies by swimming†. Having several valuable papers, which he was not willing either to lose or to wet, it is said he held them above water with one hand, and swam with the other. The skiff sunk soon after he left it. At last the king joining the insurgents, Cæsar attacked and defeated him. Great numbers of the Egyptians were slain, and the king was heard of no more. This gave Cæsar opportunity to establish Cleopatra queen of Egypt. Soon after she had a son by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæsario.

He then departed for Syria, and from thence marched into Asia Minor, where he had intelligence that Domitius, whom he had left governor, was defeated by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with the few troops he had left; and that Pharnaces, pursuing his advantage with great ardour, had made himself master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was attempting Armenia the Less, having stirred up all the kings and tetrarchs of Asia against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, and defeated him in a great battle near Zela, which deprived him of the kingdom of Pontus, as well as ruined his whole army. In the account he gave Amintius, one of his friends in Rome, of the rapidity and despatch with which he gained his victory, he made use only of three words‡, "I came, I saw, I conquered." Their having all the same form and termination in the Roman language adds grace to their conciseness.

After this extraordinary success he returned to Italy, and arrived at Rome, as the year of his second dictatorship, an office that had never been annual before, was on the point of expiring. He was

servoirs and cisterns; but Cæsar ordered wells to be dug, and in a night's time got a sufficient quantity of fresh water.—Vide *Cæs. Bell. Alex.*

* First, there was a general naval engagement; after which Cæsar attacked the island, and, last of all, the mole. It was in this last attack he was under the difficulty mentioned by Plutarch.

† His first intention was to gain the admiral-galley; but, finding it very hard pressed, he made for the others; and it was fortunate for him that he did, for his own galley soon went to the bottom.

‡ *Veni, vidi, vici.*

declared consul for the year ensuing. But it was a blot in his character that he did not punish his troops, who, in a tumult, had killed Cosconius and Galba, men of prætorian dignity, in any severer manner than by calling them citizens*, instead of fellow-soldiers. Nay, he gave each of them a thousand *drachmas* notwithstanding, and assigned them large portions of land in Italy. Other complaints against him arose from the madness of Dolabella, the avarice of Amintius, the drunkenness of Antony, and the insolence of Cornificius†, who, having got possession of Pompey's house, pulled it down, and rebuilt it, because he thought it not large enough for him. These things were very disagreeable to the Romans. Cæsar knew it, and disapproved such behaviour, but was obliged, through political views, to make use of such ministers.

Cato and Scipio, after the battle of Pharsalia, had escaped into Africa, where they raised a respectable army, with the assistance of king Juba. Cæsar now resolved to carry war into their quarters, and, in order to it, first crossed over to Sicily, though it was about the time of the winter solstice. To prevent his officers from entertaining any hopes of having the expedition delayed, he pitched his own tent almost within the wash of the sea; and a favourable wind springing up, he re-embarked with three thousand foot and a small body of horse‡. After he had landed them safely and privately on the African coast, he set sail again in quest of the remaining part of his troops, whose numbers were more considerable, and for whom he was under great concern. He found them, however, on their way at sea, and conducted them all to his African camp.

He was there informed, that the enemy had great dependence on an ancient oracle, the purport of which was, "That the race of Scipio would be always victorious in Africa." And as he happened to have in his army one of the family of Africanus, named Scipio Sallutius, though in other respects a contemptible fellow, either in ridicule of Scipio, the enemy's general, or to turn the oracle on his side, in all engagements he gave this Sallutius the command, as if he had

* But by this appellation they were cashiered. It was the tenth legion which had mutinied at Capua, and afterwards marched with great insolence to Rome. Cæsar readily gave them the discharge which they demanded, which so humbled them, that they begged to be taken again into his service; and he did not admit of it without much seeming reluctance, nor till after much entreaty.

† It was Antony, not Cornificius, who got the forfeiture of Pompey's house, as appears from the Life of Antony, and Cicero's second Philippic. Therefore, there is probably a transposition in this place, owing to the carelessness of some transcriber.

‡ He embarked six legions, and two thousand horse; but the number mentioned by Plutarch was all that he landed with at first, many of the ships having been separated by a storm.

been really general. There were frequent occasions of this kind; for he was often forced to fight for provisions, having neither a sufficiency of bread for his men, nor of forage for his horses. He was obliged to give his horses the very sea-weed, only washing out the salt, and mixing a little grass with it, to make it go down. The thing that laid him under a necessity of having recourse to this expedient was the number of Numidian cavalry, who were extremely well mounted, and by swift and sudden impressions commanded the whole coast.

One day when Cæsar's cavalry had nothing else to do, they diverted themselves with an African who danced and played upon the flute with great perfection. They had left their horses to the care of boys, and sat attending to the entertainment with great delight, when the enemy, coming upon them at once, killed part, and entered the camp with others, who fled with great precipitation. Had not Cæsar himself, and Asinius Pollio, come to their assistance, and stopped their flight, the war would have been at an end that hour. In another engagement, the enemy had the advantage again; on which occasion it was that Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and making him face about, said, "Look on this side for the enemy."

Scipio, flushed with these successful preludes, was desirous to come to a decisive action. Therefore, leaving Afranius and Juba in their respective camps, which were at no great distance, he went in person to the camp above the lake, in the neighbourhood of Thapsus, to raise a fortification for a place of arms, and an occasional retreat. While Scipio was constructing his walls and ramparts, Cæsar, with incredible despatch, made his way through a country almost impracticable by reason of its woods and difficult passes, and, coming suddenly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put the whole to flight. Then making the best use of his opportunity, and of the favour of fortune, with one tide of success he took the camp of Afranius, and destroyed that of the Numidians; Juba, their king, being glad to save himself by flight. Thus, in a small part of one day, he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of fifty men.

Such is the account some give us of the action: others say, that as Cæsar was drawing up his army, and giving his orders, he had an attack of his old distemper; and that upon its approach, before it had overpowered and deprived him of his senses, as he felt the first agitations, he directed his people to carry him to a neighbouring tower, where he lay in quiet till the fit was over.

Many persons of consular and prætorian dignity escaped out of the battle. Some of them being afterwards taken despatched themselves, and a number were put to death by Cæsar. Having a strong desire to take Cato alive, the conqueror hastened to Utica*, which Cato had the charge of, and for that reason was not in the battle: but by the way he was informed that he had killed himself, and his uneasiness at the news was very visible. As his officers were wondering what might be the cause of that uneasiness, he cried out, "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou enviedst me the glory of giving thee thy life." Nevertheless, by the book which he wrote against Cato after his death, it does not seem as if he had any intentions of favour to him before: for how can it be thought he would have spared the living enemy, when he poured so much venom afterwards upon his grave? Yet, from his clemency to Cicero, to Brutus, and others without number, who had borne arms against him, it is conjectured that the book was not written with a spirit of rancour, but of political ambition; for it was composed on such an occasion. Cicero had written an encomium upon Cato, and he gave the name of *Cato* to the book. It was highly esteemed by many of the Romans, as might be expected, as well from the superior eloquence of the author, as the dignity of the subject. Cæsar was piqued at the success of a work, which, in praising a man who had killed himself to avoid falling into his hands, he thought insinuated something to the disadvantage of his character. He therefore wrote an answer to it, which he called *Anticato*, and which contained a variety of charges against that great man. Both books have still their friends, as a regard to the memory of Cæsar or of Cato predominates.

Cæsar, after his return from Africa to Rome, spoke in high terms of his victory to the people. He told them, he had subdued a country so extensive, that it would bring yearly into the public stores two hundred thousand Attic† measures of wheat, and three millions of pounds of oil. After this, he led up his several triumphs, over Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. In the title of the latter, mention was not made of Scipio, but of Juba only. Juba, the son of that prince, then very young, walked in the procession. It proved a happy captivity for him; for of a barbarous and unlettered Numidian, he became an historian worthy to be numbered among the most learned of Greece.

* Before Cæsar left Utica, he gave orders for the rebuilding of Carthage, as he did, soon after his return to Italy, for the rebuilding of Corinth; so that these two cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about a hundred years. Two years after, they were both repeopled with Roman colonies.

† *Medimni.*—See the table of weights and measures.

The triumph was followed by large donations to the soldiers, and feasts and public diversions for the people. He entertained them at twenty-two thousand tables, and presented them with a numerous show of gladiators and naval fights, in honour of his daughter Julia, who had been long dead.

When those exhibitions were over*, an account was taken of the citizens, who, from three hundred and twenty thousand, were reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand: so fatal a calamity was the civil war, and such a number of the people did it take off, to say nothing of the misfortunes it brought upon the rest of Italy, and all the provinces of the empire.

This business done, he was elected consul the fourth time; and the first thing he undertook was to march into Spain against the sons of Pompey, who, though young, had assembled a numerous army, and showed a courage worthy the command they had undertaken. The great battle which put a period to that war was fought under the walls of Munda. Cæsar at first saw his men so hard pressed, and making so feeble a resistance, that he ran through the ranks, amidst the swords and spears, crying, "Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?" The great and vigorous efforts this reproach produced at last made the enemy turn their backs, and there were more than thirty thousand of them slain, whereas Cæsar lost only a thousand, but those were some of the best men he had. As he retired after the battle, he told his friends, "He had often

* Ruauld takes notice of three great mistakes in this passage. The first is, where it is said that Cæsar took a *census* of the people. Suetonius does not mention it, and Augustus himself, in the *Marmora Ancyrana*, says, that in his sixth consulate, that is, in the year of Rome 725, he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The second is, that, before the civil wars broke out between Cæsar and Pompey, the number of the people in Rome amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for, long before that, it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is asserted, that, in less than three years, those three hundred and twenty thousand were reduced, by that war, to a hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that, a little while after, Cæsar made a draught of eighty thousand, to be sent to foreign colonies. But, what is still stronger, eighteen years after, Augustus took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty-three thousand, as Suetonius assures us. From a passage in the same author (Life of Cæsar, chap. iv.) these mistakes of Plutarch took their rise. Suetonius there says, *Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit: atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico, ad centum quinquaginta retraxit.* Suetonius speaks there of the citizens who shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and, probably, because he perceived that distribution answered in many only the purposes of idleness, he reduced the number to a hundred and twenty thousand. Plutarch mistook *recensunt* for *censum*, and this error led him into the other mistakes.

fought for victory, but that was the first time he had fought for his life."

He won this battle on the day of the *Liberalia**, which was the same day that Pompey the Great marched out four years before. The younger of Pompey's sons made his escape; the other was taken by Didius, a few days after, who brought his head to Cæsar.

This was the last of his wars; and his triumph on account of it gave the Romans more pain than any other step he had taken. He did not now mount the car for having conquered foreign generals or barbarian kings, but for ruining the children, and destroying the race of one of the greatest men Rome had ever produced, though he proved at last unfortunate. All the world condemned his triumphing in the calamities of his country, and rejoicing in things which nothing could excuse, either before the gods or men, but extreme necessity. And it was the more obvious to condemn it; because, before this, he had never sent any messenger or letter to acquaint the public with any victory he had gained in the civil wars, but was rather ashamed of such advantages. The Romans, however, bowing to his power, and submitting to the bridle, because they saw no other respite from intestine wars and miseries, but the taking one man for their master, created him dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for to absolute power they added perpetuity.

Cicero was the first who proposed that the senate should confer great honours upon Cæsar, but honours within the measure of humanity. Those who followed contended with each other which should make him the most extraordinary compliments, and, by the absurdity and extravagance of their decrees, rendered him odious and unsupportable even to persons of candour. His enemies are supposed to vie with his flatterers in these sacrifices, that they might have the better pretence, and the more cause, to lift up their hands against him. This is probable enough; because, in other respects, after the civil wars were brought to an end, his conduct was irreproachable. It seems as if there was nothing unreasonable in their ordering a temple to be built to CLEMENCY, in gratitude for the mercy they had experienced in Cæsar: for he not only pardoned most of those who had appeared against him in the field, but on some of them he bestowed honours and preferments; on Brutus and Cassius for instance; for they were both prætors. The statues of Pompey had been thrown down, but he did not suffer them to lie in that posture; he erected them again: on which occasion Cicero said, "That Cæsar, by rearing Pompey's statues, had established his own."

His friends pressed him to have a guard, and many offered to serve in that capacity, but he would not suffer it: for he said, "It was bet-

* The seventeenth of March.

ter to die once, than to live always in fear of death." He esteemed the affection of the people the most honourable and the safest guard and, therefore, endeavoured to gain them by feasts and distributions of corn, as he did the soldiers, by placing them in agreeable colonies.

The most noted places that he colonized were Carthage and Corinth; of which it is remarkable, that as they were both taken and demolished at the same time, so they were at the same time restored.

The nobility he gained by promising them consulates and prætorships, or, if they were engaged, by giving them other places of honour and profit. To all he opened the prospects of hope; for he was desirous to reign over a willing people. For this reason he was so studious to oblige, that when Fabius Maximus died suddenly towards the close of his consulship, he appointed Caninus Rebilius* consul for the day that remained. Numbers went to pay their respects to him according to custom, and to conduct him to the senate-house; on which occasion Cicero said, "Let us make haste and pay our compliment to the consul, before his office is expired."

Cæsar had such talents for great attempts, and so vast an ambition, that the many actions he had performed by no means induced him to sit down and enjoy the glory he had acquired; they rather whetted his appetite for other conquests, produced new designs equally great, together with equal confidence of success, and inspired him with a passion for fresh renown, as if he had exhausted all the pleasures of the old. This passion was nothing but a jealousy of himself, a contest with himself (as eager as if it had been with another man) to make his future achievements outshine the past. In this spirit he had formed a design, and was making preparations for war against the Parthians. After he had subdued them, he intended to traverse Hyrcania, and, marching along by the Caspian sea and mount Caucasus, to enter Scythia; to carry his conquering arms through the countries adjoining to Germany, and through Germany itself; and then to return by Gaul to Rome: thus finishing the circle of the Roman empire, as well as extending its bounds to the Ocean on every side.

During the preparations for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus. He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, and so into the sea near Tarracina, for the convenience as well as security of merchants who traded to Rome. Another public-spirited work that he meditated was, to drain all the marshes by Nomentum † and Setia, by which

* Macrobius calls him *Rebilus*.

† It appears from a passage in Suetonius, Vit. *Cæs.* c. 44. *Siccare Pomptinas paludes,*

ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thousands of hands in tillage. He proposed further to raise banks on the shore nearest Rome, to prevent the sea from breaking in upon the land; to clear the Ostian shore of its secret and dangerous obstructions, and to build harbours fit to receive the many vessels that came in there. These things were designed, but did not take effect.

He completed, however, the regulation of the kalendar, and corrected the erroneous computation of time*, agreeably to a plan which he had ingeniously contrived, and which proved of the greatest utility. For it was not only in ancient times that the Roman months so ill agreed with the revolution of the year, that the festivals and days of sacrifice, by little and little, fell back into seasons quite opposite to those of their institution; but even in the time of Cæsar, when the solar year was made use of, the generality lived in perfect ignorance of the matter; and the priests, who were the only persons that knew any thing about it, used to add all at once, and when nobody expected it, an intercalary month, called *Mercidonius*, of which Numa was the inventor. That remedy, however, proved much too weak, and was far from operating extensively enough, to correct the great miscomputations of time; as we have observed in that prince's life.

Cæsar having proposed the question to the most able philosophers and mathematicians, published, upon principles already verified, a new and more exact regulation, which the Romans still go by, and by that means are nearer the truth than other nations with respect to the difference between the sun's revolution and that of the twelve months. Yet this useful invention furnished matter of ridicule to the envious, and to those who could but ill brook his power: for Cicero, (if I mistake not), when some one happened to say, "*Lyra* will rise tomorrow," answered, "Undoubtedly; there is an edict for it:" as if the kalendar was forced upon them, as well as other things.

But the principal thing that excited the public hatred, and at last caused his death, was his passion for the title of king. It was the first thing that gave offence to the multitude, and it afforded his inveterate enemies a very plausible plea. Those who wanted to procure him that honour gave it out among the people, that it appeared from the Sibylline books, "The Romans could never conquer the Parthians, except they went to war under the conduct of a king."

as well as from another in Strabo, *Ed. Par.* I. v. p. 231. C. D. that for *Nomentum* we should here read *Pomentium*.

* Through means of that erroneous computation, the Roman kalendar had gained

And one day, when Cæsar returned from Alba to Rome, some of his retainers ventured to salute him by that title. Observing that the people were troubled at this strange compliment, he put on an air of resentment, and said, "He was not called king, but Cæsar." Upon this a deep silence ensued, and he passed on in no good humour.

Another time the senate having decreed him some extravagant honours, the consuls and prætors, attended by the whole body of patricians, went to inform him of what they had done. When they came, he did not rise to receive them, but kept his seat, as if they had been persons in a private station, and his answer to their address was, "That there was more need to retrench his honours, than to enlarge them." This haughtiness gave pain not only to the senate, but the people, who thought the contempt of that body reflected dishonour upon the whole commonwealth; for all who could decently withdraw, went off greatly dejected.

Perceiving the false step he had taken, he retired immediately to his own house, and, laying his neck bare, told his friends, "He was ready for the first hand that would strike." He then bethought himself of alleging his distemper as an excuse; and asserted, that those who are under its influence are apt to find their faculties fail them, when they speak standing: a trembling and giddiness coming upon them, which bereaves them of their senses. This, however, was not really the case; for it is said, he was desirous to rise to the senate; but Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, held him, and had servility enough to say, "Will you not remember that you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay their court to you as their superior?"

These discontents were greatly increased by the indignity with which he treated the tribunes of the people. In the *Lupercalia*, which, according to most writers, is an ancient pastoral feast, and which answers in many respects to the *Lycæa* amongst the Arcadians, young men of noble families, and, indeed, many of the magistrates, run about the streets naked, and, by way of diversion, strike all they meet with leathren thongs with the hair upon them. Numbers of women of the first quality put themselves in their way, and present their hands for stripes, (as scholars do to a master), being persuaded that the pregnant gain an easy delivery by it, and that the barren are enabled to conceive. Cæsar wore a triumphal robe that day, and seated himself in a golden chair upon the *rostra* to see the ceremony.

Antony ran amongst the rest, in compliance with the rules of the festival, for he was consul. When he came into the *forum*, and the

near three months in the time of Cæsar. Before this, endeavours had been used to correct the irregularity, but it never could be done with exactness. See the Life of Numa.

crowd had made way for him, he approached Cæsar, and offered him a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon this some plaudits were heard, but very feeble, because they proceeded only from persons placed there on purpose. Cæsar refused it, and then the plaudits were loud and general. Antony presented it once more, and few applauded his officiousness; but, when Cæsar rejected it again, the applause again was general. Cæsar, undeceived by his second trial, rose up, and ordered the diadem to be consecrated in the capitol.

A few days after, his statues were seen adorned with royal diadems; and Flavius and Marullus, two of the tribunes, went and tore them off. They also found out the persons who first saluted Cæsar king, and committed them to prison. The people followed with cheerful acclamations, and called them *Brutuses*, because Brutus was the man who expelled the kings, and put the government in the hands of the senate and people. Cæsar, highly incensed at their behaviour, deposed the tribunes; and by way of reprimand to them, as well as insult to the people, called them several times *Brutuses* and *Cumæans**.

Upon this, many applied to Marcus Brutus, who, by the father's side, was supposed to be a descendant of that ancient Brutus, and whose mother was of the illustrious house of the Servilii. He was also nephew and son-in-law to Cato. No man was more inclined than he to lift his hand against monarchy, but he was withheld by the honours and favours he had received from Cæsar, who had not only given him his life after the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and pardoned many of his friends at his request, but continued to honour him with his confidence. That very year he had procured him the most honourable prætorship, and he had named him for the consulship four years after, in preference to Cassius, who was his competitor. On which occasion Cæsar is reported to have said, "Cassius assigns the strongest reasons, but I cannot refuse Brutus."

Some impeached Brutus, after the conspiracy was formed; but, instead of listening to them, he laid his hand upon his body, and said, "Brutus will wait for this skin:" intimating, that, though the virtue

* One thing which Strabo mentions as an instance of the stupidity of the Cumæans, namely, their not laying any duty upon merchandise imported into their harbour, seems to be a very equivocal proof of it: for their leaving the port free might bring them trade, and make them a flourishing people. Another thing which he mentions (though it is scarce worth repeating) is, that they had mortgaged their porticoes, and, upon failure of payment of the money, were prohibited by their creditors from walking under them; but at last, when some heavy rains came on, public notice was given by the creditors, that their debtors would be indulged that favour. Hence he tells us that saying, "The Cumæans have not sense to get under shelter when it rains, till they are put in mind of it by the crier."

of Brutus rendered him worthy of empire, he would not be guilty of any ingratitude or baseness to obtain it. Those, however, who were desirous of a change, kept their eyes upon him only, or principally at least; and as they durst not speak out plain, they put billets night after night in the tribunal and seat which he used as prætor, mostly in these terms: "Thou sleepest, Brutus;" or, "Thou art not Brutus."

Cassius, perceiving his friend's ambition a little stimulated by these papers, began to ply him closer than before, and spur him on to the great enterprise; for he had a particular enmity against Cæsar, for the reasons which we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Cæsar, too, had some suspicion of him, and he even said one day to his friends, "What think you of Cassius? I do not like his pale looks." Another time, when Antony and Dolabella were accused of some designs against his person and government, he said, "I have no apprehensions from those fat and sleek men; I rather fear the pale and lean ones;" meaning Cassius and Brutus.

It seems, from this instance, that fate is not so secret as it is inevitable: for we are told, there were strong signs and presages of the death of Cæsar. As to the lights in the heavens, the strange noises heard in various quarters by night, and the appearance of solitary birds in the *forum*, perhaps they deserve not our notice in so great an event as this. But some attention should be given to Strabo the philosopher. According to him, there were seen in the air men of fire encountering each other; such a flame appeared to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, that all the spectators thought it must be burnt, yet, when it was over, he found no harm: and one of the victims which Cæsar offered was found without a heart. The latter was certainly a most alarming prodigy; for, according to the rules of nature, no creature can exist without a heart. What is still more extraordinary, many report, that a certain soothsayer forewarned him of a great danger which threatened him on the Ides of March, and that when the day was come, as he was going to the senate-house, he called to the soothsayer, and said, laughing, "The ides of March are come;" to which he answered, softly, "Yes: but they are not gone."

The evening before, he supped with Marcus Lepidus, and signed, according to custom, a number of letters, as he sat at table. While he was so employed, there arose a question, "What kind of death was the best?" and Cæsar answering before them all, cried out, "A sudden one." The same night, as he was in bed with his wife, the doors and windows of the room flew open at once. Disturbed both with the noise and the light, he observed by moonshine, Calpurnia in a deep sleep, uttering broken words and articulate groans. She

dreamed that she was weeping over him, as she held him murdered in her arms. Others say, she dreamed that the pinnacle* was fallen, which, as Livy tells us, the senate had ordered to be erected upon Cæsar's house, by way of ornament and distinction; and that it was the fall of it which she lamented and wept for. Be that as it may, next morning she conjured Cæsar not to go out that day, if he could possibly avoid it, but to adjourn the senate; and, if he paid no regard to her dreams, to have recourse to some other species of divination, or to sacrifices, for information as to his fate. This gave him some suspicion and alarm; for he had never known before, in Calpurnia, any thing of the weakness and superstition of her sex, though she was now so much affected.

He therefore offered a number of sacrifices, and, as the diviners found no auspicious tokens in any of them, he sent Antony to dismiss the senate. In the mean time, Decius Brutus†, surnamed Albinus, came in. He was a person in whom Cæsar placed such confidence, that he had appointed him his second heir, yet he was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man, fearing that if Cæsar adjourned the senate to another day, the affair might be discovered, laughed at the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be highly to blame, if, by such a slight, he gave the senate an occasion of complaint against him: "For they were met," he said, "at his summons, and came prepared with one voice to honour him with the title of king in the provinces, and to grant that he should wear the diadem both by land and sea every where out of Italy. But if any one go and tell them, now they have taken their places, they must go home again, and return when Calpurnia happens to have better dreams, what room will your enemies have to launch out against you? Or who will hear your friends when they attempt to show, that this is not an open servitude on the one hand, and tyranny on the other? —If you are absolutely persuaded that this is an unlucky day, it is certainly better to go yourself, and tell them you have strong reasons for putting off business till another time." So saying, he took Cæsar by the hand, and led him out.

He was not gone far from the door, when a slave, who belonged to some other person, attempted to get up to speak to him, but finding it impossible, by reason of the crowd that was about him, he made his way into the house, and putting himself into the hands of

* The pinnacle was an ornament usually placed upon the top of their temples, and was commonly adorned with some statues of their gods, figures of victory, or other symbolical device.

† Plutarch, finding a D prefixed to Brutus, took it for *Decius*; but his name was *Decimus Brutus*.—See *Appian* and *Suetonius*.

Calpurnia, desired her to keep him safe till Cæsar's return, because he had matters of great importance to communicate.

Artemidorus the Cnidian, who, by teaching the Greek eloquence, became acquainted with some of Brutus's friends, and had got intelligence of most of the transactions, approached Cæsar with a paper, explaining what he had to discover. Observing that he gave the papers, as fast as he received them, to his officers, he got up as close as possible, and said, "Cæsar, read this to yourself, and quickly; for it contains matters of great consequence, and of the last concern to you." He took it, and attempted several times to read it, but was always prevented by one application or other. He therefore kept that paper, and that only, in his hand, when he entered the house. Some say it was delivered to him by another man*, Artemidorus being kept from approaching him all the way by the crowd.

These things might, indeed, fall out by chance; but as in the place where the senate was that day assembled, and which proved the scene of that tragedy, there was a statue of Pompey, and it was an edifice which Pompey had consecrated for an ornament to his theatre, nothing can be clearer than that some deity conducted the whole business, and directed the execution of it to that very spot. Even Cassius himself, though inclined to the doctrines of Epicurus, turned his eye to the statue of Pompey, and secretly invoked his aid, before the great attempt. The arduous occasion, it seems, overruled his former sentiments, and laid him open to all the influence of enthusiasm. Antony, who was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a man of great strength, was held in discourse without by Brutus Albinus, who had contrived a long story to detain him.

When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honour. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metillius Cimber†, for the recal of his brother from exile. They continued their instances till he came to his seat. When he was seated, he gave them a positive denial; and, as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimber‡, then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack.

* By Caius Trebonius.—So Plutarch says in the Life of Brutus: Appian says the same; and Cicero, too, in his second Philippic.

† *Metillius* is plainly a corruption. Suetonius calls him *Cimber Tullius*. In Appian he is named *Attilius Cimber*, and there is a medal which bears that name; but that medal is believed to be spurious. Some call him Metellus Cimber; and others suppose we should read M. Tullius Cimber.

‡ Here, in the original, it is *Metillius* again.

Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous; for, in the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise, he was probably in some disorder. Cæsar, therefore, turned upon him, and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin, "Villain! Casca! what dost thou mean?" and the other in Greek, to his brother, "Brother, help!"

After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy were seized with consternation and horror, insomuch that they dared neither fly nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that, whatever way he turned, he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice, and a taste of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say he opposed the rest, and continued struggling and crying out, till he perceived the sword of Brutus; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood: so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three-and-twenty wounds. And many of the conspirators wounded each other, as they were aiming their blows at him.

Cæsar thus despatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done, but they could not bear to hear him; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses; others left their shops and counters.—All were in motion: one was running to see the spectacle; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themselves in other people's houses. Meantime Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body, with their bloody swords in their hands, from the senate-house to the capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gaiety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them, and mingled with their train, desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory. Of this number were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity, being put to death by Antony and young Cæsar: so that they

gained not even the honour for which they lost their lives; for nobody believed that they had any part in the enterprise; and they were punished, not for the deed, but for the will.

Next day Brutus and the rest of the conspirators came down from the capitol, and addressed the people, who attended to their discourse, without expressing either dislike or approbation of what was done: but by their silence it appeared that they pitied Cæsar, at the same time that they revered Brutus. The senate passed a general amnesty; and, to reconcile all parties, they decreed Cæsar divine honours, and confirmed all the acts of his dictatorship; while on Brutus and his friends they bestowed governments, and such honours as were suitable: so that it was generally imagined the commonwealth was firmly established again, and all brought into the best order.

But when, upon the opening of Cæsar's will, it was found that he had left every Roman citizen a considerable legacy, and they beheld the body, as it was carried through the *forum*, all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer be kept within bounds: they stopt the procession, and tearing up the benches, with the doors and tables, heaped them into a pile, and burnt the corpse there. Then snatching flaming brands from the pile, some ran to burn the houses of the assassins, while others ranged the city, to find the conspirators themselves, and tear them in pieces; but they had taken such care to secure themselves, that they could not meet with one of them.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæsar's, had a strange dream the preceding night. He dreamed (as they tell us) that Cæsar invited him to supper, and, upon his refusal to go, caught him by the hand, and drew him after him, in spite of all the resistance he could make. Hearing, however, that the body of Cæsar was to be burnt in the *forum*, he went to assist in doing him the last honours, though he had a fever upon him, the consequence of his uneasiness about his dream. On his coming up, one of the populace asked, "Who that was?" and having learned his name, told his next neighbour. A report immediately spread through the whole company, that it was one of Cæsar's murderers; and indeed one of the conspirators was named Cinna. The multitude taking this for the man, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces upon the spot. Brutus and Cassius were so terrified at this rage of the populace, that a few days after they left the city. An account of their subsequent actions, sufferings, and death, may be found in the Life of Brutus.

Cæsar died at the age of fifty-six, and did not survive Pompey above four years. His object was sovereign power and authority, which he pursued through innumerable dangers, and by prodigious efforts

gained it at last: but he reaped no other fruit from it than an empty and invidious title. It is true, the Divine Power which conducted him through life attended him after his death as his avenger, pursued and haunted out the assassins over sea and land, and rested not till there was not a man left, either of those who dipt their hands in his blood, or of those who gave their sanction to the deed.

The most remarkable of natural events relative to this affair was, that Cassius, after he had lost the battle of Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar; and the most signal phenomenon in the heavens was that of a great comet*, which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared. To which we may add the fading of the sun's lustre; for his orb looked pale all that year; he rose not with a sparkling radiance, nor had the heat he afforded its usual strength. The air, of course, was dark and heavy, for want of that vigorous heat which clears and rarefies it; and the fruits were so crude and unconcocted, that they pined away and decayed, through the chilness of the atmosphere.

We have a proof still more striking that the assassination of Cæsar was displeasing to the gods, in the phantom that appeared to Brutus. The story of it is this: Brutus was on the point of transporting his army from Abydos to the opposite continent; and the night before he lay in his tent, awake, according to custom, and in deep thought about what might be the event of the war; for it was natural for him to watch great part of the night, and no general ever required so little sleep. With all his senses about him, he heard a noise at the door of his tent, and looking towards the light, which was now burnt very low, he saw a terrible appearance, in the human form, but of prodigious stature and the most hideous aspect. At first he was struck with astonishment; but when he saw it neither did nor spoke any thing to him, but stood in silence by his bed, he asked it, "Who art thou?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see me at Philippi." Brutus answered boldly, "I'll meet thee there;" and the spectre immediately vanished.

Some time after, he engaged Antony and Octavius Cæsar at Philippi, and the first day was victorious, carrying all before him where he fought in person, and even pillaging Cæsar's camp. The

* "A comet made its appearance in the north, while we were celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar, and shone bright for seven days. It arose about the eleventh hour of the day, and was seen by all nations. It was commonly believed to be a sign that the soul of Cæsar was admitted among the gods, for which reason we added a star to the head of his statue, consecrated soon after in the *forum*."—*Fragm. Aug. Cæs. ap. Plin.* l. ii c. 25.

night before he was to fight the second battle, the same spectre appeared to him again, but spoke not a word. Brutus, however, understood that his last hour was near, and courted danger with all the violence of despair. Yet he did not fall in the action; but seeing all lost, he retired to the top of a rock, where he presented his naked sword to his breast, and a friend, as they tell us, assisting the thurst, he died upon the spot*.

PHOCION.

DEMADES the orator, by studying in his whole administration to please the Macedonians and Antipater, had authority in Athens. When he found himself, by that complaisance, often obliged to propose laws and make speeches injurious to the dignity and virtue of his country, he used to say, "He was excusable, because he came to the helm when the commonwealth was no more than a wreck." This assertion, which in him was unwarrantable, was true enough when applied to the administration of Phocion. Demades was the very man who wrecked his country: he pursued such a vicious plan, both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater scrupled not to say of him, when he was grown old, "That he was like a sacrificed beast, all consumed except his tongue and his paunch†." But the virtue of Phocion found a strong and powerful adversary in the

* Whatever Plutarch's motive may have been, it is certain that he has given us a very inadequate and imperfect idea of the character of Cæsar. The life he has written is a confused jumble of facts, snatched from different historians, without order, consistency, regularity, or accuracy. He has left us none of those finer and minuter traits which, as he elsewhere justly observes, distinguish and characterize the man more than his operations. He has written the life of Cæsar like a man under restraint; has skimmed over his actions, and shown a manifest satisfaction when he could draw the attention of the reader to other characters and circumstances, however insignificant, or how often soever repeated by himself in the narrative of other lives. Yet, from the little light he has afforded us, and from the better accounts of other historians, we may easily discover that Cæsar was a man of great and distinguished virtues. Had he been as able in his political as he was in his military capacity, had he been capable of hiding, or even of managing, that openness of mind, which was the connate attendant of his liberality and ambition, the last prevailing passion would not have blinded him so far as to put so early a period to his race of glory.

† The tongue and the paunch were not burnt with the rest of the victim: the paunch used to be stuffed and served up at table, and the tongue was burnt on the altar at the end of the entertainment, in honour of Mercury, and had libations poured upon it. Of this there are many examples in Homer's Odyssey.

times, and its glory was obscured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. For virtue is not so weak as Sophocles would make her, nor is the sentiment just which he puts in the mouth of one of the persons of his drama,

> .... The firmest mind will fail
> Beneath misfortune's stroke, and, stunn'd, depart
> From its sage plan of action*.

All the advantage that Fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the good and virtuous, is the bringing upon them unjust reproach and censure, instead of the honour and esteem which are their due, and by that means lessening the confidence the world would have in their virtue.

It is imagined, indeed, that when affairs prosper, the people, elated with their strength and success, behave with greater insolence to good ministers; but it is the very reverse: misfortunes always sour their temper; the least thing will then disturb them; they take fire at trifles; and they are impatient of the least severity of expression. He who reproves their faults seems to reproach them with their misfortunes, and every bold and free address is considered as an insult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member smart, so it often happens that a remonstrance, though pregnant with truth and sense, hurts and irritates the distressed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expresses such things as are pleasant by the word *menoikes*, which signifies what is *symphonious to the mind*, what sooths its weakness, and bears not hard upon its inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark brown colours, and avoid such as are bright and glaring. So it is with a state, in any series of ill-conducted and unprosperous measures; such is the feeble and relaxed condition of its nerves, that it cannot bear the least alarm; the voice of truth, which brings its faults to its remembrance, gives it inexpressible pain, though not only salutary, but necessary; and it will not be heard, except its harshness be modified. It is a difficult task to govern such a people; for, if the man who tells them the truth falls the first sacrifice, he who flatters them at last perishes with them.

The mathematicians say, the sun does not move in the same direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite opposite, but circulating with a gentle and almost insensible obliquity, gives the whole system such a temperature as tends to its preservation. So, in a system of government, if a statesman is determined to describe a straight line, and in all things to go against the inclinations of the people, such rigour must make his administration odious; and, on

* Sophoc. Antig. l. 569. and 570.

the other hand, if he suffers himself to be carried along with their most erroneous motions, the government will soon be in a tottering and ruinous state. The latter is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle course, sometimes slackening the reins, and sometimes keeping a tighter hand, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only measures that are formed upon rational principles: for a well-timed condescension and moderate treatment will bring men to concur in many useful schemes, which they could not be brought into by despotism and violence. It must be acknowledged, that this medium is difficult to hit upon, because it requires a mixture of dignity with gentleness; but when the just temperature is gained, it presents the happiest and most perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this sublime harmony the Supreme Being governs the world; for nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands, and though his influence is irresistible, it is rational and mild.

The effects of austerity were seen in the younger Cato. There was nothing engaging or popular in his behaviour; he never studied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the administration was not great. Cicero says, "He acted as if he had lived in the commonwealth of Plato, not in the dregs of Romulus, and by that means fell short of the consulate*." His case appears to me to have been the same with that of fruit which comes out of season: people look upon it with pleasure and admiration, but they make no use of it. Thus the old-fashioned virtue of Cato, making its appearance amidst the luxury and corruption which time had introduced, had all the splendour of reputation which such a phenomenon could claim, but it did not answer the exigences of the state; it was disproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for use. Indeed, his circumstances were not altogether like those of Phocion, who came not into the administration till the state was sinking†; whereas Cato had only to save the ship beating about in the storm. At the same time we must allow that he had not the principal direction of her; he sat not at the helm; he could do no more than help to hand the sails and the tackle. Yet he maintained a noble conflict with Fortune, who, having determined to ruin the commonwealth, effected it by a variety of hands, but with great difficulty, by slow steps and gradual advances: so near was Rome being saved by Cato, and Cato's virtue! With

* The passage here referred to is in the first epistle of Cicero's second book to Atticus. But we find nothing there of the repulse Cato met with in his application for the consulship. That repulse, indeed, did not happen till eight years after the date of that epistle.

† Our author means, that uncommon and extraordinary efforts were more necessary to save the poor remains of a wreck than to keep a ship, yet whole and entire, from sinking.

it we would compare that of Phocion; not in a general manner, so as to say that they were both persons of integrity, and able statesmen; for there is a difference between valour and valour, for instance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; the prudence of Themistocles and that of Aristides were not the same; justice was of one kind in Numa, and in Agesilaus of another: but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the same in the most minute particular; their impression, form, and colour, are perfectly similar. Thus their severity of manners was equally tempered with humanity, and their valour with caution; they had the same solicitude for others, and disregard for themselves; the same abhorrence of every thing base and dishonourable, and the same firm attachment to justice on all occasions; so that it requires a very delicate expression, like the finely discriminated sounds of the organ, to mark the difference in their characters.

It is universally agreed that Cato was of an illustrious pedigree, which we shall give some account of in his life; and we conjecture that Phocion's was not mean or obscure: for, had he been the son of a turner, it would certainly have been mentioned by Glaucippus, the son of Hyperides, among a thousand other things, in the treatise which he wrote on purpose to disparage him. Nor, if his birth had been so low, would he have had so good an education, or such a liberal mind and manners. It is certain, that, when very young, he was in tuition with Plato, and afterwards with Xenocrates in the academy; and from the very first he distinguished himself by his strong application to the most valuable studies. Duris tells us, the Athenians never saw him either laugh or cry, or make use of a public bath, or put his hand from under his cloke when he was dressed to appear in public. If he made an excursion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always barefooted, and without his upper garment too, except it happened to be intolerably cold; and then his soldiers used to laugh, and say, "It is a sign of a sharp winter; Phocion has got his clothes on."

He was one of the most humane and best-tempered men in the world, and yet he had so ill-natured and forbidding a look, that strangers were afraid to address him without company. Therefore, when Chares the orator observed to the Athenians, what terrible brows Phocion had, and they could not help making themselves merry, he said, "This brow of mine never gave one of you an hour of sorrow; but the laughter of these sneerers has cost their country many a tear." In like manner, though the measures he proposed were happy ones, and his counsels of the most salutary kind, yet he used no flowers of rhetoric; his speeches were concise, commanding, and severe: for,

as Zeno says that a philosopher should never let a word come out of his mouth that is not strongly tinctured with sense, so Phocion's oratory contained the most sense in the fewest words. And it seems that Polyeuctus the Sphettian had this in view when he said, "Demosthenes was the better orator, and Phocion the more persuasive speaker. His speeches were to be estimated like coins, not for the size, but for the intrinsic value. Agreeably to which, we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people, Phocion was observed behind the scenes wrapped up in thought, when one of his friends took occasion to say, "What! at your meditations, Phocion!" "Yes," said he, "I am considering whether I cannot shorten what I have to say to the Athenians." And Demosthenes, who despised the other orators, when Phocion got up, used to say to his friends, softly, "Here comes the pruner of my periods." But perhaps this is to be ascribed to the excellence of his character, since a word or a nod from a person revered for his virtue is of more weight than the most elaborate speeches of other men.

In his youth he served under Chabrias, then commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained much military knowledge by him. In some degree, too, he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven: for that general, though at other times scarce any thing could move him, in time of action was violent, and exposed his person with a boldness ungoverned by discretion. At last it cost him his life, when he made it a point to get in before the other galleys to the Isle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of the sword. Phocion, whose prudence was equal to his courage, animated him when he was too slow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act coolly when he was unseasonably violent. This gained him the affection of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he assigned him commissions and enterprises of great importance, which raised him to the notice of the Greeks: particularly, in the sea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head the squadron on the left, where the action was hottest, had a fine opportunity to distinguish himself, and he made such use of it, that victory soon declared for the Athenians; and as this was the first victory they had gained at sea, in a dispute with Greeks, since the taking of their city, they expressed the highest regard for Chabrias, and began to consider Phocion as a person in whom they should one day find an able commander. This battle was won during the celebration of the great mysteries; and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the sixteenth day of September.

Some time after this, Chabrias sent Phocion to the islands to de-

mand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty sail. But Phocion said, "If you send me against enemies, such a fleet is too small: if to friends, one ship is sufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and, by addressing himself to the cities and magistrates in an open and humane manner, he succeeded so well as to return with a number of ships which the allies fitted out, and at the same time put their respective quotas of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but, after his death, continued his attentions to all that belonged to him. With his son Ctesippus, he took peculiar care to form him to virtue; and though he found him very stupid and untractable, yet he still laboured to correct his errors, as well as to conceal them. Once, indeed, his patience failed him: in one of his expeditions the young man was so troublesome with unseasonable questions and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the general, that at last he cried out, "O Chabrias, Chabrias, what a return do I make thee for thy favours, in bearing with the impertinences of thy son!"

He observed, that those who took upon them the management of public affairs made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they shared as it were by lot. Pursuant to this division, Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, addressed the people from the rostrum, and proposed new edicts; while Diophites, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, raised themselves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion chose rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators, but as generals; for he thought their fame more complete; each of these great men (to use the words of Archilochus) appearing justly to claim

The palms of Mars, and laurels of the muse:

and he knew that the tutelar goddess of Athens was equally the patroness of arts and arms.

Formed upon these models, peace and tranquillity were the great objects he had always in view; yet he was engaged in more wars than any person, either of his own or of the preceding times: not that he courted or even applied for the command; but he did not decline it when called to that honour by his countrymen. It is certain, he was elected general no less than five-and-forty times, without once attending to the election; being always appointed in his absence at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of shallow understanding were surprised that the people should set such a value on Phocion, who generally opposed their inclinations, and never said or did any thing with a view to recommend himself. For, as princes divert

themselves at their meals with buffoons and jesters, so the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable address of their orators by way of entertainment only; but when the question was concerning so important a business as the command of their forces, they returned to sober and serious thinking, and selected the wisest citizen, and the man of the severest manners, who had combated their capricious humours and desires the most. This he scrupled not to avow: for one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the assembly, importing "That the rest of the Athenians were unanimous in their opinions, and that there was only one man who dissented from them," Phocion stepped up and told them, "They need not give themselves any trouble in inquiring for this refractory citizen, for he was the man who liked not any thing they did." And another time, in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with universal applause, he turned to his friends, and said, "Have I inadvertently let some bad thing slip from me?"

The Athenians were one day making a collection to defray the charge of a public sacrifice, and numbers gave liberally. Phocion was importuned to contribute among the rest; but he bade them apply to the rich: "I should be ashamed," said he, "to give you any thing, and not to pay this man what I owe him;" pointing to the usurer Callicles. And as they continued very clamorous and teazing, he told them this tale: "A cowardly fellow once resolved to make a campaign; but, when he was set out, the ravens began to croak, and he laid down his arms and stopped. When the first alarm was a little over, he marched again: the ravens renewed their croaking, and then he made a full stop, and said—You may croke your hearts out, if you please, but you shall not taste my carcase."

The Athenians once insisted on his leading them against the enemy, and, when he refused, they told him, nothing could be more dastardly and spiritless than his behaviour. He answered, "You can neither make me valiant, nor can I make you cowards: however, we know one another very well."

Public affairs happening to be in a dangerous situation, the people were greatly exasperated against him, and demanded an immediate account of his conduct: upon which he only said, "My good friends, first get out of your difficulties."

During a war, however, they were generally humble and submissive, and it was not till after peace was made, that they began to talk in a vaunting manner, and to find fault with their general. As they were one time telling Phocion he had robbed them of the victory, which was in their hands, he said, "It is happy for you that you have a

general who knows you; otherwise you would have been ruined long ago."

Having a difference with the Bœotians, which they refused to settle by treaty, and proposed to decide by the sword, Phocion said, "Good people, keep to the method in which you have the advantage; and that is talking, not fighting."

One day, determined not to follow his advice, they refused to give him the hearing: but he said, "Though you can make me act against my judgment, you shall never make me speak so."

Demosthenes, one of the orators of the adverse party, happening to say, "The Athenians will certainly kill thee, Phocion, some time or other:" he answered, "They may kill *me*, if they are mad, but it will be *you* if they are in their senses."

When Polyeuctus the Sphettian advised the Athenians to make war upon Philip, the weather being hot, and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himself out of breath, and perspired so violently, that he was forced to take several draughts of cold water, before he could finish his speech. Phocion, seeing him in such a condition, thus addressed the assembly—"You have great reason to pass an edict for the war, upon this man's recommendation: for what are you not to expect from him, when, loaded with a suit of armour, he marches against the enemy, if, in delivering to you (peaceable folks) a speech which he had composed at his leisure, he is ready to be suffocated?"

Lycurgus, the orator, one day said many disparaging things of him in the general assembly, and among the rest observed, that when Alexander demanded ten of their orators, Phocion gave it as his opinion, that they should be delivered to him. "It is true," said Phocion, "I have given the people of Athens much good counsel, but they do not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of Laconistes by letting his beard grow long, in the Lacedæmonian manner, wearing a threadbare cloke, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his assertions much contradicted in the assembly, called upon this man to support the truth and rectitude of what he had said. Archibiades, however, ranged himself on the people's side, and advised what he thought agreeable to them. Then Phocion, taking him by the beard, said, "What is all this heap of hair for? Cut it, cut it off."

Aristogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and pressed them much to declare war: but when the lists came to be made out of those that were to serve, this swag-

gerer had got his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion, as he sat upon the business, seeing him at some distance in this form, called out to his secretary to " put down Aristogiton a cripple and a coward."

All these sayings have something so severe in them, that it seems strange that a man of such austere and unpopular manners should ever get the surname of the *Good.* It is, indeed, difficult, but I believe not impossible, for the same man to be both rough and gentle, as some wines are both sweet and sour: and, on the other hand, some men who have a great appearance of gentleness in their temper, are very harsh and vexatious to those who have to do with them. In this case, the saying of Hyperides to the people of Athens deserves notice: " Examine not whether I am severe upon you, but whether I am so for my own sake." As if it were avarice only that makes a minister odious to the people, and that the abuse of power to the purposes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge, did not make a man equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himself against any man in his private capacity, nor considered him as an enemy; but he was inflexibly severe against every man who opposed his motions and designs for the public good. His behaviour, in other respects, was liberal, benevolent, and humane; the unfortunate he was always ready to assist, and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends one day finding fault with him for appearing in behalf of a man whose conduct did not deserve it, he said, " The good have no need of an advocate." Aristogiton, the informer, being condemned and committed to prison, begged the favour of Phocion to go and speak to him, and he hearkened to his application. His friends dissuaded him from it, but he said, " Let me alone, good people: where can one rather wish to speak to Aristogiton than in a prison?"

When the Athenians sent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and islands in alliance with that people looked upon every such commander as an enemy: they strengthened their walls, shut up their harbours, and conveyed the cattle, the slaves, the women, and children, out of the country into the cities: but when Phocion had the command, the same people went out to meet him in their own ships, with chaplets on their heads, and every expression of joy, and in that manner conducted him into their cities.

Philip endeavoured privately to get footing in Eubœa, and for that purpose sent in forces from Macedon, as well as practised upon the towns by means of the petty princes. Hereupon Plutarch of Eretria

called in the Athenians, and entreated them to rescue the island out of the hands of the Macedonians: in consequence of which, they sent Phocion at first with a small body of troops, expecting that the Eubœans would immediately rise and join him: but, when he came, he found nothing among them but treasonable designs and disaffection to their own country, for they were corrupted by Philip's money.—For this reason he seized an eminence separated from the plains of Tamynæ by a deep defile, and in that post he secured the best of his troops. As for the disorderly, the talkative, and cowardly part of the soldiers, if they attempted to desert and steal out of the camp, he ordered the officers to let them go. "For," said he, "if they stay here, such is their want of discipline, that, instead of being serviceable, they will be prejudicial in time of action; and as they will be conscious to themselves of flying from their colours, we shall not have so much noise and calumny from them in Athens."

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to stand to their arms, but not attempt any thing till he had made an end of his sacrifice: and, whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not easily find the auspicious tokens, or was desirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. Meanwhile Plutarch, imagining that this delay was owing to his fear and irresolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries; and the cavalry, seeing him in motion, could wait no longer, but advanced against the enemy, though in a scattered and disorderly manner, as they happened to issue out of the camp. The first line being soon broken, all the rest dispersed, and Plutarch himself fled. A detachment from the enemy then attacked the intrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, supposing that the fate of the day was decided: but at that instant Phocion had finished his sacrifice, and the Athenians, sallying out of the camp, fell upon the assailants, routed them, and cut most of them to pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main body directions to keep their ground, in order to receive and cover such as were dispersed in the first attack, while he, with a select party, went and charged the enemy. A sharp conflict ensued, both sides behaving with great spirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus the son of Cineas, and Glaucus the son of Polymedes, who fought near the general's person, distinguished themselves the most. Cleophanes, too, did great service in the action; for he rallied the cavalry, and brought them up again, by calling after them, and insisting that they should come to the assistance of their general, who was in danger. They returned, therefore, to the charge, and, by the assistance which they gave the infantry, secured the victory.

Phocion, after the battle, drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himself master of Zaretra, a fort advantageously situated where the island draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each side by the sea. He did not choose, in pursuance of his victory, to take the Greeks prisoners, lest the Athenians, influenced by their orators, should, in the first motions of resentment, pass some unequitable sentence upon them.

After this great success, he sailed back to Athens. The allies soon found the want of his goodness and justice, and the Athenians saw his capacity and courage in a clear light: for Molossus, who succeeded him, conducted the war so ill as to fall himself into the enemy's hands. Philip, now rising in his designs and hopes, marched to the Hellespont with all his forces, in order to seize at once on the Chersonesus, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to send succours to that quarter, the orators prevailed upon them to give that commission to Chares.—Accordingly he sailed to those parts, but did nothing worthy of such a force as he was intrusted with. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but, suspected by all, he beat about, raising contributions where he could upon the allies, and at the same time was despised by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other side, exasperated the people to such a degree, that they repented of having sent any succours to the Byzantians. Then Phocion rose up, and told them, "They should not be angry at the suspicions of the allies, but at their own generals, who deserved not to have any confidence placed in them: for, on their account," said he, "you are looked upon with an eye of jealousy by the very people who cannot be saved without your assistance." This argument had such an effect on them, that they changed their minds again, and bade Phocion go himself with another armament to the succour of the allies upon the Hellespont.

This contributed more than any thing to the saving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation was already great: besides, Cleon, a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf.—The Byzantians would then no longer let him encamp without, but, opening their gates, received him into their city, and mixed familiarly with the Athenians, who, charmed with this confidence, were not only easy with respect to provisions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themselves with great spirit in every action. By these means Philip was forced to retire from the Hellespont, and he suffered not a little in his military reputation, for till then he had been deemed invincible. Phocion took some of his ships, and recovered

several cities which he had garrisoned; and making descents in various parts of his territories, he harassed and ravaged the flat country. But at last, happening to be wounded by a party that made head against him, he weighed anchor and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarensians applied to him privately for assistance: and as he was afraid the matter would get air, and the Bœotians would prevent him, he assembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no sooner given their sanction to the proposal, than he ordered the trumpets to sound as a signal for them to arm; after which he marched immediately to Megara, where he was received with great joy. The first thing he did was to fortify Nisæa, and to build two good walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a safe communication with the sea, and, having now little to fear from the enemy on the land side, was secured in the Athenian interest.

The Athenians being now clearly in a state of hostility with Philip, the conduct of the war was committed to other generals in the absence of Phocion. But, on his return from the islands, he represented to the people, that as Philip was peaceably disposed, and apprehensive of the issue of the war, it was best to accept the conditions he had offered. And when one of those public barristers, who spend their whole time in the court of Heliaca, and make it their business to form impeachments, opposed him, and said, "Dare you, Phocion, pretend to dissuade the Athenians from war, now the sword is drawn?" "Yes," said he, "I dare; though I know thou wouldst be in my power in time of war, and I shall be in thine in time of peace." Demosthenes, however, carried it against him for war; which he advised the Athenians to make at the greatest distance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occasion to say, "My good friend, consider not so much where we shall fight, as how we shall conquer; for victory is the only thing that can keep the war at a distance. If we are beaten, every danger will soon be at our gates."

The Athenians did lose the day; after which the most factious and troublesome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the hustings, and insisted that he should have the command. This alarmed the real well-wishers to their country so much, that they called in the members of the Areopagus to their assistance; and it was not without many tears, and the most earnest entreaties, that they prevailed upon the assembly to put their concerns in the hands of Phocion.

He was of opinion, that the other proposals of Philip should be readily accepted, because they seemed to be dictated by humanity;

but when Demades moved that Athens should be comprehended in the general peace, and, as one of the states of Greece, should have the same terms with the other cities, Phocion said, "It ought not to be agreed to, till it was known what conditions Philip required." The times were against him, however, and he was overruled. And when he saw the Athenians repented afterwards, because they found themselves obliged to furnish Philip both with ships of war and cavalry, he said, "This was the thing I feared; and my opposition was founded upon it: but since you have signed the treaty, you must bear its inconveniences without murmuring or despondence; remembering that your ancestors sometimes gave law to their neighbours, and sometimes were forced to submit, but did both with honour; and by that means saved themselves and all Greece."

When the news of Philip's death was brought to Athens, he would not suffer any sacrifices or rejoicings to be made on that account. "Nothing," said he, "could show greater meanness of spirit, than expressions of joy at the death of an enemy. What great reason, indeed, is there for it, when the army you fought with at Cheronæa is lessened only by one man?"

Demosthenes gave into invectives against Alexander, when he was marching against Thebes, the ill policy of which Phocion easily perceived, and said,

> What boots the godlike giant to provoke,
> Whose arm may sink us at a single stroke*?—*Pope, Odyss.* ix.

"When you see such a dreadful fire near you, would you plunge Athens into it? For my part, I will not suffer you to ruin yourselves, though your inclinations lie that way; and to prevent every step of that kind is the end I proposed in taking the command."

When Alexander had destroyed Thebes, he sent to the Athenians, and demanded that they should deliver up to him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus. The whole assembly cast their eyes on Phocion, and called upon him often by name. At last he rose up, and placing him by one of his friends, who had the greatest share in his confidence and affection, he expressed himself as follows: "The persons whom Alexander demands have brought the commonwealth into such miserable circumstances, that if he demanded even my friend Nicocles, I should vote for delivering him up. For my own part, I should think it the greatest happiness to die for you all. At the same time, I am not without compassion for

* These words were addressed to Ulysses by his companions, to restrain him from provoking the giant Polyphemus, after they were escaped out of his cave, and got on board their ship.

the poor Thebans who have taken refuge here; but it is enough for Greece to weep for Thebes, without weeping for Athens too. The best measure, then, we can take, is, to intercede with the conqueror for both, and by no means to think of fighting."

The first decree drawn up in consequence of these deliberations, Alexander is said to have rejected, and to have turned his back upon the deputies: but the second he received, because it was brought by Phocion, who, as his old counsellors informed him, stood high in the esteem of his father Philip. He therefore not only gave him a favourable audience and granted his request, but even listened to his counsel. Phocion advised him, "If tranquillity was his object, to put an end to his wars; if glory, to leave the Greeks in quiet, and turn his arms against the barbarians." In the course of their conference, he made many observations so agreeable to Alexander's disposition and sentiments, that his resentment against the Athenians was perfectly appeased, and he was pleased to say, "The people of Athens must be very attentive to the affairs of Greece, for, if any thing happens to me, the supreme direction will devolve upon them." With Phocion, in particular, he entered into obligations of friendship and hospitality, and did him greater honours than most of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris tells us, that after that prince was risen to superior greatness by the conquest of Darius, and had left out the word *chairein*, the common form of salutation, in his address to others, he still retained it in writing to Phocion, and to nobody besides, except Antipater. Chares asserts the same.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he sent him a hundred talents. When the money was brought to Athens, Phocion asked the persons employed in that commission, "Why, among all the citizens of Athens, he should be singled out as the object of such bounty?" "Because," said they, "Alexander looks upon you as the only honest and good man." "Then," said Phocion, "let him permit me always to retain that character, as well as really to be that man." The envoys then went home with him, and when they saw the frugality that reigned there, his wife baking bread, himself drawing water, and afterwards washing his own feet, they urged him the more to receive the present. They told him, "It gave them real uneasiness, and was indeed an intolerable thing, that the friend of so great a prince should live in such a wretched manner." At that instant, a poor old man happening to pass by in a mean garment, Phocion asked the envoys, "Whether they thought worse of him than of that man?" As they begged of him not to make such a comparison, he rejoined,

"Yet that man lives upon less than I do, and is contented. In one word, it will be to no purpose for me to have so much money, if I do not use it; and if I was to live up to it, I should bring both myself and the king, your master, under the censure of the Athenians." Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole transaction was a good lesson to the Greeks, *That the man who did not want such a sum of money, was richer than he who could bestow it.*

Displeased at the refusal of his present, Alexander wrote to Phocion, "That he could not number those among his friends who would not receive his favours. Yet Phocion even then would not take the money. However, he desired the king to set at liberty Echecratides the sophist, and Athenodorus the Iberian, as also Demaratus and Sparto, two Rhodians, who were taken up for certain crimes, and kept in custody at Sardis.—Alexander granted his request immediately; and afterwards, when he sent Craterus into Macedonia, ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of these four cities in Asia, Cios, Gergithus, Mylassa, or Elæa. At the same time he was to assure him, that the king would be much more disobliged, if he refused this second offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died soon after.

Phocion's house is shown to this day in the borough of Melita, adorned with some plates of copper, but otherwise plain and homely.

Of his first wife we have no account, except that she was sister to Cephisodotus the statuary. The other was a matron no less celebrated among the Athenians for her modesty, prudence, and simplicity of manners, than Phocion himself was for his probity. It happened one day, when some new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players, who was to personate the queen, demanded a suitable mask (and attire), together with a large train of attendants richly dressed; and, as all these things were not granted him, he was out of humour, and refused to make his appearance; by which means the whole business of the theatre was at a stand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, pushed him in, and said, "Thou seest the wife of Phocion appear in public with one maid-servant only, and dost thou come here to show thy pride, and to spoil our women?" As Melanthius spoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he had said with a thunder of applause. When this second wife of Phocion entertained in her house an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady showed her her bracelets and necklaces, which had all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them: upon which

the good matron said, "Phocion is my ornament, who is now called the twentieth time to the command of the Athenian armies."

The son of Phocion was ambitious of trying his skill in the games of *panathenæa**, and his father permitted him to make the trial, on condition that it was in the foot races: not that he set any value upon the victory, but he did it that the preparations and previous exercise might be of service to him; for the young man was of a disorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance desired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houses; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the house, he saw every thing prepared in the most extravagant manner, and, among the rest, that wine mingled with spices was provided for washing the feet of the guests. He therefore called his son to him, and said, "Phocus, why do you suffer your friend thus to sully the honour of your victory†"

In order to correct in his son entirely that inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedæmon, and put him among the young men who were brought up in all the rigour of the ancient discipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, because it showed in what contempt he held the manners and customs of his own country. Demades one day said to him, "Why do not we, Phocion, persuade the people to adopt the Spartan form of government? If you choose it, I will propose a decree for it, and support it in the best manner I am able." "Yes, indeed," said Phocion, "it would become you much, with all those perfumes about you, and that pride of dress, to launch out in praise of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonian frugality!"

Alexander wrote to the Athenians for a supply of ships, and the orators opposing it, the senate asked Phocion his opinion. "I am of opinion," said he, "that you should either have the sharpest sword, or keep upon good terms with those who have."

Pytheas the orator, when he first began to speak in public, had a torrent of words, and the most consummate assurance: upon which Phocion said, "Is it for thee to prate so, who art but a novice amongst us?"

When Harpalus had traiterously carried off Alexander's treasures from Babylon, and came with them from Asia to Attica, a number of the mercenary orators flocked to him, in hopes of sharing the spoil. He gave these some small taste of his wealth, but

* See the Life of Theseus.

† The victory was obtained by means of abstemiousness and laborious exercise, to which such indulgences were quite contrary.

to Phocion he sent no less than seven hundred talents; assuring him, at the same time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him into his protection. But his messengers found a disagreeable reception: Phocion told them, that "Harpalus should repent it, if he continued thus to corrupt the city." And the traitor, dejected at his disappointment, stopped his hand. A few days after, a general assembly being held on this affair, he found that the men who had taken his money, in order to exculpate themselves, accused him to the people; while Phocion, who would accept of nothing, was inclined to serve him, as far as might be consistent with the public good. Harpalus, therefore, paid his court to him again, and took every method to shake his integrity, but he found the fortress on all sides impregnable. Afterwards he applied to Charicles, Phocion's son-in-law, and his success with him gave just cause of offence; for all the world saw how intimate he was with him, and that all his business went through his hands. Upon the death of his mistress Pythionice, who had brought him a daughter, he even employed Charicles to get a superb monument built for her, and for that purpose furnished him with vast sums. This commission, dishonourable enough in itself, became more so by the manner in which he acquitted himself of it: for the monument is still to be seen at Hermos, on the road between Athens and Eleusis; and there appears nothing in it answerable to the charge of thirty talents, which was the account that Charicles brought in*. After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion took his daughter under their guardianship, and educated her with great care. At last Charicles was called to account by the public for the money he had received of Harpalus; and he desired Phocion to support him with his interest, and to appear with him in the court: but Phocion answered, "I made you my son-in-law only for just and honourable purposes."

The first person that brought the news of Alexander's death was Asclepiades, the son of Hipparchus. Demades desired the people to give no credit to it: "For," said he, "if Alexander were dead, the whole world would smell the carcase." And Phocion seeing the Athenians elated, and inclined to raise new commotions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators, however, ascended the rostrum, and assured the people that the tidings of Asclepiades were true: "Well, then," said Phocion, "if Alexander is dead to-day, he will be so to-morrow and the day following; so that we may

* Yet Pausanias says, it was one of the completest and most curious performances of all the ancient works in Greece. According to him, it stood on the other side of the river Cephisus.

deliberate on that event at our leisure, and take our measures with safety."

When Leosthenes by his intrigues had involved Athens in the Lamian war*, and saw how much Phocion was displeased at it, he asked him in a scoffing manner, "What good he had done his country during the many years that he was general?" "And dost thou think it nothing, then," said Phocion, "for the Athenians to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors?" As Leosthenes continued to harangue the people in the most arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion said, "Young man, your speeches are like cypress trees, large and lofty, but without fruit." Hyperides rose up and said, "Tell us, then, what will be the proper time for the Athenians to go to war?" Phocion answered, "I do not think it advisable till the young men keep within the bounds of order and propriety, the rich become liberal in their contributions, and the orators forbear robbing the public."

Most people admired the forces raised by Leosthenes; and when they asked Phocion his opinion of them, he said, "I like them very well for a short race†, but I dread the consequence of a long one. The supplies, the ships, the soldiers, are all very good; but they are the last we can produce." The event justified his observation. Leosthenes at first gained great reputation by his achievements; for he defeated the Bœotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this occasion the Athenians, borne upon the tide of hope, spent their time in mutual entertainments, and in sacrifices to the gods. Many of them thought, too, they had a fine opportunity to play upon Phocion, and asked him, "Whether he should not have wished to have done such great things?" "Certainly I should," said Phocion; "but still I should advise not to have attempted them." And, when letters and messengers from the army came one after another with an account of further success, he said, "When shall we have done conquering?"

Leosthenes died soon after; and the party which was for continuing the war, fearing that if Phocion was elected general, he would be for putting an end to it, instructed a man that was little known to

* In the original it is the *Grecian* war; and it might, indeed, be so called, because it was carried on by the Grecian confederates against the Macedonians. But it was commonly called the *Lamian* war, from Antipater's being defeated and shut up in Lamia. The Bœotians were the only nation which did not join the Grecian league.—*Diod. Sic.* lib. xviii.

† Or rather, "I think they may run very well from the starting post to the extremity of the course; but I know not how they will hold it back again." The Greeks had two sorts of races; the *stadium*, in which they ran only right out to the goal; and the *dolichus*, in which they ran right out, and then back again.

make a motion in the assembly, importing, "That, as an old friend and school-fellow of Phocion, he desired the people to spare him, and preserve him for the most pressing occasions, because there was no another man in their dominions to be compared to him." At the same time he was to recommend Antiphilis for the command. The Athenians embracing the proposal, Phocion stood up and told them, "He never was that man's school-fellow, nor had he any acquaintance with him; but, from this moment," said he, turning to him, "I shall number thee amongst my best friends, since thou hast advised what is most agreeable to me."

The Athenians were strongly inclined to prosecute the war with the Bœotians, and Phocion at first as strongly opposed it. His friends represented to him, that this violent opposition of his would provoke them to put him to death. "They may do it, if they please," said he: "It will be unjustly, if I advise them for the best: but justly, if I should prevaricate." However, when he saw that they were not to be persuaded, and that they continued to besiege him with clamour, he ordered a herald to make proclamation, "That all the Athenians, who were not more than sixty years above the age of puberty, should take five days provisions, and follow him immediately from the assembly to the field."

This raised a great tumult, and the old men began to exclaim against the order, and to walk off: upon which Phocion said, "Does this disturb you, when I, who am fourscore years old, shall be at the head of you?" That short remonstrance had its effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micion marched a considerable corps of Macedonians and mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the sea-coast and the adjacent country, Phocion advanced against him with a body of Athenians. On this occasion a number of them were very impertinent in pretending to dictate or advise him how to proceed. One counselled him to secure such an eminence, another to send his cavalry to such a post, and a third pointed out a place for a camp. "Heavens!" said Phocion, "how many generals have we, and how few soldiers!"

When he had drawn up his army, one of the infantry advanced before the ranks; but, when he saw an enemy stepping out to meet him, his heart failed him, and he drew back to his post: Whereupon Phocion said, "Young man, are you not ashamed to desert your station twice in one day: that in which I had placed you, and that in which you had placed yourself?"—Then he immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers, among whom was their general Micion. The confederate army of the Greeks in Thessaly likewise defeated Antipater in a great battle, though Leonatus

and the Macedonians from Asia had joined him. In this action Antiphilis commanded the foot, and Menon, the Thessalian horse: Leonatus was among the slain.

Soon after this, Craterus passed over from Asia with a numerous army, and another battle was fought, in which the Greeks were worsted. The loss, indeed, was not great; and it was principally owing to the disobedience of the soldiers, who had young officers that did not exert a proper authority. But this, joined to the practice of Antipater upon the cities, made the Greeks desert the league, and shamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched directly towards Athens, Demosthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able, in any degree, to answer the fines that had been laid upon him; for he had been amerced seven times for proposing edicts contrary to law. He had also been declared infamous, and incapable of speaking in the assembly. But now, finding himself at full liberty, he moved for an order that ambassadors should be sent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their present situation, called for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man they could trust: upon which he said, "If you had followed the counsel I gave you, we should not have had now to deliberate on such an affair." Thus the decree passed, and Phocion was despatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in Cadmea*, and was preparing to enter Attica.

His first requisition was, that Antipater would finish the treaty before he left the camp in which he then lay. Craterus said it was an unreasonable demand, that they should remain there to be troublesome to their friends and allies, when they might subsist at the expense of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the hand, and said, "Let us indulge Phocion so far." As to the conditions, he insisted that the Athenians should leave them to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leosthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, which they agreed to out of necessity, and then returned to Thebes with other ambassadors, the principal of whom was Xenocrates the philosopher: for the virtue and reputation of the latter were so great and illustrious, that the Athenians thought there could be nothing in human nature so insolent, savage, and ferocious, as not to feel some impressions of respect and reverence at the sight of him. It happened, however, otherwise with Antipater, through his extreme bru-

* Dacier, without any necessity, supposes that Plutarch uses the word *Cadmea* for Bœotia. In a poetical way it is, indeed, capable of being understood so: but it is plain, from what follows, that Antipater then lay at Thebes, and probably in the Cadmea or citadel.

tality and antipathy to virtue; for he embraced the rest with great cordiality, but would not even speak to Xenocrates, which gave him occasion to say, "Antipater does well in being ashamed before me, and me only, of his injurious designs against Athens."

Xenocrates afterwards attempted to speak, but Antipater, in great anger, interrupted him, and would not suffer him to proceed*. To Phocion's discourse, however, he gave attention; and answered, that he should grant the Athenians peace, and consider them as his friends, on the following conditions: "In the first place," said he, "they must deliver up to me Demosthenes and Hyperides. In the next place, they must put their government on the ancient footing, when none but the rich were advanced to the great offices of state: a third article is, that they must receive a garrison into Munychia: and a fourth, that they must pay the expenses of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themselves happy in these conditions. That philosopher said, "Antipater deals favourably with us, if he considers us as his slaves; but hardly, if he looks upon us as freemen." Phocion begged for a remission of the article of the garrison; and Antipater is said to have answered, "Phocion, we will grant thee every thing, except what would be the ruin of both us and thee." Others say, that Antipater asked Phocion, "Whether, if he excused the Athenians as to the garrison, he would undertake for their observing the other articles, and raising no new commotions?" As Phocion hesitated at this question, Callimedon, surnamed Carabus, a violent man, and an enemy to popular government, started up and said, "Antipater, why do you suffer this man to amuse you? If he should give you his word, would you depend upon it, and not abide by your first resolutions?"

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison, which was commanded by Menyllus, a man of great moderation, and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to be dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuse of power to the purposes

* Yet he had behaved to him with great kindness, when he was sent to ransom the prisoners. Antipater, on that occasion, took the first opportunity to invite him to supper; and Xenocrates answered in those verses of Homer, which Ulysses addressed to Circe, who pressed him to partake of the delicacies she had provided—

Ill fits it me, whose friends are sunk to beasts,
To quaff thy bowls, and riot in thy feasts.
Me wouldst thou please? For them thy cares employ;
And them to me restore, and me to joy.

Antipater was so charmed with the happy application of these verses, that he released all the prisoners.

of insolence, than a measure necessary for the conqueror's affairs*. It was more severely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time the garrison entered; which was the twentieth of the month of September†, when they were celebrating the great mysteries, and the very day that they carried the god Bacchus in procession from the city to Eleusis. The disturbances they saw in the ceremonies gave many of the people occasion to reflect on the difference of the divine dispensations with respect to Athens in the present and in ancient times.—"Formerly," said they, "mystic visions were seen, and voices heard, to the great happiness of the republic, and the terror and astonishment of our enemies: but now, during the same ceremonies, the gods look without concern upon the severest misfortunes that can happen to Greece, and suffer the holiest, and what was once the most agreeable time in the year, to be profaned, and rendered the date of our greatest calamities."

A few days before, the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona, which warned them to secure the promontories of Diana against strangers‡. And about this time, upon washing the sacred fillets with which they bind the mystic beds, instead of the lively purple they used to have, they changed to a faint dead colour. What added to the wonder was, that all the linen belonging to private persons, which was washed in the same water, retained its former lustre. And as a priest was washing a pig in that part of the port called *Cantharus*, a large fish seized the hinder parts, and devoured them as far as the belly; by which the gods plainly announced, that they would lose the lower parts of the city next the sea, and keep the upper.

The garrison commanded by Menyllus did no sort of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded, by another article of the treaty, on account of their poverty from a share in the government, was upwards of twelve thousand. Such of these as remained in Athens appeared to be in a state of misery and disgrace; and such as migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, assigned them by Antipater, looked upon themselves as no better than a conquered people, transported into a foreign country.

The death of Demosthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at

* Our author in this place seems to be out in his politics, though in general a very able and refined politician; for what but a garrison could have supported an oligarchy among a nation so much in love with popular government, or have restrained them from taking up arms the first opportunity?

† Boëdromion.

‡ Supposed to be poetically so called, because mountainous places and forests were sacred to that goddess. At least we know of no promontories in Attica under that name.

Cleonæ, of which we have given an account in another place, made the Athenians remember Alexander and Philip with a regret which seemed almost inspired by affection*. The case was the same with them now as it was with the countryman afterwards, upon the death of Antigonus. Those who killed that prince, and reigned in his stead, were so oppressive and tyrannical, that a Phrygian peasant, who was digging the ground, being asked what he was seeking, said, with a sigh, "I am seeking for Antigonus." Many of the Athenians expressed equal concern now, when they remembered the great and generous turn of mind in those kings, and how easily their anger was appeased. Whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the mask of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to those under his command; and, in fact, an oppressor and a tyrant. Yet, at the request of Phocion, he recalled many persons from exile, and, to such as he did not choose to restore to their own country, granted a commodious situation; for instead of being forced to reside, like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tænarus, he suffered them to remain in Greece, and settle in Peloponnesus. Of this number was Agnonides the informer.

In some other instances he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a just and candid manner; raising the modest and good to the principal employments, and excluding the uneasy and the seditious from all offices; so that, having no opportunity to excite troubles, the spirit of faction died away; and he taught them, by little and little, to love the country, and apply themselves to agriculture. Observing one day that Xenocrates paid a tax as a stranger, he offered to make him a present of his freedom, but he refused it, and assigned this reason—"I will never be a member of that government, to prevent the establishment of which I acted in a public character."

Menyllus was pleased to offer Phocion a considerable sum of money: but he said: "Neither is Menyllus a greater man than Alexander, nor have I greater reason to receive a present now, than I had then." The governor pressed him to take it, at least for his son Phocus; but he answered, "If Phocus becomes sober, his father's estate will be sufficient for him; and if he continues dissolute, nothing will be so." He gave Antipater a more severe answer, when he wanted him to do something inconsistent with his probity: "Antipater," said he, "cannot have me both for a friend and a flatterer." And Antipater

* The cruel disposition of Antipater, who had insisted upon Demosthenes and Hyperides being given up to his revenge, made the conduct of Philip and Alexander comparatively amiable.

himself used to say, "I have two friends in Athens, Phocion and Demades; it is impossible either to persuade the one to any thing, or to satisfy the other." Indeed, Phocion had his poverty to show as a proof of his virtue; for though he so often commanded the Athenian armies, and was honoured with the friendship of so many kings, he grew old in indigence; whereas Demades paraded with his wealth even in instances that were contrary to law: for there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner should appear in the choruses upon the stage, under the penalty of a thousand *drachmas*, to be paid by the person who gave the entertainment: yet Demades, in his exhibition, produced none but foreigners; and he paid the thousand *drachmas* fine for each, though their number was a hundred. And when his son Demea was married, he said, "When I married your mother, the next neighbour hardly knew it; but kings and princes contribute to the expense of your nuptials."

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to persuade Antipater to withdraw the garrison; but whether it was that he despaired of success, or rather because he perceived that the people were more sober and submissive to government, under fear of that rod, he always declined the commission. The only thing that he asked and obtained of Antipater was, that the money which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, should not be insisted on immediately, but a longer term granted. The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not meddle with the affair of the garrison, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In consequence of this, he and his son took a journey to Macedonia. It should seem his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived just at the time when Antipater was in his last illness, and when Cassander, now absolute master of every thing, had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to come over and seize Greece and Macedonia, "which," he said, "hung upon an old rotten stalk;" so he contemptuously called Antipater. Cassander no sooner saw him, than he ordered him to be arrested; and first he killed his son before his eyes, and so near, that the blood spouted upon him, and filled his bosom; then, after having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidiousness, he slew him likewise.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and given Cassander the command of a thousand men: but Cassander, far from being satisfied with such an appointment, hastened to seize the supreme power, and immediately sent Nicanor to take the command of the garrison from Menyllus, and to secure Munychia before the news of his father's death got abroad. This scheme was carried into execution; and, a few days after, the Athenians being

informed of the death of Antipater, accused Phocion of being privy to that event, and concealing it out of friendship to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himself no pain about it; on the contrary, he conversed familiarly with Nicanor; and by his assiduities, not only rendered him kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inspired him with an ambition to distinguish himself by exhibiting games and shows to the people.

Meantime Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's person was committed*, in order to countermine Cassander, wrote letters to the Athenians, importing, "That the king restored them to their ancient form of government;" according to which, all the people had a right to public employments. This was a snare he laid for Phocion: for being desirous of making himself master of Athens, (as soon appeared from his actions), he was sensible that he could not effect any thing while Phocion was in the way. He saw, too, that his expulsion would be no difficult task, when all who had been excluded from a share in the administration were restored, and the orators and public informers were once more masters of the tribunals.

As these letters raised great commotions among the people, Nicanor was desired to speak† to them on that subject in the Piræus; and, for that purpose, entered their assembly, trusting his person with Phocion. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent country, laid a scheme to seize him; but Nicanor, getting timely information of his design, guarded against it, and soon showed that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Phocion then was blamed for letting him go when he had him in his hands; but he answered, "He could confide in Nicanor's promises, and saw no reason to suspect him of any ill design. "However," said he, "be the issue what it may, I had rather be found suffering than doing what is unjust."

This answer, if we examine it with respect to himself only, will appear to be entirely the result of fortitude and honour; but, when we consider that he hazarded the safety of his country, and, what is more, that he was general and first magistrate, I know not whether he did not violate a stronger and more respectable obligation. It is in vain to allege that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war, and, for that reason, would not seize the person of Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations of justice and good faith, that Nicanor, by a grateful sense of such behaviour,

* The son of Alexander, who was yet very young.

† Nicanor knew that Polyperchon's proposal to restore the democracy was merely a snare, and he wanted to make the Athenians sensible of it.

might be prevailed upon to be quiet, and think of no injurious attempt against the Athenians: for the truth is, he had such confidence in Nicanor, that when he had accounts brought him from several hands of designs upon the Piræus, of his ordering a body of mercenaries to Salamis, and of his bribing some of the inhabitants of the Piræus, he would give no credit to any of these things. Nay, when Philomedes, of the borough of Lampra, got an edict made, that all the Athenians should take up arms, and obey the orders of Phocion, he took no care to act in pursuance of it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piræus. Then Phocion would have led the Athenians against him; but by this time they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At that juncture arrived Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, with an army, under pretence of assisting the city against Nicanor; but, in reality, to avail himself of its fatal divisions, and to seize it, if possible, for himself. For the exiles who entered the town with him, the foreigners, and such citizens as had been stigmatized as infamous, with other mean people, resorted to him, and all together made up a strange disorderly assembly, by whose suffrages the command was taken from Phocion, and other generals appointed. Had not Alexander been seen alone near the walls in conference with Nicanor, and, by repeated interviews, given the Athenians cause of suspicion, the city could not have escaped the danger it was in. Immediately the orator Agnonides singled out Phocion, and accused him of treason; which so much alarmed Callimedon and Pericles*, that they fled out of the city. Phocion, with such of his friends as did not forsake him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Platæa, and Dinarchus of Corinth, who passed for the friends and confidents of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion, desired to be of the party. But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to stop many days at Elatea. In the mean time, Archestratus proposed a decree, and Agnonides got it passed, that deputies should be sent to Polyperchon with an accusation against Phocion.

The two parties came up to Polyperchon at the same time, as he was upon his march with the king† near Pharuges, a town of Phocis, situated at the foot of Mount Acroriam, now called Galata.

* *Pericles* here looks like an erroneous reading. Afterwards we find not *Pericles*, but *Charicles*, mentioned along with Callimedon. Charicles was Phocion's son-in-law.

† This was Aridæus, the natural son of Philip. After some of Alexander's generals had raised him to the throne for their own purposes, he took the name of Philip, and reigned six years and a few months.

There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each side of him; and, before he proceeded to any other business, gave orders that Dinarchus should be put to the torture, and afterwards despatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience: but as they filled the place with noise and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accusations to the council, Agnonides pressed forward, and said, "Put us all in one cage and send us back to Athens, to give account of our conduct there." The king laughed at the proposal; but the Macedonians who attended on that occasion, and the strangers who were drawn thither by curiosity, were desirous of hearing the cause, and therefore made signs to the deputies to argue the matter there. However, it was far from being conducted with impartiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who at last was so provoked, that he struck his staff upon the ground, and would speak no more. Hegemon said, Polyperchon himself could bear witness to his affectionate regard for the people; and that general answered, "Do you come here to slander me before the king?" Upon this the king started up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his spear, but Polyperchon prevented him; and the council broke up immediately.

The guards then surrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who, being at some distance, muffled themselves up and fled. Clitus carried the prisoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but, in reality, only to have them put to death, as persons already condemned. The manner of conducting the thing made it a more melancholy scene. The prisoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus shut them up till the *archons* had assembled the people. From this assembly, neither slaves nor foreigners, nor persons stigmatized as infamous, were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. Then the king's letter was read; the purport of which was, "That he had found the prisoners guilty of treason, but that he left it to the Athenians, as freemen, who were to be governed by their own laws, to pass sentence upon them."

At the same time, Clitus presented them to the people. The best of the citizens, when they saw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and, covering their faces with their mantles, began to weep. One, however, had the courage to say, "Since the king leaves the determination of so important a matter to the people, it would be proper to command all slaves and strangers to depart." But the populace, instead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It would be much more proper to stone all the favourers of oligarchy, all the enemies of the people." After which, no one attempted to offer any thing

in behalf of Phocion. It was with much difficulty that he obtained permission to speak. At last, silence being made, he said, "Do you design to take away my life justly or unjustly?" Some of them answering, "Justly," he said, "How can you know whether it will be justly, if you do not hear me first?" As he did not find them inclinable in the least to hear him, he advanced some paces forward, and said, "Citizens of Athens, I acknowledge I have done you injustice; and, for my faults in the administration, adjudge myself guilty of death*; but why will you put these men to death, who have never injured you?" The populace made answer, "Because they are friends to you." Upon which he drew back, and resigned himself quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree he had prepared; according to which, the people were to declare, by their suffrages, whether the prisoners appeared to be guilty or not; and, if they appeared so, they were to suffer death. When the decree was read, some called for an additional clause for putting Phocion to the torture before execution, and insisted that the rack and its managers should be sent for immediately. But Agnonides, observing that Clitus was displeased at the proposal, and looking upon it himself as a barbarous and detestable thing, said, "When we take that villain Callimedon, let us put him to the torture; but, indeed, my fellow-citizens, I cannot consent that Phocion should have such hard measure." Upon this, one of the better disposed Athenians cried out, "Thou art certainly right; for, if we torture Phocion, what must we do to thee?" There was, however, hardly one negative when the sentence of death was proposed; all the people gave their voices standing, and some of them even crowned themselves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of festivity. With Phocion there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerian, Callimedon, Charicles, and some others, who were absent, the same sentence was passed upon them.

After the assembly was dismissed, the convicts were sent to prison. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all went on bewailing their fate, except Phocion. His countenance was the same as when the people sent him out to command their armies, and the beholders could not but admire his invincible firmness and magnanimity. Some of his enemies, indeed, reviled him as he went along; and one of them even spit in his face; upon which he turned to the magistrates, and said, "Will nobody

* It was the custom for the person accused to lay some penalty on himself. Phocion chooses the highest, thinking it might be a means to reconcile the Athenians to his friends; but it had not that effect.

correct this fellow's rudeness?" Thudippus, when he saw the executioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament what hard fortune it was for him to suffer unjustly on Phocion's account. "What then!" said the venerable sage, "dost thou not think it an honour to die with Phocion?" One of his friends asking him, whether he had any commands for his son? "Yes," said he, "by all means, tell him from me to forget the ill treatment I have had from the Athenians." And when Nicocles, the most faithful of his friends, begged that he would let him drink the poison before him: "This," said he, "Nicocles, is a hard request, and the thing must give me great uneasiness; but, since I have obliged you in every instance through life, I will do the same in this."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved not sufficient, and the executioner refused to prepare more, unless he had twelve *drachmas* paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occasioned a troublesome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and said, "Since one cannot die on free cost at Athens, give the man his money." This execution was on the nineteenth day of *April**, when there was a procession of horsemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade passed by, some took off their chaplets from their heads; others shed tears as they looked at the prison doors: all who had not hearts entirely savage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, looked upon it as a most impious thing not to have reprieved them at least for that day, and so to have kept the city unpolluted on the festival.

However, the enemies of Phocion, as if something had been wanting to their triumph, got an order that his body should not be suffered to remain within the bounds of Attica, nor that any Athenian should furnish fire for the funeral pile: therefore no friend durst touch it; but one Conopion, who lived by such services, for a sum of money carried the corpse out of the territories of Eleusis, and got fire for the burning of it in those of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to assist at the ceremony with her maid-servants, raised a *cenotaph* upon the spot, and performed the customary libations. The bones she gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own house, and interred them under the hearth. At the same time she thus addressed the domestic gods: "Ye guardians of this place, to you I commit the remains of this good man. Do you restore them to the sepulchre of his ancestors, when the Athenians shall once more listen to the dictates of wisdom."

The time was not long before the situation of their affairs taught

* Munychion.

them how vigilant a magistrate, and how excellent a guardian of the virtues of justice and sobriety, they had lost. The people erected his statue in brass, and buried his remains at the public expense. Agnonides, his principal accuser, they put to death, in consequence of a decree for that purpose. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens; but afterwards fell into the hands of Phocion's son, who punished them as they deserved. This son of his was, in other respects, a worthless man. He was in love with a girl who was in a state of servitude, and belonged to a trader in such matters; and happening one day to hear Theodorus, the atheist, maintain this argument in the Lyceum, "That if it is no shame to ransom a friend, it is no shame to redeem a mistress;" the discourse was so flattering to his passion, that he went immediately and released his female friend*.

The proceedings against Phocion put the Greeks in mind of those against Socrates. The treatment of both was equally unjust, and the calamities thence entailed upon Athens were perfectly similar†.

CATO THE YOUNGER.

THE family of Cato had its first lustre and distinction from his great-grandfather, Cato the Censor‡, a man whose virtue, as we have observed in his life, ranked him with persons of the greatest reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now speaking, was left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio, and his sister Porcia. He had also another sister called Servilia, but she was only sister by the mother's side‖. The orphans were brought up in the house of Livius Drusus, their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the administration, to which he was entitled by his eloquence, his wisdom, and dignity of mind; excellencies that put him upon an equality with the best of the Romans.

* It appears from the ancient comedy, that it was no uncommon thing for the young men of Athens to take their mistresses out of such shops, and, after they had released them from servitude, to marry them.

† Socrates was put to death eighty-two years before.

‡ Cato the Censor, at a very late period in life, married Salonia, daughter of his own steward. There was a family, however, from that second match, which flourished when that which came from the first was extinct.

‖ Servilia was not his only sister by the mother's side; there were three of them; one, the mother of Brutus who killed Cæsar; another married to Lucullus; and a third to Junius Silanus. Cæpio, too, was his brother by the mother's side.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy discovered in his voice, his look, and his very diversions, a firmness and solidity which neither passion nor any thing else could move. He pursued every object he had in view with a vigour far above his years, and a resolution that nothing could resist. Those who were inclined to flatter were sure to meet with a severe repulse, and to those who attempted to intimidate him he was still more untractable. Scarce any thing could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was softened to a smile. He was not quickly or easily moved to anger; but it was difficult to appease his resentment when once excited.

His apprehension was slow, and his learning came with difficulty; but what he had once learned he long retained. It is, indeed, a common case for persons of quick parts to have weak memories; but what is gained with labour and application is always retained the longest: for every hard-gained acquisition of science is a kind of annealing upon the mind. The inflexibility of his diposition seems also to have retarded his progress in learning: for to learn is to submit to a new impression; and those submit the most easily who have the least power of resistance. Thus, young men are more persuasible than the old, and the sick than such as are well; and in general, assent is most easily gained from those who are least able to find doubts and difficulties. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was commanded; only he would always inquire the reason, and ask why such a thing was enjoined. Indeed, his preceptor Sarpedon (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who chose rather to govern by reason than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popedius Silo, a man of great name as a soldier, and powerful among his people, had a friendship with Drusus, and lodged a long time in his house during this application. As he was familiar with the children, he said to them one day, "Come my good children, desire your uncle to assist us in our solicitation for the freedom." Cæpio smiled, and readily gave his promise; but Cato made no answer. And he was observed to look with a fixed and unkind eye upon the strangers, Popedius continued, "And you, my little man, what do you say? Will not you give your guests your interest with your uncle, as well as your brother?"—Cato still refusing to answer, and appearing by his silence and his looks inclined to deny the request, Popedius took him to the window, and threatened, if he would not promise, to throw him out. This he did in a harsh tone, and at the same time gave him several shakes, as if he was going to let him fall: but as the child bore this a long time without any marks

of concern or fear, Popedius set him down, and said softly to his friends, "This child is the glory of Italy. I verily believe, if he were a man, that we should not get one vote among the people."

Another time, when a relation invited young Cato, with other children, to celebrate his birth-day, most of the children went to play together in a corner of the house. Their play was to mimic a court of justice*, where some were accused in form, and afterwards carried to prison. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned, and shut up by a bigger boy, who acted as officer, in one of the apartments, called out to Cato, who, as soon as he understood what the matter was, ran to the door, and pushing away those who stood there as guards, and attempted to oppose him, carried off the child, and went home in great anger; most of the children marching off with him.

These things gained him great reputation, of which the following is an extraordinary instance: when Sylla chose to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of *Troy*†, and is considered as a sacred exhibition, he selected two bands of young gentlemen, and assigned them two captains, one of whom they readily accepted, on account of his being the son of Metella, the wife of Sylla; but the other, named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they absolutely rejected, and would not go out to exercise under him. Sylla then asking them, "Whom they would have?" they unanimously cried, "Cato;" and Sextus himself readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of superior parts.

The friendship which had subsisted between Sylla and the father of Cato induced him sometimes to send for the young man and his brother Cæpio, and to talk familiarly with them; a favour which, by reason of his dignity, he conferred on very few. Sarpedon, thinking such an intercourse of great advantage to his scholar, both in point of honour and safety, often took Cato to pay his respects to the dictator. Sylla's house at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution; such were the numbers of people tortured and put to death there. Cato, who now was in his fourteenth year, seeing the heads

* Children's plays are often taken from what is most familiar to them. In other countries they are commonly formed upon trifling subjects, but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of justice, the command of armies, triumphal processions, and, in later times the state of emperors. Suetonius tells us that Nero commanded his son-in-law, Rufinus Crispinus, the son of Popæa, a child, to be thrown into the sea, because he was said to delight in plays of the last-mentioned kind.

† The invention of this game is generally ascribed to Ascanius. It was celebrated in the public *circus* by companies of boys, who were furnished with arms suitable to their strength. They were taken, for the most part, out of the noblest families in Rome.—See an excellent description of it in Virgil, Æneid. l. v. ver. 545, &c.

of many illustrious personages carried out, and observing that the by-standers sighed in secret at these scenes of blood, asked his preceptor "Why somebody did not kill that man?"—"Because," said he, "they fear him more than they hate him."—"Why then," said Cato, "do you not then give me a sword, that I may kill him, and deliver my country from slavery?" When Sarpedon heard such a speech from the boy, and saw with what a stern and angry look he uttered it, he was greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterwards, to prevent his attempting some rash action.

When but a child, he was asked one day "Whom he loved most?" and he answered, "His brother." The person who put the question then asked him "Whom he loved next?" and again he said "His brother." "Whom, in the third place?" and still it was "His brother."—And so on, till he put no more questions to him about it. This affection increased with his years, insomuch, that when he was twenty years old, if he supped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the *forum*, Cæpio must be with him.—But he would not make use of perfumes as Cæpio did: indeed, the whole course of his life was strict and austere. So that, when Cæpio was sometimes commended for his temperance and sobriety, he would say, "I may have some claim to these virtues, when compared with other men; but, when I compare myself with Cato, I seem a mere Sippius." Sippius was the name of a person remarkably effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had taken upon him the priesthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his share of the paternal estate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But though his fortune was so considerable, his manner of living was more simple and frugal than ever. He formed a particular connexion with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philosopher; and the knowledge he was the most studious of acquiring, was the moral and political. He was carried to every virtue with an impulse like inspiration; but his greatest attachment was to justice, and justice of that severe and inflexible kind which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compassion*.—He cultivated also that eloquence which is fit for popular assemblies; for as in a great city there should be an extraordinary supply for war, so in political philosophy he thought there should be a provision for troublesome times. Yet he did not declaim before company, nor go to hear the exercises of other young men. And when one of his friends said, "Cato, the world finds fault with your silence;" He

* Cicero, in his oration for Muræna, gives us a fine satire upon those maxims of the Stoics which Cato made the rule of his life, and which, as he observes, were only fit to flourish within the portico.

answered, "No matter, so long as it does not find fault with my life: I shall begin to speak, when I have things to say that deserve to be known."

In the public hall called the *Porcian*, which was built by old Cato in his censorship, the tribunes of the people used to hold their court; and as there was a pillar that incommoded their benches, they resolved either to remove it to a distance, or to take it entirely away. This was the first thing that drew Cato to the *rostra*, and even then it was against his inclination. However, he opposed the design effectually, and gave an admirable specimen both of his eloquence and spirit: for there was nothing of youthful sallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, sensible, and strong. Nevertheless, amidst the short and solid turn of the sentences, there was a grace that engaged the ear; and, with the gravity that might be expected from his manners, there was something of humour and raillery intermixed, which had an agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by such a multitude of people, and his strength was such that he often spoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cause, he returned to his former studies and silence. To strengthen his constitution, he used the most laborious exercise. He accustomed himself to go bareheaded in the hottest and coldest weather, and travelled on foot at all seasons of the year. His friends who travelled with him made use of horses, and he joined sometimes one, sometimes another, for conversation, as he went along. In time of sickness, his patience and abstinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he spent the whole day alone, suffering no person to approach him till he found a sensible change for the better.

At entertainments, they threw the dice for the choice of the messes, and if Cato lost the first choice, his friends used to offer it him, but he always refused it: "Venus*," said he, "forbids." At first he used to rise from the table after having drank once; but in process of time he came to love drinking, and would sometimes spend the whole night over the bottle. His friends excused him by saying, "That the business of the state employed him all day, and left him no time for conversation, and therefore he spent his evenings in discourse with the philosophers." And when one Memmius said in company, "That Cato spent whole nights in drinking," Cicero retorted, "But you cannot say that he spends whole days at play."

Cato saw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and

* The most favourable cast upon the dice was called *Venus*. Horace alludes to it in Ode vii. lib 2.

customs of his country, and for that reason he determined to go contrary to the corrupt fashions which then obtained. He observed, for instance, that the richest and most lively purple was the thing most worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner barefooted and without his gown: not that he affected to be talked of for that singularity, but he did it by way of learning to be ashamed of nothing but what was really shameful, and not to regard what depended only on the estimation of the world.

A great estate falling to him by the death of a cousin-german of the same name, he turned it into money, to the amount of a hundred talents; and when any of his friends wanted to borrow a sum, he lent it them without interest. If he could not otherwise supply them, he suffered even his own lands and slaves to be mortgaged for them to the treasury.

He knew no woman before his marriage; and when he thought himself of a proper age to enter into that state, he set a treaty on foot with Lepida, who before had been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but, upon Scipio's breaking the engagement, was then at liberty. However, before the marriage took place, Scipio repented, and, by the assiduity of his management and address, succeeded with the lady. Provoked at this ill treatment, Cato was desirous to go to law for redress; and, as his friends overruled him in that respect, youthful resentment put him upon writing some *iambics* against Scipio, which had all the keenness of Archilochus, without his obscenity and scurrility.

After this he married Attilia, the daughter of Soranus, who was the first, but not the only, woman he ever knew. In this respect, Lælius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, was happier than he*; for in the course of a long life he had only one wife, and no intercourse with any other woman.

In the *servile* war †, I mean that with Spartacus, Gellius was general, and Cato served in it as a volunteer, for the sake of his brother Cæpio, who was tribune: but he could not distinguish his vivacity and courage as he wished, because the war was badly conducted. However, amidst the effeminacy and luxury which then prevailed in the army, he paid so much regard to discipline, and, when occasion served, behaved with so much spirit and valour, as well as coolness and capacity, that he appeared not in the least inferior to Cato the Censor. Gellius made him an offer of the best military rewards and

* Plutarch seems to us to have spoken so feelingly of the happiness of the conjugal connexion, long continued with one affectionate wife, from his own experience.

† Seventy-one years before the Christian era.

honours, but he would not accept or allow of them; "for," said he, "I have done nothing that deserves such notice."

These things made him pass for a man of a strange and singular turn. Besides, when a law was made, that no man who solicited any office should take *nomenclators* with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for, when he applied for a tribune's commission in the army, he had previously made himself master of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied, even by those who praised him. The more they considered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate such conduct.

With a tribune's commission he was sent to Macedonia, where Rubrius the prætor commanded. His wife, upon his departure, was in great distress; and we are told that Munatius, a friend of Cato's, in order to comfort her, said, "Take courage, Attilia; I will take care of your husband." "By all means," answered Cato. At the end of the first day's march, after they had supped, he said, "Come, Munatius, that you may the better perform your promise to Attilia, you shall not leave me either day or night." In consequence of which he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleasant improvement upon the matter; for as Munatius always slept by him it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato that took care of him.

Cato had with him fifteen slaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. These rode on horseback, and he always went on foot; yet he kept up with them, and conversed with them by turns. When he joined the army, which consisted of several legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this post he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be distinguished by his own virtue only: it was his ambition to make all the troops that were under his care like himself. With this view, he lessened nothing of that authority which might inspire fear, but he called in the support of reason to its assistance. By instruction and persuasion, as well as by rewards and punishments, he formed them so well, that it was hard to say whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more just. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do a dishonourable thing, and ambitious of honest praise.

Hence, though honour and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in universal esteem, and had entirely the hearts of his soldiers: for, whatever he commanded others to do, he was the first to do himself. In his dress, his manner of living, and marching, he resembled the private soldier more than the officer; and at the same time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and

strength of eloquence, he far exceeded all that had the name of generals. By these means he insensibly gained the affections of his troops.—And, indeed, virtue does not attract imitation, unless the person who gives the pattern is beloved as well as esteemed. Those who praise good men without loving them, only pay a respect to their name, but do not sincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamus a Stoic philosopher, named Athenodorus, and surnamed Cordylio, in great reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long resisted the applications of princes and other great men, who wanted to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendship and very considerable appointments. Cato thence concluded that it would be in vain to write or send any messenger to him; and, as the laws gave him leave of absence for two months, he sailed to Asia, and applied to him in person, in confidence that his accomplishments would carry the point with him. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his conversation, he drew him from his purpose, and brought him to the camp; as happy and as proud of this success, as if he had made a more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit, than those of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then subduing the provinces and kingdoms of the east.

While he was with the army in Macedonia, he had notice by letter that his brother Cæpio was fallen sick at Ænus, in Thrace. The sea was extremely rough, and no large vessel to be had. He ventured, however, to sail from Thessalonica, in a small passage-boat, with two friends and three servants, and having very narrowly escaped drowning, arrived at Ænus just after Cæpio expired. On this occasion Cato shewed the sensibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philosopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and besides these and other tokens of the greatest sorrow, he spent vast sums upon his funeral. The spices and rich robes that were burnt with him were very expensive, and he erected a monument for him of Thasian marble in the *forum* at Ænus, which cost no less than eight talents.

Some condemned these things, as little agreeable to the modesty and simplicity which Cato professed in general; but they did not perceive, that, with all his firmness and inflexibility to the solicitations of pleasure, of terror, and importunity, he had great tenderness and sensibility in his nature. Many cities and princes sent presents of great value to do honour to the obsequies, but he would not accept any thing in money; all he would receive was spices and stuffs, and those too only on condition of paying for them.

He was left co-heir with Cæpio's daughter to his estate; but, when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral expenses to her account. Yet, though he acted so honourably in that affair, and continued in the same upright path, there was one who scrupled not to write*, that he passed his brother's ashes through a sieve, in search of the gold that might be melted down. Surely that writer thought himself above being called to account for his pen, as well as for his sword!

Upon the expiration of his commission, Cato was honoured, at his departure, not only with the common good wishes for his health and praises for his conduct, but with tears and the most affectionate embraces; the soldiers spread their garments in the way, and kissed his hands: instances of esteem which few generals met with from the Romans in those times.

But before he returned to Rome, to apply for a share in the administration, he resolved to visit Asia, and see with his own eyes the manners, customs, and strength of every province. At the same time he was willing to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who, on account of the engagements of hospitality he had entered into with his father, had given him a very pressing invitation.

His manner of travelling was this: early in the morning he sent his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge the next night. These entered the town in a very modest and civil manner, and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they took up lodgings for him, and prepared his supper at an inn, without giving any one the least trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magistrates for quarters, and were always satisfied with those assigned them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's servants, but entirely disregarded†, because they came not to the magistrates in a clamorous and threatening manner; insomuch, that their master arrived before they could procure lodgings.

It was worse still when Cato himself made his appearance, for the townsmen, seeing him set down on the luggage without speaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and dastardly spirit.—Sometimes, however, he would send for the magistrates, and say, "Wretches, why do you not learn a proper hospitality? You will not find all that apply to you Catos. Do not then, by your ill treatment, give those occasion to exert their authority, who only want a pretence to take from you by violence what you give with so much reluctance."

* Julius Cæsar, in his *Anticato*.

† Apparet servum hunc esse domini pauperis miserique.—*Ter. Eunuch.* iii. 2.

In Syria, we are told, he met with a humorous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he saw a number of people ranged in good order without the gates. On one side the way stood the young men in their mantles, and on the other, the boys in their best attire. Some wore white robes, and crowns on their heads; these were the priests and the magistrates. Cato, imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his servants, who were sent before, for not preventing such a compliment. Nevertheless, he desired his friends to alight, and walked with them towards these Antiochians. When they were near enough to be spoken to, the master of the ceremonies, an elderly man, with a staff, and a crown in his hand, addressed himself first to Cato, and, without so much as saluting him, asked him—"How far Demetrius was behind; and when he might be expected?" Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more respect to this favourite of his than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were seized with such a fit of laughter, that they could not recover themselves as they passed through the crowd. Cato himself, in some confusion, cried out—"Alas, poor city!" and said not a word more. Afterwards, however, he used always to laugh when he told the story.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Asia from making any more mistakes of this kind for want of knowing Cato: for Cato, when he came to Ephesus, going to pay his respects to Pompey, as his superior in point of age and dignity, and as the commander of such great armies, Pompey seeing him at some distance, did not wait to receive him sitting, but rose up to meet him, and gave him his hand with great cordiality. He said much, too, in commendation of his virtue while he was present, and spoke more freely in his praise when he was gone. Every one after this paid great attention to Cato, and he was admired for what before had exposed him to contempt: for they could now see that his sedate and subdued conduct was the effect of his greatness of mind. Besides, it was visible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the consequence rather of respect than love; and that, though he expressed his admiration of him when present, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans that came to see him, he pressed much to stay and spend some time with him. To Cato he gave no such invitation; but, as if he thought himself under some restraint in his proceedings when he staid, readily dismissed him. However, amongst all the Romans that returned to Rome, to Cato only he recommended his wife and children, who indeed were his relations.

His fame now going before him, the cities in his way strove who

should do him most honour, by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. On these occasions, Cato used to desire his friends to look well to him, lest he should make good the saying of Curio. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and companions, but disapproved of his austerity, asked him one day, "Whether he was inclined to visit Asia, when his time of service was expired?" Cato answered, "Yes, by all means." Upon which Curio said, "It is well; you will return a little more practicable;" using an expressive Latin word to that purpose*.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, sent for Cato, with a design to recommend his children, and all his family, to his protection. As soon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable presents, and urged him strongly to accept them; which importunity so much displeased him, that though he came in the evening, he stayed only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had gone a day's journey, he found at Pessinus a greater number of presents, with letters entreating him to receive them; "Or, if you will not accept them," said Deiotarus, "at least permit your friends to take them, who deserve some reward for their services, and yet cannot expect it out of your own estate." Cato, however, would give them no such permission, though he observed that some of his friends cast a longing eye that way, and were visibly chagrined. "Corruption," said he, "will never want a pretence: but you shall be sure to share with me whatever I can get with justice and honour." He therefore sent Deiotarus his presents back.

When he was taking ship for Brundusium, his friends advised him to put Cæpio's remains on board another vessel†; but he declared, "He would sooner part with his life than with them;" and so he set sail. It is said, the ship he was in happened to be in great danger, though all the rest had a tolerable passage.

After his return to Rome, he spent his time either in conversation with Athenodorus at home, or in the *forum*, in the service of his friends. Though he was of a proper age‡ to offer himself for the quæstorship, he would not solicit it till he had qualified himself for that office, by studying all the laws relating to it, by making inquiries of such as were experienced in it, and thus gaining a tho-

* Supposed to be *mansuetior*. As Cato understood it in a disadvantageous sense, we have rendered it by the word *practicable*, which conveys that idea.

† From a superstition which commonly obtained, they imagined that a dead body on board a ship would raise a storm. Plutarch, by using the word *happened* just below, shows that he did not give into that superstitious notion, though too apt to do those things.

‡ Twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

rough knowledge of its whole intention and process. Immediately upon his entering on it, he made a great reformation among the secretaries and other officers of the treasury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well versed in; and as young quæstors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under-officers took upon them, not only to instruct, but to dictate to them, and were, in fact, quæstors themselves. Cato corrected this abuse. He applied himself with great vigour to the business, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly understood all that belonged to that department. Consequently, he made use of the secretaries only as servants, which they really were; sometimes correcting wilful abuses, and sometimes the mistakes which they made through ignorance. As the licence in which they had lived had made them refractory, and they hoped to secure themselves by flattering the other quæstors, they boldly withstood Cato. He therefore dismissed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the division of an estate. Against another he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then censor; a man whose authority was not only supported by his high office, but still more by his reputation; for, in justice and regularity of life, he had distinguished himself above all the Romans of his time. He was also a friend and favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct; yet he opposed him in this cause. Perceiving he had not right on his side, he had recourse to entreaties; but Cato would not suffer him to proceed in that manner, and, as he did not desist, took occasion to say, "It would be a great disgrace for you, Catulus, who are censor and inspector of our lives and manners, to be turned out of court by my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to make answer; however, he did not speak: either through anger or shame, he went off silent, and greatly disconcerted. Nevertheless, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices against him exceeded those for him by one only, Catulus desired the assistance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague, who was prevented by sickness from attending the trial, but, upon his application, was brought in a litter into court, and gave the determining voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not restore him to his employment, or pay him his stipend; for he considered the partial suffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The secretaries thus humbled and subdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hand. By these means, in a little time he rendered the treasury more respectable than the senate itself: and it was commonly thought, as well as

said, that Cato had given the quæstorship all the dignity of the consulate: for, having made it his business to find out all the debts of long standing due to the public, and what the public was indebted to private persons, he settled these affairs in such a manner, that the commonwealth could no longer either do or suffer any injury in that respect; strictly demanding and insisting on the payment of whatever was owing to the state; and, at the same time, readily and freely satisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they saw many obliged to pay, who hoped never to have been called to account; and many receiving debts which they had given up as desperate. His predecessors had often, through interest or persuasion, accepted false bills, and pretended orders of senate; but nothing of that kind escaped Cato. There was one order, in particular, which he suspected to be forged; and though it had many witnesses to support it, he would not allow it till the consuls came and declared it upon oath.

There was a number of assassins employed in the last proscription, to whom Sylla had given twelve thousand *drachmas* for each head they brought him. These were looked upon by all the world as the most execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to take vengeance on them. Cato, however, summoned all who had received the public money for such unjust services, and made them refund; inveighing, at the same time, with equal reason and severity, against their impious and abominable deeds. Those wretches, thus disgraced, and, as it were, prejudged, were afterwards indicted for murder before the judges, who punished them as they deserved. All ranks of people rejoiced at these executions; they thought they saw the tyranny rooted out with these men, and Sylla himself capitally punished in the death of his ministers.

The people were also delighted with his indefatigable diligence: for he always came to the treasury before his colleagues, and was the last that left it. There was no assembly of the people, or meeting of the senate, which he did not attend, in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remissions of fines and duties, and all unreasonable grants. Thus having cleared the exchequer of informers, and all such vermin, and filled it with treasure, he showed that it is possible for a government to be rich without oppressing the subject. At first this conduct of his was very obnoxious to his colleagues, but in time it came to be agreeable; because, by refusing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he stood the rage of disappointed avarice for them all; and to the importunity of solicitation they would answer, that they could do nothing without the consent of Cato.

The last day of his office he was conducted home by almost the whole body of citizens: but, by the way, he was informed that some of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence upon Marcellus, were besieging him in the treasury, and pressing him to make out an order for sums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus, from his childhood, was a friend of Cato's, and a good quæstor, while he acted with him; but, when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by personal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato, therefore, immediately turned back, and finding Marcellus already prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the registers, and erased it; Marcellus all the while standing by in silence. Not content with this, he took him out of the treasury, and led him to his own house. Marcellus, however, did not complain, either then or afterwards, but continued the same friendship and intimacy with him to the last.

After the time of his quæstorship was expired, Cato kept a watchful eye upon the treasury. He had his servants there daily minuting down the proceedings, and he spent much time himself in perusing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own: a copy of which he had purchased for five talents.

Whenever the senate was summoned to meet, he was the first to give attendance, and the last to withdraw; and oftentimes, while the rest were slowly assembling, he would sit down and read, holding his gown before his book; nor would he ever be out of town when a house was called. Pompey finding that, in all his unwarrantable attempts, he must find a severe and inexorable opponent in Cato, when he had a point of that kind to carry, threw in his way either the cause of some friend to plead, or arbitration, or other business to attend to. But Cato soon perceived the snare, and rejected all the applications of his friends; declaring, that, when the senate was to sit, he would never undertake any other business. For his attention to the concerns of government was not, like that of some others, guided by the views of honour or profit, nor left to chance or humour; but he thought *a good citizen ought to be as solicitous about the public as a bee is about her hive.* For this reason he desired his friends, and others with whom he had connexion in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, the important decisions, and all the principal business transacted there.

He made a point of it to oppose Clodius, the seditious demagogue, who was always proposing some dangerous law, or some change in the constitution, or accusing the priests and vestals to the people. Fabia Terentia, sister to Cicero's wife, and one of the ves-

tals, was impeached among the rest, and in danger of being condemned: but Cato defended the cause of these injured people so well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in great confusion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to thank him for this service, he said, "You must thank your country, whose utility is the spring that guides all my actions."

His reputation came to be so great, that a certain orator, in a cause where only one witness was produced, said to the judges, "One man's evidence is not sufficient to go by, not even if it was Cato's." It grew, indeed, into a kind of proverb, when people were speaking of strange and incredible things, to say, "I would not believe such a thing, though it were affirmed by Cato."

A man profuse in his expences, and in all respects of a worthless character, taking upon him one day to speak in the senate in praise of temperance and sobriety, Amnæus rose up and said, "Who can endure to hear a man who eats and drinks like Crassus, and builds like Lucullus, pretend to talk here like Cato?" Hence others, who were dissolute and abandoned in their lives, but preserved a gravity and austerity in their discourse, came, by way of ridicule, to be called *Catos*.

His friends advised him to offer himself for the tribuneship; but he thought it was not yet time. He said, "He looked upon an office of such power and authority as a violent medicine, which ought not to be used except in cases of great necessity." As, at that time, he had no public business to engage him, he took his books and philosophers with him, and set out for Lucania, where he had lands and an agreeable country retreat. By the way, he met with a number of horses, carriages, and servants, which he found to belong to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneship. This put him to a stand; he remained some time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were surprised at this conduct, "Know ye not," said he, "that Metellus is formidable even in his stupidity? But remember that he now follows the counsels of Pompey; that the state lies prostrate before him; and that he will fall upon and crush it with the force of a thunderbolt. Is this then a time for the pursuit of rural amusements? Let us rescue our liberties, or die in their defence!" Upon the remonstrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm, and, after a short stay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early next morning went to the *forum*, as a candidate for the tribuneship, in opposition to Metellus: for to oppose is the nature of that office; and its power

is chiefly negative; insomuch, that the dissent of a single voice is sufficient to disannul a measure in which the whole assembly besides has concurred.

Cato was at first attended only by a small number of his friends; but, when his intentions were made known, he was immediately surrounded by men of honour and virtue, the rest of his acquaintance, who gave him the strongest encouragement, and solicited him to apply for the tribuneship, not as it might imply a favour conferred on himself, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow-citizens; observing, at the same time, that, though it had been frequently in his power to obtain this office without the trouble of opposition, yet he now stepped forth, regardless not only of that trouble, but even of personal danger, when the liberties of his country were at stake. Such was the zeal and eagerness of the people that pressed around him, that it was with the utmost difficulty he made his way to the *forum*.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus amongst the rest, he observed that great corruption had crept into the consular elections. On this subject he gave a severe charge to the people, which he concluded, by affirming on oath, that he would prosecute every one that should offend in that way. He took care, however, that Silanus*, who had married his sister Servilia, should be excepted.—But against Muræna, who, by means of bribery, had carried the consulship at the same time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the person accused has power to set a guard upon him who lays the information, that he may have no opportunity of supporting a false accusation by private machinations before his trial. When the person that was appointed Muræna's officer, on this occasion, observed the liberal and candid conduct of Cato, that he sought only to support his information by fair and open evidence, he was so struck with the excellence and dignity of his character, that he would frequently wait upon him in the *forum*, or at his house, and, after inquiring whether he should proceed that day in the business of the information, if Cato answered in the negative, he made no scruple of leaving him. When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then consul, and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleasant things against the Stoics.

* From this passage it should seem, that Plutarch supposed Cato to be capable of sacrificing to family connexions. But the fault lies rather in the historian than in the tribune: for is it to be supposed, that the rigid virtue of Cato should descend to the most obnoxious circumstances of predilection? Is it possible to have a stronger instance of his integrity, than his refusing the alliance of Pompey the Great, though that refusal was impolitic, and attended with bad consequences to the state?

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and their paradoxical philosophy. This occasioned no small mirth amongst the judges; upon which Cato only observed, with a smile, to those who stood next him, that Rome had indeed a most laughable consul*. Muræna acted a very prudent part with regard to Cato; for, though acquitted of the charge he had brought against him, he nevertheless consulted him on all occasions of importance during his consulship, respected him for his sense and virtue, and made use of his counsels in the administration of government: for Cato, on the bench, was the most rigid dispenser of justice; though, in private society, he was affable and humane.

Before he was appointed tribune in the consulship of Cicero, he supported the supreme magistrate, in a very seasonable manner, by many excellent measures during the turbulent times of Catiline. It is well known that this man meditated nothing less than a total subversion of the Roman state; and that, by the spirited counsels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without effecting his purpose. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest of the conspirators, after reproaching Catiline for his timidity, and the feebleness of his enterprises, resolved to distinguish themselves at least more effectually. Their scheme was nothing less than to burn the city, and destroy the empire, by the revolt of the colonies and foreign wars. Upon the discovery of this conspiracy, Cicero, as we have observed in his life, called a council, and the first that spoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, that the conspirators should be punished with the utmost rigour. This opinion was adopted by the rest, till it came to Cæsar. This eloquent man, consistent with whose ambitious principles it was rather to encourage than to suppress any threatening innovations, urged, in his usual persuasive manner, the propriety of allowing the accused the privilege of trial; and that the conspirators should only be taken into custody. The senate, who were under apprehensions from the people, thought it prudent to come into this measure; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he thought of nothing more than imprisonment, that being the most rigorous punishment a citizen of Rome could suffer.

This change of sentiments in those that spoke first, was followed by the rest, who all gave into milder measures: but Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended that opinion with the greatest vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his pusillanimity in changing his resolution; he attacked Cæsar, and charged him with a secret design of subverting the government, under the plausible appearance of mitigating speeches and a humane

* The French and English translators have it, '*a pleasant consul.* But that does not convey the sarcasm that Cato meant. *Ridiculeux est quod risum facit.*

conduct; of intimidating the senate by the same means, even in a case where he had to fear for himself, and wherein he might think himself happy, if he could be exempted from every imputation and suspicion of guilt; he who had openly and daringly attempted to rescue from justice the enemies of the state, and shows, that so far from having any compassion for his country, when on the brink of destruction, he could even pity and plead for the wretches, the unnatural wretches, that meditated its ruin, and grieve that their punishment should prevent their design. This, it is said, is the only oration of Cato that is extant. Cicero had selected a number of the swiftest writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the senate-house. Before his consulate, they had no short-hand writers. Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, agreeably to his opinion, that the conspirators should suffer capital punishment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and manners of Cato, the least circumstance that may contribute to mark them should not escape our notice. While he was warmly contesting his point with Cæsar, and the eyes of the whole senate were upon the disputants, it is said that a billet was brought in and delivered to Cæsar. Cato immediately suspected, and charged him with some traitorous design; and it was moved in the senate, that the billet should be read publicly. Cæsar delivered it to Cato, who stood near him; and the latter had no sooner cast his eye upon it, than he perceived it to be the hand of his own sister Servilia, who was passionately in love with Cæsar, by whom she had been debauched. He therefore threw it back to Cæsar, saying, "Take it, you sot," and went on with his discourse. Cato was always unfortunate amongst the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæsar, and his other sister Servilia was in still worse repute; for, though married to Lucullus, one of the first men in Rome, by whom she also had a son, she was divorced for her insufferable irregularities. But what was most distressful to Cato was, that the conduct of his own wife, Attilia, was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Attilia, he married Marcia, the daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plots in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thraseas, upon the authority of Munatius, Cato's particular friend, who lived under the same roof with him, gives us this account of the matter: Amongst the friends and followers of Cato, some made a more open profession of their sentiments than others. Amongst these was

Quintus Hortensius, a man of great dignity and politeness. Not contented merely with the friendship of Cato, he was desirous of a family alliance with him; and, for this purpose, he scrupled not to request that his daughter Porcia, who was already married to Bibulus, by whom she had two children, might be lent to him, as a fruitful soil, for the purpose of propagation. The thing itself, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural or improper: for why should a woman, in the flower of her age, either continue useless, till she is past childbearing, or overburden her husband with too large a family? The mutual use of women, he added, in virtuous families, would not only increase a virtuous offspring, but strengthen and extend the connexions of society. Moreover, if Bibulus should be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, she should be restored after she had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato by her pregnancy. Cato answered, that he had the greatest regard for the friendship of Hortensius, but could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortensius, however, would not give up the point here; but when he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, saying, that she was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already large enough. He could not possibly make this request upon a supposition that Cato had no regard for his wife, for she was at that very time pregnant. Notwithstanding, the latter, when he observed the violent inclination Hortensius had to be allied to him, did not absolutely refuse him, but said it was necessary to consult Marcia's father, Philip, on the occasion. Philip, therefore, was applied to, and his daughter was espoused to Hortensius in the presence and with the consent of Cato. These circumstances are not related in the proper order of time, but, speaking of Cato's connexion with the women, I was led to mention them.

When the conspirators were executed, and Cæsar, who, on account of his calumnies in the senate, was obliged to throw himself on the people, had infused a spirit of insurrection into the worst and lowest of the citizens, Cato, being apprehensive of the consequences, engaged the senate to appease the multitude by a free gift of corn. This cost twelve hundred and fifty talents a-year; but it had the desired effect*.

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held several seditious meetings, and published an edict, that Pompey should bring

* This is almost one-third more than the sum said to have been expended in the same distribution in the life of Cæsar; and even there it is incredibly large. But, whatever might be the expense, the policy was bad; for nothing so effectually weakens the hands of government as this method of bribing the populace, and treating them as injudicious nurses do froward children.

his troops into Italy, under the pretext of saving the city from the attempts of Cataline. Such was the pretence; but his real design was to give up the state into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the senate, Cato, instead of treating Metellus with his usual asperity, expostulated with great mildness, and had even recourse to entreaty, intimating, at the same time, that his family had ever stood in the interest of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildness to his fears, was the more insolent on that account, and most audaciously asserted that he would carry his purpose into execution, whether the senate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato, were changed in a moment; and, with all the force of eloquence, he declared, "That, while he was living, Pompey should never enter armed into the city." The senate neither approved of the conduct of Cato nor of Metellus: the latter they considered as a desperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than that of general destruction and confusion. The virtue of Cato they looked upon as a kind of enthusiasm, which would ever lead him to *arm* in the cause of justice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for the edict, a number of aliens, gladiators, and slaves, armed by Metellus, appeared in the *forum*. He was also followed by several of the commons, who wanted to introduce Pompey, in hopes of a revolution; and his hands were strengthened by the prætorial power of Cæsar. Cato, on the other hand, had the principal citizens on his side; but they were rather sharers in the injury, than auxiliaries in the removal of it. The danger to which he was exposed was now so great, that his family was under the utmost concern. The greatest part of his friends and relations came to his house in the evening, and passed the night without either eating or sleeping. His wife and sisters bewailed their misfortune with tears, while he himself passed the evening with the utmost confidence and tranquillity, encouraging the rest to imitate his example. He supped, and went to rest as usual, and slept soundly till he was waked by his colleague, Minutius Thermus. He went to the *forum*, accompanied by few, but met by many, who advised him to take care of his person. When he saw the temple of Castor surrounded by armed men, the steps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himself seated on an eminence with Cæsar, turning to his friend, "Which," said he, "is most contemptible, the savage disposition, or the cowardice of him who brings such an army against a man who is naked and unarmed?" Upon this he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Those that occupied the steps fell back to make way for him, but would suffer no one else to pass. Munatius only, with some difficulty, he drew along

with him; and, as soon as he entered, he took his seat between Cæsar and Metellus, that he might, by that means, prevent their discourse. This embarrassed them not a little; and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato met with from all the honest men that were present, who, while they admired his firm and steady spirit, so strongly marked in his aspect, encouraged him to persevere in the cause of liberty, and mutually agreed to support him.

Metellus, enraged at this, proposed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and that having no effect, he wrested it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to speak it from memory; but Thermus prevented him, by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found this ineffectual, and perceived that the people were gone over to the opposite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confusion. Upon this the people dispersed, and Cato was left alone, exposed to a storm of sticks and stones. But Muræna, though the former had so lately an information against him, would not desert him: he defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was exposed, entreated the mob to desist from their violence, and at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Castor. When Metellus found the benches deserted, and the adversary put to the rout, he imagined he had gained his point, and again very modestly proceeded to confirm the edict. The adversary, however, quickly rallied, and advanced with shouts of the greatest courage and confidence. Metellus's party, supposing that, by some means, they had got arms, was thrown into confusion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the dispersion of these, Cato came forward, and, by his encouragement and applause, established a considerable party against Metellus. The senate, too, voted that Cato should, at all events, be supported; and that an edict so pregnant with every thing that was pernicious to order and good government, and had even a tendency to civil war, should be opposed with the utmost vigour.

Metellus still maintained his resolution; but, finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered spirit of Cato, he came suddenly into the open court, assembled the people, said every thing that he thought might render Cato odious to them, and declared that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conspiracy against Pompey, whose disgrace Rome might one day have severe occasion to repent.

Upon this he immediately set off for Asia, to carry an account of these matters to Pompey; and Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troublesome tribune, and crushing, as it were, in him, the

growing power of Pompey, obtained the highest reputation. But what made him still more popular, was his prevailing on the senate to desist from their purpose of voting Metellus infamous, and divesting him of the magistracy. His humanity and moderation in not insulting a vanquished enemy, were admired by the people in general; whilst men of political sagacity could see, that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too much.

Soon afterwards, Lucullus returned from the war, which being concluded by Pompey, gave that general, in some measure, the laurels; and being rendered obnoxious to the people, through the impeachment of Caius Memmius, who opposed him more from a view of making his court to Pompey than any personal hatred, he was in danger of losing his triumphs. Cato, however, partly because Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly because he thought the proceedings unfair, opposed Memmius, and by that means exposed himself to great obloquy. But though divested of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had full credit enough to banish Memmius from the courts, and from the lists. Lucullus, therefore, having obtained his triumph, attached himself to Cato, as to the strongest bulwark against the power of Pompey. When this great man returned from the war, confident of his interest at Rome, from the magnificent reception he every where met with, he scrupled not to send a requisition to the senate, that they would defer the election of consuls till his arrival, that he might support Piso. Whilst they were in doubt about the matter, Cato, not because he was under any concern about deferring the election, but that he might intercept the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonstrated against the measure, and carried it in the negative. Pompey was not a little disturbed at this; and concluding, that if Cato were his enemy, he would be the greatest obstacle to his designs, he sent for his friend Munatius, and commissioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himself, and the younger for his son. Some say they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may, when Munatius opened his commission to Cato, in the presence of his wife and sisters, the women were not a little delighted with the splendour of the alliance: but Cato, without a moment's hesitation, answered, "Go, Munatius; go, and tell Pompey, that Cato is not to be caught in a female snare. Tell him, at the same time, that I am sensible of the honour he does me, and whilst he continues to act as he ought to do, I shall have that friendship for him which is superior to affinity, but I will never give hostages, against my country, to the glory of Pompey." The women, as it is natural to sup-

pose, were chagrined, and even the friends of Cato blamed the severity of his answer: but Pompey soon after gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open bribery in a consular election. "You see now," said Cato to the women, "what would have been the consequence of my alliance with Pompey: I should have had my share in all the aspersions that are thrown upon him." And they owned that he had acted right. However, if one ought to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato did wrong in rejecting the alliance of Pompey. By suffering it to devolve to Cæsar, the united power of those two great men went near to overturn the Roman empire. The commonwealth it effectually destroyed. But this would never have been the case, had not Cato, to whom the slighter faults of Pompey were obnoxious, suffered him, by thus strengthening his hands, to commit greater crimes. These consequences, however, were only impending at the period under our review. When Lucullus had a dispute with Pompey, concerning their institutions in Pontus, (for each wanted to confirm his own), as the former was evidently injured, he had the support of Cato; while Pompey, his junior in the senate, in order to increase his popularity, proposed the Agrarian law in favour of the army. Cato opposed it, and it was rejected; in consequence of which, Pompey attached himself to Clodius, the most violent and factious of the tribunes; and much about the same time contracted his alliance with Cæsar, to which Cato, in some measure, led the way. The thing was thus: Cæsar, on his return from Spain, was at once a candidate for the consulship, and demanded a triumph. But as the laws of Rome required that those who sue for the supreme magistracy should sue in person, and those who triumph should be without the walls, he petitioned the senate that he might be allowed to sue for the consulship by proxy.—The senate, in general, agreed to oblige Cæsar; and when Cato, the only one that opposed it, found this to be the case, as soon as it came to his turn, he spoke the whole day long, and thus prevented the doing of any business. Cæsar, therefore, gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the consulship and the interest of Pompey. As soon as he was appointed consul, he married Julia; and as they had both entered into a league against the commonwealth, one proposed the law for the distribution of lands amongst the poor, and the other seconded the proposal. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus, the other consul, opposed it: but Cato in particular, who suspected the pernicious consequences of Cæsar's connexion with Pompey, was strenuous against the motion; and said it was not the distribution of lands that he feared so much as the rewards

which the cajolers of the people might expect from their favours.

In this, not only the senate agreed with him, but many of the people too, who were reasonably offended by the unconstitutional conduct of Cæsar: for whatever the most violent and the maddest of the tribunes proposed for the pleasure of the mob, Cæsar, to pay an abject court to them, ratified by the consular authority. When he found his motion, therefore, likely to be overruled, his party had recourse to violence, pelted Bibulus the consul with dirt, and broke the rods of his *lictors*. At length, when darts began to be thrown, and many were wounded, the rest of the senate fled as fast as possible out of the *forum*. Cato was the last that left it; and, as he walked slowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the wickedness and madness of the people. The Agrarian law, therefore, was not only passed, but they obliged the whole senate to take an oath that they would confirm and support it; and those that should refuse were sentenced to pay a heavy fine. Necessity brought most of them into the measure; for they remembered the example of Metellus*, who was banished for refusing to comply in a similar instance with the people. Cato was solicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the entreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath. But what principally induced him, was the remonstrances and expostulations of Cicero, who represented to him, that there might not be so much virtue as he imagined in one man's dissenting from a decree that was established by the rest of the senate; that to expose himself to certain danger, without even the possibility of producing any good effect, was perfect insanity; and, what was still worse, to leave the commonwealth, for which he had undergone so many toils, to the mercy of innovators and usurpers, would look as if he were weary, at last, of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome, but Rome could not do without Cato: his friends could not do without him; himself could not dispense with his assistance and support, while the audacious Clodius, by means of his tribunitial authority, was forming the most dangerous machinations against him. By these and the like remonstrances, solicited at home and in the *forum*, Cato, it is said, was with difficulty prevailed on to take the oath; and that, his friend Favonius excepted, he was the last that took it.

Elated with this success, Cæsar proposed another act for distributing almost the whole province of Campania amongst the poor; Cato alone opposed it. And though Cæsar dragged him from the bench, and conveyed him to prison, he omitted not, nevertheless,

* Metellus Numidicus.

to speak as he passed in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the consequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a stop to such proceedings. The senate, with heavy hearts, followed Cato, and all the virtuous part of the people, with silent indignation. Cæsar was not inattentive to the public discontent that this proceeding occasioned; but ambitiously expecting some concessions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to prison. At length, however, when he found these expectations vain, unable any longer to support the shame to which this conduct exposed him, he instructed one of the tribunes to rescue him from his officers. The people, notwithstanding, brought into his interest by these public distributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the space of five years; though Cato foretold them, at the same time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws, (for he was of the patrician order), a tribune of the people; because they knew he would, in every respect, accede to their wishes with regard to the banishment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piso, the father of Cæsar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius*, a bosom friend of Pompey's, as we are told by them who knew him best, they created consuls.

Yet, though they had every thing in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour, and the other by fear, still they were afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains it cost them to overbear him, and that the violent and compulsive measures they had recourse to did them but little honour. Clodius, too, saw that he could not distress Cicero, while supported by Cato; yet this was his great object; and, upon his entering upon his tribunitial office, he had an interview with Cato; when, after paying him the compliment of being the honestest man in Rome, he proposed to him, as a testimony of his sincerity, the government of Cyprus; an appointment which, he said, had been solicited by many. Cato answered, that, far from being a favour, it was a treacherous scheme, and a disgrace; upon which Clodius fiercely replied, "If it is not your pleasure to go, it is mine that you shall go." And saying this, he went immediately to the senate, and procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither supplied him with a vessel, a soldier, or a servant, two secretaries excepted, one of whom was a notorious thief, and the other a client of his own. Besides, as if the charge of Cyprus and the opposition of Ptolemy were not a sufficient task

* Plutarch does not mean to represent this friendship in any favourable light. The character of Gabinius was despicable in every respect, as appears from Cicero's oration for Sextius.

for him, he ordered him likewise to restore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was to keep Cato as long as possible out of Rome.

Cato, thus obliged to go, exhorted Cicero, who was at the same time closely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the necessity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he sent before him to Cyprus, he negotiated with Ptolemy in such a manner, that he yielded without coming to blows; for Cato gave him to understand, that he should not live in a poor or abject condition, but that he should be appointed high-priest to the Paphian Venus *. While this was negotiating, Cato stopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's answer, and making preparations for the reduction of the island.

In the mean time, Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria upon some quarrel with his subjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to solicit his re-establishment from Cæsar and Pompey, by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he sent to him, in hopes that he would wait upon him. When his messenger arrived, Cato, who then happened to have taken physic, told him, that if Ptolemy wanted to see him, he might come himself. When he came, Cato neither went forward to meet him, nor did he so much as rise from his seat, but saluted him as he would do a common person, and carelessly bade him sit down. Ptolemy was somewhat hurt by it at first, and surprised to meet with such a supercilious severity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dress and appearance. However, when he entered into conversation with him concerning his affairs, when he heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was easily reconciled to him. Cato, it seems, blamed his impolitic application to Rome; represented to him the happiness he had left, and that he was about to expose himself to toils, the plagues of attendance, and, what was still worse, to the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt, converted into money, could not satisfy. He advised him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering

* This appointment seems to be but a poor exchange for a kingdom; but when it is remembered that, in the Pagan theology, the priests of the gods were not inferior in dignity to princes, and that most of them were of royal families;—when it is considered in what high reputation the Paphian Venus stood among the ancients, and what a lucrative as well as honourable office that of her priest must have been, occasioned by the offerings of the prodigious concourse of people who came annually to pay their devotions at her temple, it will be thought that Ptolemy made no bad bargain for his little island.

him, at the same time, his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, restored by his representations, as it were, from insanity to reason, admired the discretion and sincerity of Cato, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheless, brought him back to his former measures; but he was no sooner at the door of one of the magistrates of Rome, than he repented of his folly, and blamed himself for rejecting the virtuous counsels of Cato, as for disobeying the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good stars would have it, took himself off by poison. As he was said to have left a full treasury, Cato, being determined to go himself to Byzantium, sent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, because he had not sufficient confidence in Canidius. When the exiles were reconciled to the rest of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of vessels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was very exact, attended at the sales, took the accounts himself, and brought every article to the best market. Nor would he trust to the common customs of sale factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but had private conferences with the purchasers, in which he urged them to bid higher, so that every thing went off at the greatest rate. By this means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almost implacably affronted his particular friend Munatius. Cæsar, too, in his oration against him, availed himself of this circumstance, and treated him very severely. Munatius, however, tells us, that this misunderstanding was not so much occasioned by Cato's distrust, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealousy of Canidius: for Munatius wrote memoirs of Cato, which Thraseus has chiefly followed. He tells us, that he was amongst the last that arrived at Cyprus, and by that means found nothing but the refuse of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments, and was refused admittance, because Cato was privately concerting something with Canidius; and that, when he modestly complained of this conduct, he received a severe answer from Cato, who observed, with Theophrastus, that too much love was frequently the occasion of hatred; and that he, because of the strength of his attachment to him, was angry at the slightest inattention. He told him, at the same time, that he made use of Canidius as a necessary agent, and because he had more confidence in him than in the rest, having found him honest, though he had been there from the first, and had opportunities of being otherwise. This conversation, which he had in private with Cato, the latter, he informs us, related to Canidius;

and, when this came to his knowledge, he would neither attend at Cato's entertainments, nor, though called upon, assist at his councils. Cato threatening to punish him for disobedience, and as is usual, to take a pledge from him *, Munatius paid no regard to it, but sailed for Rome, and long retained his resentment. Upon Cato's return, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her husband, he and Munatius were both invited to sup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the rest of the company had taken their places, asked where he should take his place? Barca answered, where he pleased. "Then," said he, "I will take my place by Munatius." He therefore took his place next him, but he shewed him no other marks of friendship during supper; afterwards, however, at the request of Marcia, Cato wrote to him that he should be glad to see him. He therefore waited on him at his own house, and being entertained by Marcia till the rest of the morning visitors were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with great kindness. We have dwelt upon these little circumstances the longer, as, in our opinion, they contribute, no less than more public and important actions, towards the clear delineation of manners and characters.

Cato, in his expedition, had acquired near seven thousand talents of silver, and being under some apprehensions on account of the length of his voyage, he provided a number of vessels that would hold two talents and five hundred *drachmas* a-piece. To each of these he tied a long cord, at the end of which was fastened a long piece of cork, so that if any misfortune should happen to the ship that contained them, these buoys might mark the spot where they lay. The whole treasure, however, except a very little, was conveyed with safety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept very accurate, were both lost; one by shipwreck, with his freedman Philargyrus, and the other by fire at Corcyra: for the sailors, on account of the coldness of the weather, kept fires in the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This troubled Cato, though Ptolemy's servants, whom he had brought over with him, were sufficient vouchers for his conduct against enemies and informers: for he did not intend these accounts merely as a proof of his honesty, but to recommend the same kind of accuracy and industry to others.

As soon as his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magistrates, the priests, the whole senate, and multitudes of the people went down to the river to meet him, and covered both its banks, so that his reception was something like a triumph. Yet

* When a magistrate refused a summons to the senate or public council, the penalty was to take some piece of furniture out of his house, and to keep it till he should attend. This they called *pignora capere*.

there was an ill-timed haughtiness in his conduct; for though the consuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not so much as attempt to make the shore where they were, but rowed carelessly along in a royal six-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were struck with admiration at the vast quantity of money that was carried along the streets, and the senate, in full assembly, bestowed the highest encomiums upon him, and voted him a prætorship extraordinary *, and the right of attending at the public shows in a *prætexta*, or purple-bordered gown: but these honours he thought proper to decline. At the same time he petitioned that they would grant his freedom to Nicias, an officer of Ptolemy's, in favour of whose diligence and fidelity he gave his own testimony. Philip, the father of Marcia, was consul at that time, and his colleague respected Cato no less for his virtue, than Philip might for his alliance, so that he had in some measure the whole consular interest in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile to which he had been sentenced by Clodius, his influence was considerable, and he scrupled not, in the absence of Clodius, to pull down and destroy the tribunitial edicts which the latter had put up in the Capitol. Upon this the senate was assembled, and Cicero, upon the accusation of Clodius, made his defence, by alleging, that Clodius had not been legally appointed tribune, and that, of course, every act of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him, and said, "That he was indeed sensible that the whole administration of Clodius had been wicked and absurd;" but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, all that he had done in Cyprus would stand for nothing, because his commission, issuing from a tribune not legally appointed, could not be valid: that Clodius, though he was of a patrician family, had not been chosen tribune contrary to law, because he had previously been enrolled in the order of plebeians by an act passed for that purpose; but that, if he had acted unjustly in his office, he was liable to personal impeachments, while, at the same time, the office itself retained its proper force and authority. This occasioned a quarrel for some time between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they were reconciled.

Cæsar, upon his return out of Gaul, was met by Pompey and Crassus, and it was agreed that the two last should again stand for the consulship, that Cæsar should retain his government five years longer, and that the best provinces, revenues, and troops, should be

* Cato was then but thirty-eight years of age, and consequently too young to be prætor in the ordinary way, in which a person could not enter on that office till he was forty.

secured to themselves. This was nothing less than a division of empire, and a plot against the liberties of the commonwealth. This dangerous junction deterred many men of distinguished rank and integrity from their design of offering themselves candidates for the consulship. Cato, however, prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who married his sister, not to give up the point, nor to resign his pretensions; for that the contest was not then for the consulship, but for the liberties of Rome. The sober part of the citizens agreed, too, that the consular power should not be suffered to grow so enormous by the union of Crassus and Pompey; but that, at all events, they were to be separated, and Domitius encouraged and supported in the competition. They assured him, at the same time, that he would have the voices of many of the people, who were at present only silent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehensive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torch-light into the *Campus Martius*. The torch-bearer was killed at the first stroke; the rest were wounded and fled, Cato and Domitius alone excepted; for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, still kept Domitius on the spot, and conjured him not to desert the cause of liberty while he had life, but to oppose to the utmost those enemies of their country, who shewed what use they intended to make of that power, which they sought by such execrable means.

Domitius, however, unable to stand the shock, retired, and Pompey and Crassus were elected consuls. Yet Cato gave up nothing for lost, but solicited a prætorship for himself, that he might from thence, as from a kind of fort, militate against the consuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The consuls, apprehensive that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the consular authority, suddenly assembled a small senate, and obtained a decree, that those who were elected prætors should immediately enter upon their office *, without waiting the usual time to stand the charge, if any such charge should be brought against them, of bribery and corruption. By this means they brought in their own creatures and dependents, presided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Yet still the virtue of Cato could not totally lose its weight. There were still those who had honesty enough to be ashamed of selling his interest, and wisdom enough to think that it would be of service to the state to elect him even at the public expense. He therefore was nominated prætor by the votes of the first-called tribe; but Pompey, scandalously pretending that he heard it thunder, broke up the assembly; for it is not common

* There was always a time allotted between nomination and possession, that if any undue means had been made use of in the canvass, they might be discovered.

for the Romans to do any business if it thunders. Afterwards, by means of bribery, and by the exclusion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the assembly, they procured Vatinius to be returned prætor instead of Cato. Those electors, it is said, who voted from such iniquitous motives, like so many culprits, immediately ran away. To the rest that assembled and expressed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to address himself in a speech; in the course of which he foretold, as if inspired by some divine influence, all those evils that then threatened the commonwealth; and stirred up the people against Pompey and Crassus, who, in the consciousness of their guilty intentions, feared the control of the prætorial power of Cato. In his return home he was followed by a greater multitude than all that had been appointed prætors united.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the distribution of the consular provinces, and proposed giving Spain and Africa to one of the consuls, and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unlimited power of making war, and extending dominion, the rest of the senate, thinking opposition vain, forbore to speak against the motion. Cato, however, before it was put to the vote, ascended the *rostrum*, in order to speak, but he was limited to the space of two hours; and when he had spent this time in repetitions, instructions, and predictions, and was proceeding in his discourse, the lictor took him down from the rostrum: yet still, when below amongst the people, he persisted to speak in behalf of liberty; and the people readily attended to him, and joined in his indignation, till the consul's beadle again laid hold of him, and turned him out of the forum. He attempted, notwithstanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to assist him; which being done more than once, Trebonius, in a violent rage, ordered him to prison. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addressed himself as he went, till at last Trebonius, through fear, dismissed him. Thus Cato was rescued that day. But afterwards, the people being partly overawed, and partly corrupted, the consular party prevented Aquilius, one of the tribunes, by force of arms, from coming out of the senate-house into the assembly, wounded many, killed some, and thrust Cato, who said it thundered, out of the forum; so that the law was passed by compulsion. This rendered Pompey so obnoxious, that the people were going to pull down his statues, but were prevented by Cato. Afterwards, when the law was proposed for the allotment of Cæsar's provinces, Cato addressing himself particularly to Pompey, told him, with great confidence, he did not then consider that he was taking Cæsar upon his shoulders; but when he began to find his weight, and could neither support it

nor shake him off, they would both fall together, and crush the commonwealth in their fall; and then he should find, too late, that th counsels of Cato were no less salutary for himself than intrinsicall just. Yet Pompey, though he often heard these things, in the con fidence of his fortune and his power, despised them, and feared n reverse from the part of Cæsar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor, but he can hardl be said to have contributed so much to the dignity of that high offic by the rectitude of his conduct, as to have derogated from it by th meanness of his dress; for he would often go to the prætorial benc without his robe or his shoes, and sit in judgment, even in capita cases, on some of the first personages in Rome. Some will have it that he passed sentence, when he had drank after dinner, but that i not true. He was resolved to extirpate that extreme corruption whic then prevailed amongst the people in elections of every kind: and in order to effect this, he moved that a law should be passed in th senate, for every candidate, though no information should be laid, t declare upon oath in what manner he obtained his election. Thi gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part o the people: so that, as Cato was going in the morning to the tribunal he was so much insulted and pelted with stones by the mob, that th whole court fled, and he with difficulty escaped into the rostrum. There he stood, and his firm and steady aspect soon hushed the clamours and disorders of the populace; so that when he spoke upo the subject, he was heard with a general silence*. The senate publicly testified their approbation of his conduct; but he answered, tha no compliment could be paid to them at least for deserting the præ tor, and declining to assist him when in manifest danger. Thi measure distressed the candidates considerably; for, on the one hand they were afraid of giving bribes, and, on the other, they were ap prehensive of losing their election, if it should be done by their op ponents. They thought it best, therefore, jointly to deposit five hun dred sestertia each †, then to canvass in a fair and legal manner; an

* This circumstance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following passag n Virgil, and at the same time the laboured dignity and weight of that verse,

.... Pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem,

conveys a strong and very just idea of Cato.

Ac veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat.
Tum, pietate gravem et meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant:
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.—*Virg. Æ*

† Cicero speaks of this agreement in one of his epistles to Atticus.

if any one should be convicted of bribery, he should forfeit his deposit. Cato was appointed guarantee of this agreement, and the money was to be lodged in his hand, but for this he accepted of sureties. When the day of election came, Cato stood next to the tribune who presided, and, as he examined the votes, one of the depositing candidates appeared to have made use of some fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the rest. But, after complimenting the integrity of Cato, they remitted the fine, and said that the guilt was a sufficient punishment. Cato, however, rendered himself obnoxious to many by this conduct, who seemed displeased that he affected both the legislative and judicial powers. Indeed, there is hardly any authority so much exposed to envy as the latter, and hardly any virtue so obnoxious as that of justice, owing to the popular weight and influence that it always carries along with it: for though he who administers justice in a virtuous manner may not be respected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts, yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create suspicion: they are distinctions, moreover, which are rather given than acquired; one arises from a natural acuteness, the other from a natural firmness of mind. However, as justice is a virtue so easily practicable and attainable, the opposite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became obnoxious to the chiefs of Rome in general: but Pompey in particular, whose glory was to rise out of the ruins of his power, laboured with unwearied assiduity to procure impeachments against him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again entered the lists of Pompey, accused Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treasure, and of raising an opposition to Pompey, because the latter had refused to accept of his daughter in marriage. Cato, on the other hand, maintained, that though he was not so much as supplied with a horse, or a soldier, by the government, yet he had brought more treasure to the commonwealth from Cyprus than Pompey had done from so many wars and triumphs over the harassed world. He asserted, that he never even wished for the alliance of Pompey, not because he thought him unworthy, but because of the difference of their political principles. "For my own part," said he, "I rejected the province offered me as an appendage to my prætorship; but for Pompey, he arrogated some provinces to himself, and some he bestowed on his friends: nay, he has now, without even soliciting your consent, accommodated Cæsar in Gaul with six thousand soldiers. Such forces, armaments, and horses, are now, it seems, at the disposal of private men: and Pompey retains the title of commander and general, while he delegates to others the legions

and the provinces; and continues within the wa
tions, the arbiter of the mob, and the fabricator o
this conduct his principles are obvious. He holds
from anarchy to absolute power*." Thus Cato maintai
against Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of C
Apollodorus Phalereus† is said to have been of Socrates, who
transported with his discourses even to madness or intoxication. Th
Favonius stood for the office of ædile, and apparently lost it; but
Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding them all to be written
in the same hand, appealed against the fraud, and the tribunes set
aside the election. Favonius, therefore, was elected, and in the
discharge of the several offices of his magistracy he had the assistance
of Cato, particularly in the theatrical entertainments that were given
to the people. In these Cato gave another specimen of his economy;
for he did not allow the players and musicians crowns of gold, but
of wild-olive, such as they use in the Olympic games. Instead of
expensive presents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces, and ra-
dishes and parsley; and the Romans he presented with jugs of wine,
pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some ridiculed the
meanness of his presents, while others were delighted with this re-
laxation from the usual severity of his manners. And Favonius,
who appeared only as a common person amongst the spectators, and
had given up the management of the whole to Cato, declared the
same to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting
him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius,
exhibited at the same time in the other theatre a very magnificent
entertainment; but the people left him, and were much more en-
tertained with seeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato
master of the ceremonies. It is probable, however, that he took this
upon him only to show the folly of troublesome and expensive pre-
parations in matters of mere amusement, and that the benevolence
and good humour suitable to such occasions would have a better effect.

When Scipio, Hypsæus, and Milo, were candidates for the con-
sulship, and, besides the usual infamous practices of bribery and cor-
ruption, had recourse to violence and murder, and civil war, it was

* This maxim has been verified in almost every state. When ambitious men aimed at absolute power, their first measure was to impede the regular movements of the constitutional government, by throwing all into confusion, that they might ascend to monarchy as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

† See Plato's Phædo, and the beginning of the *Symposium*. This Apollodorus was surnamed *Manicus*, from his passionate enthusiasm.

pey should be appointed protector of the elec- posed this, and said that the laws should not derive om Pompey, but that Pompey should owe his to the

er, when the consular power had been long suspended, and *um* was in some measure besieged by three armies, Cato, that gs might not come to the worst, recommended to the senate to onfer that power on Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwise invest him, and by that means to make a less evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus, therefore, an agent of Cato's, moved, in the senate, that Pompey should be created sole consul, adding, that his administration would either be of the greatest service to the state, or that, at least, if the commonwealth must have a master, it would have the satisfaction of being under the auspices of the greatest man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, seconded the motion, intimating, that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promised fair for a constitutional administration, and for the preservation of the city.

Pompey, being thus elected consul, invited Cato to his house in the suburbs. He received him with the greatest caresses and acknowledgments, and entreated him to assist in his administration, and to preside at his councils. Cato answered, that he had neither formerly opposed Pompey out of private enmity, nor supported him of late out of personal favour; but that the welfare of the state had been his motive in both: that, in private, he would assist him with his counsel whenever he should be called upon; but that, in public, he should speak his sentiments, whether they might be in his favour or not. And he did not fail to do as he had told him: for, soon after, when Pompey proposed severe punishments and penalties against those who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the past should be overlooked, and the future only adverted to: for that, if he should scrutinize into former offences of that kind, it would be difficult to say where it would end; and should he establish penal laws, *ex post facto*, it would be hard that those who were convicted of former offences should suffer for the breach of those laws which were then not in being. Afterwards, too, when impeachments were brought against several persons of rank, and some of Pompey's friends amongst the rest, Cato, when he observed that Pompey favoured the latter, reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the discharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums should no longer be spoken in favour of the prisoner at the bar; and yet he gave in to the court a

written encomium on Munatius Plancus*, when he was upon his trial; but Cato, when he observed this, as he was one of the judges, stopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's being one of the judges; yet he was condemned notwithstanding. Indeed, Cato gave the criminals, in general, no small perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as, in the latter case, it was generally understood that they were unwilling to rely on their innocence, and by the same means were condemned: nay, to object to the judgment of Cato, became a common handle of accusation and reproach.

Cæsar, at the same time that he was prosecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his interest in the city by all that friendship and munificence could effect. Pompey saw this, and waked, as from a dream, to the warnings of Cato: yet he remained indolent; and Cato, who perceived the political necessity of opposing Cæsar, determined himself to stand for the consulship, that he might thereby oblige him either to lay down his arms or discover his designs. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpicius†, who was one of them, had himself derived great advantages from the authority of Cato. On this account, he was censured as ungrateful; though Cato was not offended: "For what wonder," said he, "is it, that what a man esteems the greatest happiness, he should not give up to another?" He procured an act in the senate, that no candidate should canvass by means of others. This exasperated the people, because it cut off at once the means of cultivating favour, and of conveying bribes, and thereby rendered the lower order of citizens poor and insignificant. It was in some measure owing to this act that he lost the consulship; for he consulted his dignity too much to canvass in a popular manner himself, and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulse, in this case, is for some time attended with shame and sorrow, both to the candidate and his friends; but Cato was so little affected by it, that he anointed himself to play at ball, and walked as usual after dinner with his friends in the *forum*, without his shoes

* Munatius Plancus, who, in the Greek, is mistakenly called Flaccus, was then tribune of the people. He was accused by Cicero and defended by Pompey, but unanimously condemned.

† The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. The latter, according to Dion, was chosen for his knowledge of the laws, and the former for his eloquence.

or his tunic. Cicero, sensible how much Rome wanted such a consul, at once blamed his indolence with regard to courting the people on this occasion, and his inattention to future success; whereas he had twice applied for the prætorship. Cato answered, that his ill success in the latter case was not owing to the aversion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulsive measures used amongst them; while, in an application for the consulship, no such measures could be used; and he was sensible, therefore, that the citizens were offended by those manners which did not become a wise man either to change for their sakes, or, by repeating his application, to expose himself to the same ill success.

Cæsar had, at this time, obtained many dangerous victories over warlike nations, and had fallen upon the Germans, though at peace with the Romans, and slain three hundred thousand of them. Many of the citizens, on this occasion, voted a public thanksgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and said, "That Cæsar should be given up to the nations he had injured, that his conduct might not bring a curse upon the city; yet the gods," he said, "ought to be thanked, notwithstanding, that the soldiers had not suffered for the madness and wickedness of their general, but that they had in mercy spared the state." Cæsar, upon this, sent letters to the senate full of invectives against Cato. When they were read, Cato rose with great calmness, and in a speech, so regular that it seemed premeditated, said, that with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæsar's buffoonery, they deserved not to be answered; and then laying open the whole plan of Cæsar's conduct, more like a friend, who knew his bosom counsels, than an enemy, he showed the senate that it was not the Britons, nor the Gauls, they had to fear, but Cæsar himself. This alarmed them so much, that Cæsar's friends were sorry they had produced the letters that occasioned it. Nothing, however, was then resolved upon; only it was debated concerning the propriety of appointing a successor to Cæsar; and when Cæsar's friends required that, in case thereof, Pompey too should relinquish his army, and give up his provinces; "Now," cried Cato, "is coming to pass the event that I foretold *.

* But was not this very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain sacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæsar could not long remain unacquainted with what had passed in the senate; and Cato's observation on this occasion was not much more discreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a house. Cato, in our opinion, with all his virtue, contributed no less to the destruction of the commonwealth than Cæsar himself. Wherefore did he idly exasperate that ambitious man, by objecting against a public thanksgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in that part of Cato's conduct, which had but the shadow of vir-

It is obvious that Cæsar will have recourse to arms; and that the power which he has obtained by deceiving the people, he will make use of to enslave them." However, Cato had but little influence out of the senate, for the people were bent on aggrandizing Cæsar; and even the senate, while convinced by the arguments of Cato, was afraid of the people.

When the news was brought that Cæsar had taken Ariminum, and was advancing with his army towards Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey, cast their eyes upon Cato, as the only person who had foreseen the original designs of Cæsar. "Had ye then," said Cato, "attended to my counsels, you would neither now have feared the power of one man, nor would it have been in that one man you should have placed your hopes." Pompey answered, that "Cato had indeed been a better prophet, but that he himself had acted a more friendly part." And Cato then advised the senate to put every thing into the hands of Pompey; "For the authors of great evils," he said, "knew best how to remove them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were insufficient, and even the few that he had by no means hearty in his cause, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato, being determined to follow him, sent his youngest son to Munatius, who was in the country of the Brutii, and took the eldest along with him. As his family, and particularly his daughters, wanted a proper superintendant, he took Marcia again, who was then a rich widow; for Hortensius was dead, and had left her his whole estate. This circumstance gave Cæsar occasion to reproach Cato with his avarice, and to call him a mercenary husband: "For why," said he, "did he part with her, if he had occasion for her himself? and, if he had not occasion for her, why did he take her again? The reason is obvious: it was the wealth of Hortensius. He lent the young man his wife that he might make her a rich widow." But, in answer to this, one need only quote that passage of Euripides*,

"Call Hercules a coward!"

For it would be equally absurd to reproach Cato with covetousness, as it would be to charge Hercules with want of courage. Whether the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair, is another question. However, as soon as he had re-married Marcia, he gave her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is said, that he neither cut his hair nor shaved

tue to support it. Nay, it is more than probable that it was out of spite to Cæsar, that Cato gave the whole consular power to Pompey. It must be remembered, that Cæsar had debauched Cato's sister.

* This passage is in the first act of the *Hercules Furens*.

his beard, nor wore a garland, but was uniform in his dress, as in his anguish for his country, On which side soever victory might for a while declare, he changed not on that account his habit. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he passed over to Syracuse; and finding that Asinius Pollio was arrived at Messenia with a detachment from the enemy, he sent to him to demand the reason of his coming; but Pollio only answered his question by another, and demanded of Cato to know the cause of those revolutions? When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrachium, "How mysterious," said he, "are the ways of Providence! When Pompey neither acted upon the principles of wisdom nor of justice, he was invincible; but, now that he would save the liberties of his country, his good fortune seems to have forsaken him. Asinius," he said, "he could easily drive out of Sicily; but, as greater supplies were at hand, he was unwilling to involve the island in war." He therefore advised the Syracusans to consult their safety, by joining the stronger party, and soon after set sail. When he came to Pompey, his constant sentiments were, that the war should be procrastinated in hopes of peace; for that, if they came to blows, which party soever might be successful, the event would be decisive against the liberties of the state. He also prevailed on Pompey, and the council of war, that neither any city, subject to the Romans, should be sacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and brought over many, by his humanity, to the interest of Pompey.

When he went into Asia, for the purpose of raising men and ships, he took with him his sister Servilia, and a little boy that she had by Lucullus; for, since the death of her husband, she had lived with him; and this circumstance of putting herself under the eye of Cato, and of following him through the severe discipline of camps, greatly recovered her reputation; yet Cæsar did not fail to censure Cato even on her account.

Though Pompey's officers in Asia did not think that they had much need of Cato's assistance, yet he brought over the Rhodians to their interest; and there leaving his sister Servilia and her son, he joined Pompey's forces, which were now on a respectable footing both by sea and land. It was on this occasion that Pompey discovered his final views. At first he intended to have given Cato the supreme naval command; and he had then no fewer than five hundred men of war, besides an infinite number of open galleys and tenders. Reflecting, however, or reminded by his friends, that Cato's great principle was on all occasions to rescue the commonwealth from the government of an individual; and that, if vested with so considerable a power

himself, the moment Cæsar should be vanquished, he would oblige Pompey too to lay down his arms, and submit to the laws; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrachium, Pompey himself addressed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the same. Their addresses, notwithstanding, were coldly received: but when Cato arose, and spoke, upon the principles of philosophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory; when, by his impassionate action, he showed that he felt what he spoke, and that his eloquence took its glowing colours from his soul; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witnesses of their efforts for the preservation of their country, the plaudits of the army rent the skies; and the generals marched on in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious; though Cæsar's good genius availed him of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. But these things have been mentioned in the life of Pompey. Amid the general joy that followed this success, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed that fatal and cruel ambition which covered the field with the bodies of citizens, fallen by the hands of each other. When Pompey, in pursuit of Cæsar, proceeded to Thessaly, and left in Dyrrachium a large quantity of arms and treasure, together with some friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command of fifteen cohorts onlæ for still he was afraid of his republican principles. If he shou thebe vanquished, indeed, he knew he would be faithful to himh but if he should be victor, he knew, at the same time, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conquest in the sweets of absolute power. Cato, however, had the satisfaction of being attended by many illustrious persons in Dyrrachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharsalia, Cato determined, in case of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognisance of the power of the tyrant; but if Pompey survived, he was resolved to keep his tle forces together for him. With this design he passed into C cyra, where the fleet was stationed, and would there have resig his command to Cicero, because he had been consul, and hims only prætor; but Cicero declined it, and set sail for Italy. Pomp the younger resented this defection, and was about to lay viole hands on Cicero and some others, but Cato prevented him by priva expostulation, and thus saved the lives both of Cicero and the rest.

Cato, upon a supposition that Pompey the Great would make his

escape into Egypt or Lybia, prepared to follow him, together with his little force, after having first given, to such as chose it, the liberty of staying behind. As soon as he had reached the African coast, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger son, who acquainted him with the death of his father. This greatly afflicted the little band; but, as Pompey was no more, they unanimously resolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compassion to the honest men that had put their confidence in him, and because he would not leave them destitute in a foreign country, took upon him the command. He first made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had before shut their gates against Labienus. Here he understood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba, and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had joined them with his forces. Cato, therefore, resolved to march to them by land, as it was now winter. He had got together a great many asses to carry water, and furnished himself also with cattle and other victualling provisions, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewise, in his train, some of the people called Psylli*, who obviate the bad effects of the bite of serpents by sucking out the poison, and deprive the serpents themselves of their ferocity by their charms. During a continued march for seven days, he was always foremost, though he made use of neither horse nor chariot. Even after the unfortunate battle of Pharsalia, he ate sitting†, intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to sleep.

* These people were so called from their king Psyllus, whose tomb was in the region of the Syrtes. Varro tells us, that, to try the legitimacy of their children, they suffer them to be bitten by a venomous serpent, and, if they survive the wound, they conclude that they are not spurious. Crates Pergamenus says, there were a people of this kind at Paros on the Hellespont; called Ophingenes, whose touch alone was a cure for the bite of a serpent. Celsus observes, that the Psylli suck out the poison from the wound, not by any superior skill or quality, but because they have courage enough to do it. Some writers have asserted, that the Psylli have an innate quality in their constitution that is poisonous to serpents, and that the smell of it throws them into a profound sleep. Pliny maintains, that every man has in himself a natural poison for serpents, and that those creatures will shun the human saliva, as they would running water. The fasting saliva, in particular, if it comes within their mouths, kills them immediately. If, therefore, we may believe that the human saliva is an antidote to the poison of a serpent, we shall have no occasion to believe, at the same time, that the Psylli were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their success in these operations arose, as Celsus says, *Ex audaciâ usu confirmatâ*. However, they made a considerable trade of it; and we are assured, that they have been known to import the African serpents into Italy, and other countries, to increase their gain. Pliny says, they brought scorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that island.

† The consul Varro did the same after the battle of *Cannæ*. It was a ceremony of

By the end of winter he reached the place of his designation in Lybia, with an army of near ten thousand men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad situation, by reason of the misunderstanding and distraction which prevailed between them, and which led them to pay their court with great servility to Juba, whose wealth and power rendered him intolerably arrogant: for when he first gave Cato audience, he took his place between Scipio and Cato; but Cato took up his chair, and removed it to the other side of Scipio; thus giving him the most honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had published a libel against him. Cato's adversaries have not paid proper regard to his spirit on this occasion, but they have been ready enough to blame him for putting Philostratus in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in Sicily, though he did it entirely out of regard to philosophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had considered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he took care also to reconcile them to each other.

The whole army then desired him to take the command upon him, and Scipio and Varus readily offered to resign it; but he said, "He would not transgress the laws, for the sake of which he was waging war with the man who trampled upon them, nor, when he was only *proprætor*, take the command from a *proconsul*." For Scipio had been appointed proconsul, and his name inspired the generality with hopes of success; for they thought a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.

Scipio, being established commander in chief, to gratify Juba, was inclined to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the sword, and to raze the city, as a place engaged in the interest of Cæsar: but Cato would not suffer it: he inveighed loudly in council against that design, invoking heaven and earth to oppose it; and, with much difficulty, rescued that people out of the hands of cruelty. After which, partly on their application, and partly at the request of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into the hands of Cæsar. Indeed, it was a place very convenient and advantageous to those who were masters of it; and Cato added much to its strength, as well as convenience; for he brought into it a vast quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. Then he armed all the youth of Utica, and posted them in the trenches under his eye: as for the rest of the inhabitants, he kept them close within the walls; but, at the same time, took great care that they should suffer no injury of any kind from the Romans. And by the supply of arms, of money, and provisions, which he sent in great quantities to the camp, Utica came to be considered as the principal magazine.

The advice he had before given to Pompey he now gave to Scipio, "Not to risk a battle with an able and experienced warrior, but to take the advantage of time, which most effectually blasts the growth of tyranny." Scipio, however, in his rashness, despised these counsels, and once even scrupled not to reproach Cato with cowardice; asking him, "Whether he could not be satisfied with sitting still himself within walls and bars, unless he hindered others from taking bolder measures upon occasion?" Cato wrote back, "That he was ready to cross over into Italy with the horse and foot which he had brought into Africa, and by bringing Cæsar upon himself, to draw him from his design against Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the proposal; and it was plain that Cato now repented his giving up to him the command, since he saw that Scipio would take no rational scheme for the conduct of the war; and that if he should, beyond all expectation, succeed, he would behave with no kind of moderation to the citizens. It was therefore Cato's judgment, and he often declared it to his friends, "That by reason of the incapacity and rashness of the generals, he could hope no good end of the war; and that even if victory should declare for them, and Cæsar be destroyed, for his part, he would not stay at Rome, but fly from the cruelty and inhumanity of Scipio, who already threw out insolent menaces against many of the Romans."

The thing came to pass sooner than he expected. About midnight a person arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with news that a great battle had been fought at Thapsus; that all was lost; that Cæsar was master of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba were fled with a few troops which had escaped the general slaughter.

On the receipt of such tidings, the people of Utica, as might be expected amidst the apprehensions of night and war, were in the utmost distraction, and could scarce keep themselves within the walls: but Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the streets with great confusion and clamour, encouraged them in the best manner he could. To remove the violence of terror and astonishment, he told them the case might not be so bad as it was represented, the misfortune being possibly exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the present tumult. As soon as it was light, he summoned to the temple of Jupiter the three hundred whom he made use of as a council. These were the Romans who trafficked there in merchandise and exchange of money; and to them he added all their senators and their sons. While they were assembling, he entered the house with great composure and firmness of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, and then read a

book which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the stores, the corn, the arms, and other implements of war, and the musters.

When they were met, he opened the matter "With commending the three hundred for the extraordinary alacrity and fidelity they had showed in serving the public cause with their purses, their persons, and their counsels; and exhorting them not to entertain different views, or to endeavour to save themselves by flight.—For," continued he, "if you keep in a body, Cæsar will not hold you in such contempt, if you continue the war; and you will be more likely to be spared, if you have recourse to submission. I desire you will consider the point thoroughly, and what resolution soever you may take, I will not blame you. If you are inclined to go with the stream of fortune, I shall impute the change to the necessity of the times: if you bear up against their threatening aspect, and continue to face danger in the cause of liberty, I will be your fellow-soldier, as well as captain, till our country has experienced the last issues of her fate: our country, which is not in Utica, or Adrymettum, but Rome; and she, in her vast resources, has often recovered herself from greater falls than this. Many resources we certainly have at present; and the principal is, that we have to contend with a man whose occasions oblige him to attend various objects. Spain is gone over to young Pompey, and Rome, as yet unaccustomed to the yoke, is ready to spurn it from her, and to rise on any prospect of change. Nor is danger to be declined. In this you may take your enemy for a pattern, who is prodigal of his blood in the most iniquitous cause; whereas, if you succeed, you will live extremely happy; if you miscarry, the uncertainties of war will be terminated with a glorious death. However, deliberate among yourselves as to the steps you should take, first entreating heaven to prosper your determinations in a manner worthy the courage and zeal you have already shown."

This speech of Cato's inspired some with confidence, and even with hope; and the generality were so much affected with his intrepid, his generous, and humane turn of mind, that they almost forgot their present danger; and looking upon him as the only general that was invincible and superior to all fortune, "They desired him to make what use he thought proper of their fortunes and their arms; for that it was better to die under his banner, than to save their lives at the expense of betraying so much virtue." One of the counsel observed the expediency of a decree for enfranchising the slaves, and many commended the motion: Cato, however, said "He would not do that, because it was neither just nor lawful; but such as their masters would voluntarily discharge, he would receive provided they were of proper age to bear arms." This many pro-

mised to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered lists to be made out of all that should offer.

A little after this, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a small corps concealed in the mountains, desired to know Cato's intentions; proposing to wait for him if he left Utica, or to assist him if he chose to stand a siege. Scipio also lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting an answer on the same account.

Cato thought it advisable to keep the messenger till he should know the final determination of the three hundred. All of the patrician order, with great readiness, enfranchised and armed their slaves; but as for the three hundred, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high interest, and whose slaves were a considerable part of their fortune, the impression which Cato's speech had made upon them did not last long. As some bodies easily receive heat, and as easily grow cold again when the fire is removed, so the sight of Cato warmed and liberalised these traders; but when they came to consider the matter among themselves, the dread of Cæsar soon put to flight their reverence for Cato, and for virtue: for thus they talked—"What are we, and what is the man whose orders we refuse to receive? Is it not Cæsar into whose hands the whole power of the Roman empire is fallen? And surely none of us is a Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. Shall we, at a time when their fears make all men entertain sentiments beneath their dignity—shall we, in Utica, fight for the liberty of Rome, with a man against whom Cato and Pompey the Great durst not make a stand in Italy? Shall we enfranchise our slaves to oppose Cæsar, who have no more liberty ourselves than that conqueror is pleased to leave us? Ah! wretches that we are! let us at last know ourselves, and send deputies to intercede with him for mercy." This was the language of the most moderate among the three hundred: but the greatest part of them lay in wait for the patricians, thinking, if they could seize upon them, they should more easily make their peace with Cæsar. Cato suspected the change, but made no remonstrances against it; he only wrote to Scipio and Juba to keep at a distance from Utica, because the three hundred were not to be depended upon.

In the mean time, a considerable body of cavalry, who had escaped out of the battle, approached Utica, and despatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous resolution; for some were for joining Juba, some Cato, and others were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the business of the three hundred, and quietly take down the names of such as offered to set free their

slaves, without pretending to use the least compulsion. Then he went out of the town, taking the senators with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He entreated their officers not to abandon so many Roman senators; nor to choose Juba rather than Cato for their general, but to join and mutually contribute to each other's safety, by entering the city, which was impregnable in point of strength, and had provisions and every thing necessary for defence for many years. The senators seconded this application with prayers and tears; the officers went to consult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the senators, sat down upon one of the mounds to wait their answer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing against the three hundred, who, he said, behaved in a very disorderly manner, and were raising commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the senators thought their condition desperate, and gave into the utmost expressions of grief: but Cato endeavoured to encourage them, and requested the three hundred to have patience.

Nor was there any thing moderate in the proposals of the cavalry. The answer from them was, "That they had no desire to be in the pay of Juba; nor did they fear Cæsar, while they should have Cato for their general; but to be shut up with Uticans, Phœnicians, who would change with the wind, was a circumstance which they could not bear to think of: "For," said they, "if they are quiet now, yet, when Cæsar arrives, they will betray us, and conspire our destruction. Whoever, therefore, desires us to range under his banners there, must first expel the Uticans, or put them to the sword, and then call us into a place clear of enemies and barbarians." These proposals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and savage: however, he mildly answered, "That he would talk with the three hundred about them." Then entering the city again, he applied to that set of men, who now no longer, out of reverence to him, dissembled or palliated their designs: they openly expressed their resentment that any citizen should presume to lead them against Cæsar, with whom all contest was beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, some went so far as to say, "That the senators ought to be detained in the town till Cæsar came." Cato let this pass as if he heard it not; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the three hundred would take some desperate step with respect to the senators, and he therefore went in pursuit of them with his friends. As he found that they were got under march, he rode after them.—It was with pleasure they saw him approach, and they exhorted him to go with them, and save his life with theirs. On

this occasion it is said that Cato shed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the senators. He even turned the heads of some of their horses, and laid hold of their armour, till he prevailed with them to stay, at least that day, to secure the retreat of the senators.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to some, and the citadel to others, the three hundred were under great apprehensions of being punished for their inconstancy, and sent to beg of Cato, by all means, to come and speak to them: but the senators would not suffer him to go.—They said they would never let their guardian and deliverer come into the hands of such perfidious and traitorous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the clearest light, and commanded the highest love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident than that the most perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long resolved to put an end to his being, and yet he submitted to inexpressible labours, cares, and conflicts for others; that, after he had secured their lives, he might relinquish his own: for his intentions, in that respect, were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

Therefore, after having satisfied the senators as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the three hundred. "They thanked him for the favour, and entreated him to trust them, and make use of their services; but as they were not Catos, nor had Cato's dignity of mind, they hoped he would pity their weakness. They told him they had resolved to send deputies to Cæsar, to intercede first and principally for Cato. If that request should not be granted, they would have no obligation to him for any favour to themselves; but, as long as they had breath, would fight for Cato."—Cato made his acknowledgments for their regard, and advised them to send immediately to intercede for themselves. "For me," said he, "intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn suppliants, and for those who have done an injury to beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered through life, and superior in the thing I wished to be; for, in justice and honour, I am Cæsar's superior. Cæsar is the vanquished, the falling man, being now clearly convicted of those designs against his country which he had long denied."

After he had thus spoken to the three hundred, he left them; and being informed that Cæsar was already on his march to Utica, "Strange!" said he, "it seems he takes us for men." He then went to the senators, and desired them to hasten their flight while the cavalry remained. He likewise shut all the gates, except that which leads to the sea; appointed ships for those who were to de-

part; provided for good order in the town; redressed grievances; composed disturbances, and furnished all who wanted with the necessary provisions for the voyage. About this time Marcus Octavius* approached the place with two legions; and, as soon as he had encamped, sent to desire Cato to settle with him the business of the command. Cato gave the messengers no answer, but, turning to his friends, said, "Need we wonder that our cause has not prospered, when we retain our ambition on the very brink of ruin?"

In the mean time, having intelligence that the cavalry, at their departure, were taking the goods of the Uticans as a lawful prize, he hastened up to them, and snatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremost; upon which they all threw down what they had got, and retired in silence, dejected and ashamed. He then assembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the three hundred, desiring them not to exasperate Cæsar against those Romans, but to act in concert with them, and consult each other's safety. After which he returned to the sea-side to look upon the embarkation: and such of his friends and acquaintances as he could persuade to go, he embraced, and dismissed with great marks of affection. His son was not willing to go with the rest; and he thought it was not right to insist on his leaving a father he was so fond of. There was one Statyllius†, a young man who affected a firmness of resolution above his years, and, in all respects, studied to appear like Cato, superior to passion. As this young man's enmity to Cæsar was well known, Cato desired him by all means to take ship with the rest; and, when he found him bent upon staying, he turned to Apollonides the Stoic, and Demetrius the Peripatetic, and said, "It is your business to reduce this man's extravagance of mind, and to make him see what is for his good." He now dismissed all, except such as had business of importance with him; and upon these he spent that night, and great part of the day following.

Lucius Cæsar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the three hundred, desired Cato to assist him in composing a suitable speech. "And for you," said he, "I shall think it an honour to become the most humble suppliant, and even to throw myself at his feet." Cato, however, would not suffer it: "If I chose to be indebted," said he, "to Cæsar for my life, I ought to go in person, and without any mediator; but I will not have any

* The same who commanded Pompey's fleet.

† This brave young Roman was the same who, after the battle of Philippi, went through the enemy to inquire into the condition of Brutus's camp, and was slain in his return by Cæsar's soldiers.

obligation to a tyrant in a business by which he subverts the laws. And he does subvert the laws, by saving, as a master, those over whom he has no right of authority. Nevertheless, we will consider, if you please, how to make your application most effectual in behalf of the three hundred."

After he had spent some time with Lucius Cæsar upon this affair, he recommended his son and friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave, and retired to his own house. His son and the rest of his friends being assembled there, he discoursed with them a considerable time; and, among other things, charged the young man to take no share in the administration: "For the state of affairs," said he, "is such that it is impossible for you to fill any office in a manner worthy of Cato; and to do it otherwise would be unworthy of yourself."

In the evening he went to the bath; where, bethinking himself of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides, and said, "Have you taken down the pride of that young man? And is he gone without bidding us farewell?" "No, indeed," answered the philosopher, "we have taken a great deal of pains with him; but he continues as lofty and resolute as ever; he says he will stay, and certainly follow your conduct." Cato then smiled, and said, "That will soon be seen."

After bathing, he went to supper with a large company, at which he sat, as he had always done since the battle of Pharsalia; for (as we observed above) he never now lay down, except to sleep. All his friends, and the magistrates of Utica, supped with him. After supper, the wine was seasoned with much wit and learning, and many questions in philosophy were proposed and discussed. In the course of the conversation, they came to the paradoxes of the Stoics (for so their maxims are commonly called), and to this in particular, "That the good man only is free, and all bad men are slaves*." The Peripatetic, in pursuance of his principles, took up the argument against it: upon which Cato attacked him with great warmth, and, in a louder and more vehement accent than usual, carried on a most spirited discourse to a considerable length. From the tenor of it, the whole company perceived he had determined to put an end to his being, to extricate himself from the hard conditions on which he was to hold it.

As he had found a deep and melancholy silence the consequence of his discourse, he endeavoured to recover the spirits of his guests, and to remove their suspicions, by talking of their present affairs, and expressing his fears both for his friends and partisans who were

* This was not only the sentiment of the Stoics, but of Socrates.

upon their voyage, and for those who had to make their way through dry deserts and a barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, he took his usual evening walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards such orders as the occasion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour with which he embraced his son and his friends at this parting, recalled all their suspicions. He lay down, and began to read Plato's book on the Immortality of the Soul; but, before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his sword was not at the head of his bed, where it used to hang; for his son had taken it away while he was at supper. He therefore called his servant, and asked him, who had taken away his sword? As the servant made no answer, he returned to his book; and, after a while, without any appearance of haste or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the sword, he ordered him to bring it. The servant still delayed to bring it, and he had patience till he had read out his book; but then he called his servants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his sword. At last he struck one of them such a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and raising his voice still higher, he cried, "I am betrayed and delivered naked to my enemy, by my son and my servants." His son then ran in with his friends, and, tenderly embracing him, had recourse to tears and entreaties: but Cato rose up, and with a stern and awful look, thus expressed himself: "When and where did I show any signs of distraction, that nobody offers to dissuade me from any purpose I may seem to be wrong in, but I must be hindered from pursuing my resolutions, thus disarmed? And you, young man, why do you not bind your father? bind his hands behind his back, that, when Cæsar comes, he may find me utterly incapable of resistance? As to a sword, I have no need of it to despatch myself; for if I do but hold my breath awhile, or dash my head against the wall, it will answer the purpose as well."

Upon his speaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To these philosophers he addressed himself in a milder tone: "Are you also determined to make a man of my age live, whether he will or no? And do you sit here in silence to watch me? Or do you bring any arguments to prove that, now Cato has no hopes from any other quarter, it is no dishonour to beg mercy of his enemy? Why do not you begin a lecture to inform me better, that, dismissing the opinions in which you and I have lived, we may, through Cæsar's means, grow wiser, and so have a still greater obligation to him? As yet I have determined nothing with respect

to myself; but I ought to have it in my power to put my purpose in execution when I have formed it: and, indeed, I shall, in some measure, consult with you, for I shall proceed in my deliberations upon the principles of your philosophy. Be satisfied then, and go tell my son, if persuasion will not do, not to have recourse to constraint."

They made no answer, but went out; the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The sword was sent in by a little boy. He drew and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, "Now," said he, "I am master of myself." Then laying down the sword, he took up the book again, and, it is said, he perused the whole twice*. After which he slept so sound, that he was heard by those who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the physician, and Butas, whom he generally employed about public business. The latter he sent to the port to see whether all the Romans had put off to sea, and bring him word.

In the mean time he ordered the physician to dress his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his servant. This was some consolation to the whole house, for now they thought he had dropt his design against his life. Soon after this, Butas returned, and informed them that they were all got off, except Crassus, who had been detained by some business, but that he intended to embark very soon, though the wind blew hard, and the sea was tempestuous. Cato, at this news, sighed in pity of his friends at sea, and sent Butas again, that if any of them happened to have put back, and should be in want of any thing, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the birds began to sing, and Cato fell again into a little slumber. Butas, at his return, told him all was quiet in the harbour: upon which Cato ordered him to shut the door, having first stretched himself on the bed, as if he designed to sleep out the rest of the night. But, after Butas was gone, he drew his sword, and stabbed himself under the breast. However, he could not strike hard enough on account of the inflammation in his hand, and therefore did not presently expire, but, in the struggle with death, fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that stood by.

The noise alarming the servants, they cried out, and his son and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out: at the same time he was alive, and looked upon them.—They were struck with inexpressible horror. The physician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured, he put them up, and began to sew up the

* Yet this very dialogue condemns suicide in the strongest terms.

wound: but as soon as Cato came a little to himself, he thrust away the physician, tore open the wound, plucked out his own bowels, and immediately expired.

In less time than one would think all the family could be informed of this sad event, the three hundred were at the door; and a little after all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice, calling him "their benefactor, their saviour, the only free and unconquered man." This they did, though at the same time they had intelligence that Cæsar was approaching. Neither fear, nor the flattery of the conqueror, nor the factious disputes that prevailed among themselves, could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and, after a splendid procession, buried it near the sea; where now stands his statue, with a sword in the right hand.

This great business over, they began to take measures for saving themselves and their city. Cæsar had been informed by persons who went to surrender themselves, that Cato remained in Utica, without any thoughts of flight; that he provided for the escape of others, indeed, but that himself, with his friends and his son, lived there without any appearance of fear or apprehension. Upon these circumstances he could form no probable conjecture.

However, as it was a great point with him to get him into his hands, he advanced to the place with his army with all possible expedition: and when he had intelligence of Cato's death, he is reported to have uttered this short sentence: "Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou couldst envy me the glory of saving thy life." Indeed, if Cato had deigned to owe his life to Cæsar, he would not so much have tarnished his own honour, as have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event, is uncertain; but, in all probability, Cæsar would have inclined to the merciful side.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His son suffered nothing from Cæsar; but, it is said, he was rather immoral, and that he was censured for his conduct with respect to women. In Cappadocia, he lodged at the house of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handsome wife; and as he stayed there a longer time than decency could warrant, such jokes as these were passed upon him: "Cato goes the morrow after the thirtieth day of the month." —"Porcius and Marphadates are two friends who have but one *soul*;" for the wife of Marphadates was named *Psyche*, which signifies *soul*. —"Cato is a great and generous man, and has a royal *soul*." —Nevertheless, he wiped off all aspersions by his death: for, fighting at Philippi, against Octavius Cæsar and Antony, in the cause of liberty, after his party gave way, he disdained to fly. Instead

of slipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their strength with Cato; he animated such of his troops as had stood their ground, and fell, acknowledged by his adversaries a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her virtues. She was not inferior to her father, either in prudence or in fortitude; for, being married to Brutus, who killed Cæsar, she was trusted with the secret of the conspiracy, and put a period to her life in a manner worthy of her birth and of her virtue, as we have related in the life of Brutus.

As for Statyllius, who promised to imitate the pattern of Cato, he would have despatched himself soon after him, but was prevented by the philosophers. He approved himself, afterwards, to Brutus, a faithful and able officer, and fell in the battle of Philippi.

AGIS.

IT is not without appearance of probability that some think the fable of Ixion designed to represent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud instead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their embrace: the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue, and, governed by different impulses, actuated by emulation and all the variety of passions, they produce nothing pure and genuine; the whole issue is of a preposterous kind. The shepherds in Sophocles say of their flocks,

> .... These are our subjects, yet we serve them,
> And listen to their mute command.

The same may be truly affirmed of those great statesmen, who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become slaves to gain the name of magistrates and rulers. As in a ship, those at the oar can see what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders; so they, who take their measures of administration only with a view to popular applause, are called governors indeed, but, in fact, are no more than slaves of the people.

The complete, the honest statesman, has no further regard to the public opinion than as the confidence it gains him facilitates his designs, and crowns them with success. An ambitious young man may be allowed, indeed, to value himself upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theo-

phrastus says, when they first begin to grow in, persons of that age and disposition, are cherished and strengthened by praise, and afterwards increase in proportion as the love of glory increases. But an immoderate passion for fame, in all affairs, is dangerous, and in political matters destructive: for, joined to great authority, this passion drives all that are possessed with it into folly and madness, while they no longer think that glorious which is good, but account whatever is glorious to be also good and honest. Therefore, as Phocion said to Antipater, when he desired something of him inconsistent with justice, "You cannot have Phocion for your friend and flatterer too;" this, or something like it, should be said to the multitude, "You cannot have the same man both for your governor and your slave:" for that would be no more than exemplifying the fable of the serpent: the tail, it seems, one day quarrelled with the head, and, instead of being forced always to follow, insisted that it should lead in its turn. Accordingly, the tail undertook the charge, and, as it moved forward at all adventures, it tore itself in a terrible manner; and the head, which was thus obliged, against nature, to follow a guide that could neither see nor hear, suffered likewise in its turn. We see many under the same predicament, whose object is popularity in all the steps of their administration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce such disorders as they can neither redress nor restrain.

These observations on popularity were suggested to us, by considering the effects of it in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of disposition, of education, and political principles, none could exceed them; yet they were ruined, not so much by an immoderate love of glory, as by a fear of disgrace, which, in its origin, was not wrong. They had been so much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were ashamed to be behindhand with them in the marks of attention: on the contrary, by the most acceptable services, they always studied to outdo the honours paid them, and being still more honoured on account of those services, the affection between them and the people became at last so violent, that it forced them into a situation wherein it was in vain to say, "Since we are wrong, it would be a shame to persist." In the course of the history, these observations occur.

With those two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they strove to enlarge the privileges of the people, and, by restoring the just and glorious institutions, which had long fallen into disuse, they became equally obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the superiority which riches gave them,

and to which they had long been accustomed. These Spartans were not, indeed, brothers; but their actions were of the same kindred and complexion; the source of which was this:

When the love of money made its way into Sparta, and brough avarice and meanness in its train on the one hand—on the other, pro fusion, effeminacy, luxury; that state soon deviated from its ori ginal virtue, and sunk into contempt, till the reign of Agis an Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion, the son of Eudami das, the sixth in descent from Agesilaus, distinguished by his ex pedition into Asia, and for his eminence in Greece. Agesilaus was succeeded by his son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandonium in Italy*. Agis was the eldest son of Archidamus, and being slain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his brother Eudamidas. He was succeeded by another Archidamus, his son, and that prince by another Eudamidas, his son likewise, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now speaking. Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, was of another branch of the family of the Agiadæ, the eighth in descent from that Pausanias who conquered Mardonius at Platæa. Pausanias was succeeded by his son Plistonax, and he by another Pausanias, who, being banished to Tegea, left his kingdom to his eldest son Agesipolis. He, dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes. Agesipolis, after a short reign, died without issue, and Cleomenes, who succeeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldest son Acrotatus, left surviving another son Cleonymus, who, however, did not succeed to the kingdom, which fell to Areus the son of Acrotatus, and grandson of Cleomenes. Areus being slain at Corinth, the crown descended to his son Acrotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis by the tyrant Aristodemus. He left his wife pregnant, and as the child proved to be a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus took the guardianship of him; and his charge dying in his minority, the crown fell to him. This prince was not agreeable to his people: for, though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable than the rest for his deviation from the customs of his ancestors. He had long been conversant in the courts of the Asiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus, and he had the indiscretion to introduce the pomp of those courts into a Grecian state, into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almost all the kings who

* We know of no such place as *Mandonium*. Probably we should read *Mandurium*, which is a city of Japygia, mentioned by the geographers.—*Cellarius*, p. 902.

reigned before him since the great Agesilaus, in goodness of disposition and dignity of mind: for, though brought up in the greatest affluence, and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition, under his mother Agesistrata, and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richest persons in Lacedæmon, yet, before he reached the age of twenty, he declared war against pleasure; and, to prevent any vanity which the beauty of his person might have suggested, he discarded all unnecessary ornament and expense, and constantly appeared in a plain Lacedæmonian cloke. In his diet, his bathing, and in all his exercises, he kept close to the Spartan simplicity; and he often used to say, that the crown was no further an object of desire to him, than as it might enable him to restore the laws and ancient discipline of his country.

The first symptoms of corruption and distemper in their commonwealth appeared at the time when the Spartans had entirely destroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and silver into Lacedæmon. Nevertheless, the Agrarian law established by Lycurgus still subsisting, and the lots of land descending undiminished from father to son, order and equality in some measure remained, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus, a man of great authority in Sparta, though at the same time factious and ill-natured, being appointed one of the *ephori*, and having a quarrel with his son, procured a law that all men should have liberty to alienate* their estates in their life-time, or to leave them to whom they pleased at their death. It was to indulge his private resentment that this man proposed the decree, which others accepted and confirmed from a motive of avarice, and thus the best institution in the world was abrogated. Men of fortune now extended their landed estates without bounds, not scrupling to exclude the right heirs; and property quickly coming into a few hands, the rest of the people were poor and miserable. The latter found no time or opportunity for liberal arts and exercises, being obliged to drudge in mean and mechanic employments for their bread, and, consequently, looking with envy and hatred on the rich. There remained not above seven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which, perhaps, one hundred had estates in land. The rest of the city was filled with an insignificant rabble, without property or honour, who had neither heart nor spirit to defend their country against wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For these reasons, Agis thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact

* It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure laws empowering the nobility to alienate their estates, and by that means to reduce their power; for the nobility in those times were no better than so many petty tyrants.

it was, to bring the citizens again to an equality, and by that means to replenish Sparta with respectable inhabitants. For this purpose, he sounded the inclinations of his subjects. The young men listened to him with a readiness far beyond his expectation: they adopted the cause of virtue with him, and, for the sake of liberty, changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But most of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus as a fugitive slave, when brought back, is of that of his master. They inveighed, therefore, against Agis for lamenting the present state of things, and desiring to restore the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand, Lysander the son of Libys, Mandroclidas the son of Ecphanes, and Agesilaus, not only came into his glorious designs, but co-operated with them.

Lysander had great reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man understood the interests of Greece better than Mandroclidas; and with his shrewdness and capacity he had a proper mixture of spirit. As for Agesilaus, he was uncle to the king, and a man of great eloquence, but, at the same time, effeminate and avaricious. However, he was animated to this enterprise by his son Hippomedon, who had distinguished himself in many wars, and was respectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his person. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the thing which really persuaded Agesilaus to embark in the design was the greatness of his debts, which he hoped to be cleared off by a change in the constitution.

As soon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured, with his assistance, to bring his own mother into the scheme.—She was sister to Agesilaus, and by her extensive connexions, her wealth, and the number of people who owed her money, had great influence in Sparta, and a considerable share in the management of public affairs. Upon the first intimation of the thing, she was quite astonished at it, and dissuaded the young man as much as possible from measures which she looked upon as neither practicable nor salutary: but Agesilaus showed her that they might easily be brought to bear, and that they would prove of the greatest utility to the state. The young prince, too, entreated his mother to sacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition: "It is impossible," said he, "for me ever to vie with other kings in point of opulence. The domestics of an Asiatic grandee, nay, the servants of the stewards of Ptolemy and Seleucus were richer than all the Spartan kings put together. But if by sobriety, by simplicity of provision for the body, and by greatness of mind, I can do some-

thing which shall far exceed all their pomp and luxury, I mean the making an equal partition of property among all the citizens, I shall really become a great king, and have all the honour that such actions demand."

This address changed the opinions of the women.—They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue, as it were, by inspiration, and, in their turn, hastened Agis to put his scheme in execution. They sent for their friends, and recommended the affair to them; and they did the same to the other matrons: for they knew that the Lacedæmonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public business than the men are with the domestic. This, indeed, was the principal obstruction to Agis's enterprise.—Great part of the wealth of Sparta was now in the hands of the women; consequently they opposed the reformation, not only because they knew they must forfeit those gratifications in which their deviation from the severer paths of sobriety had brought them to place their happiness, but because they saw they must also lose that honour and power which follow property.—They therefore applied to Leonidas, the other king, and desired him, as the older man, to put a stop to the projects of Agis.

Leonidas was inclined to serve the rich; but as he feared the people, who were very desirous of the change, he did not oppose it openly. Privately, however, he strove to blast the design, by applying to the magistrates, and invidiously represented, "That Agis offered the poor a share in the estates of the rich, as the price of absolute power; and that the distribution of lands, and cancelling of debts, was only a means to purchase guards for himself, not citizens for Sparta."

Agis, however, having interest to get Lysander elected one of the *ephori*, took the first opportunity to propose his *rhetra* to the senate; according to which, "Debtors were to be released from their obligations, and lands to be divided in the following manner:—Those that lay between the valley of Pellene and mount Taygetus, as far as Malea and Sellasia, were to be distributed in four thousand five hundred equal lots; fifteen thousand lots were to be made of the remaining territory, which should be shared among the neighbouring inhabitants who were able to bear arms: as to what lay within the limits first mentioned, Spartans were to have the preference; but if their number fell short, it should be made up out of strangers, who were unexceptionable in point of person, condition, and education. These were to be divided into fifteen companies, some of four hun-

dred, some of two hundred, who were to eat together, and keep to the diet and discipline enjoined by the laws of Lycurgus."

The decree thus proposed in the senate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lysander summoned an assembly of the people; and he with Mandroclidas and Agesilaus, in their discourse to the citizens, entreated them not to suffer the few to insult the many, or to see with unconcern the majesty of Sparta trodden under foot. They desired them to recollect the ancient oracles which bade them beware of the love of money, as a vice the most ruinous to Sparta, as well as the late answer from the temple of Pasiphæ, which gave them the same warning.—For Pasiphæ had a temple and oracle at Thalamiæ*. Some say, this Pasiphæ was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a son named Ammon. Others suppose her to be Cassandra†, the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have the name of *Pasiphæ*, from her answering the questions of all that consulted her.—But Phylarchus says, she was no other than Daphne, the daughter of Amyclas, who, flying from the solicitations of Apollo, was turned into a laurel, and afterwards honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be that as it may, it was affirmed that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.

Last of all, king Agis entered the assembly, and, after a short speech, declared that he would contribute largely to the institution he recommended. He would first give up to the community his own great estate, consisting of arable and pasture land, and of six hundred talents in money:—then his mother and grandmother, all his relations and friends, who were the richest persons in Sparta, would follow his example.

The people were astonished at the munificence of the young man's proposal, and rejoiced that now, after the space of three hundred years, they had at last found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this, Leonidas began openly and vigorously to oppose the new regulations. He considered that he should be obliged to do the same with his

* These who consulted this oracle lay down to sleep in the temple, and the goddess revealed to them the object of their inquiries in a dream.—*Cic. de Div.* l. i.

† Pausanias would incline one to think that this was the goddess Ino. "On the road between Oetylus and Thalamiæ," says he, "is the temple of Ino. It is the custom of those who consult her to sleep in her temple, and what they want to know is revealed to them in a dream. In the court of the temple are two statues of brass, one of *Paphia* [it ought to be *Pasiphæ*], the other of the sun. That which is in the temple is so covered with garlands and fillets that it is not to be seen, but it is said to be of brass."

colleague, without finding the same acknowledgments from the people; that all would be equally under a necessity of giving up their fortunes, and that he who first set the example would alone reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether he thought Lycurgus a just and good man?" Agis answering in the affirmative, Leonidas thus went on—"But did Lycurgus ever order just debts to be cancelled, or bestow the freedom of Sparta upon strangers? Did he not rather think his commonwealth could not be in a salutary state, except strangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He did not wonder that Leonidas, who was educated in a foreign country, and had children by an intermarriage with a Persian family, should be ignorant that Lycurgus, in banishing money, banished both debts and usury from Lacedæmon. As for strangers, he excluded only those who were not likely to conform to his institutions, or fit to class with his people: for he did not dislike them merely as strangers; his exceptions were to their manners and customs, and he was afraid that, by mixing with his Spartans, they would infect them with their luxury, effeminacy, and avarice. Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes, were strangers, yet, because their poetry and philosophy moved in concert with the maxims of Lycurgus, they were held in great honour at Sparta. Even you commend Ecprepes, who, when he was one of the *ephori*, retrenched the two strings which Phrynis the musician had added to the seven of the harp; you commend those who did the same by Timotheus*; and yet you complain of our intention to banish superfluity, pride, and luxury, from Sparta. Do you think, that, in retrenching the swelling and supernumerary graces of music, they had no further view; and that they were not afraid the excess and disorder would reach the lives and manners of the people, and destroy the harmony of the state?"

From this time the common people followed Agis. But the rich entreated Leonidas not to give up their cause; and they exerted their interest so effectually with the senate, whose chief power lay in previously determining what laws should be proposed to the people, that they carried it against the *rhetra* by a majority of one. Lysander, however, being yet in office, resolved to prosecute Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every descendant of Hercules to have children by a woman that is a stranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to settle in a foreign country. He instructed others to allege these things against Leonidas, while he with his colleagues

* Timotheus the Milesian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and musician. He added even a twelfth string to the harp, for which he was severely punished by the sage Spartans, who concluded that luxury of sound would effeminate the people.

watched for a sign from heaven. It was the custom for the *ephori* every ninth year, on a clear star-light night, when there was no moon, to sit down, and in silence observe the heavens. If a star happened to shoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of some crime against the gods, and suspended them till they were re-established by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lysander, affirming that the sign had appeared to him, summoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witnesses to prove that he had two children by an Asiatic woman, whom one of Selencus's lieutenants had given him to wife; but that, on her conceiving a mortal aversion to him, he returned home against his will, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this suit, he persuaded Cleombrotus, son-in-law to Leonidas, and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva in the *Chalciœcus** as a suppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the intercession. He was re-summoned to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was deposed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lysander's time expired, and he quitted his office. The *ephori* of the ensuing year listened to the supplication of Leonidas, and consented to restore him. They likewise began a prosecution against Lysander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and distribution of lands, which those magistrates agreed to contrary to law. In this danger, they persuaded the two kings to unite their interest, and to despise the machinations of the *ephori*. "These magistrates," said they, "have no power but what they derive from some difference between the kings. In such a case they have a right to support with their suffrage the prince whose measures are salutary, against the other who consults not the public good; but when the kings are unanimous, nothing can overrule their determinations. To resist them is then to fight against the laws: for, as we said, they can only decide between the kings in case of disagreement; when their sentiments are the same, the *ephori* have no right to interpose."

The kings, prevailed upon by this argument, entered the place of assembly with their friends, where they removed the *ephori* from their seats, and placed others in their room. Agesilaus was one of these new magistrates. They then armed a great number of the youth, and released many out of prison; upon which, their adversaries were struck with terror, expecting that many lives would be lost. However, they put not one man to the sword: on the contrary, Agis understanding that Agesilaus designed to kill Leonidas

* Minerva had a temple at Sparta entirely of brass.

in his flight to Tegea, and had planted assassins for that purpose on the way, generously sent a party of men whom he could depend upon to escort him, and they conducted him safe to Tegea.

Thus the business went on with all the success they could desire, and they had no further opposition to encounter. But this excellent regulation, so worthy of Lacedæmon, miscarried through the failure of one of its pretended advocates, the vile disease of avarice in Agesilaus. He was possessed of a large and fine estate in land, but at the same time deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts, nor willing to part with his land, he represented to Agis, that if both his intentions were carried into execution at the same time, it would probably raise great commotions in Sparta; but if he first obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterwards quietly and readily consent to the distribution of lands. Agesilaus drew Lysander, too, into the same snare. An order, therefore, was issued for bringing in all bonds, (the Lacedæmonians call them *claria)*, and they were piled together in the market place and burnt. When the fire began to burn, the usurers and other creditors walked off in great distress: but Agesilaus, in a scoffing way, said, "He never saw a brighter or more glorious flame."

The common people demanded that the distribution of lands should also be made immediately, and the kings gave orders for it; but Agesilaus found out some pretence or other for delay, till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achæans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for succours: for they expected that the Ætolians would take the route through the territory of Megara, and enter Peloponnesus. Aratus, general of the Achæans, assembled an army to prevent it, and wrote to the *ephori* for assistance.

They immediately sent Agis upon that service; and that prince went out with the highest hopes, on account of the spirit of his men, and their attachment to his person. They were most of them young men in very indifferent circumstances, who, being now released from their debts, and expecting a division of lands, if they returned from the war, strove to recommend themselves as much as possible to Agis. It was a most agreeable spectacle to the cities to see them march through Peloponnesus without committing the least violence, and with such discipline, that they were scarce heard as they passed. The Greeks said one to another, "With what excellent order and decency must the armies under Agesilaus, Lysander, or Agesilaus of old, have moved, when we find such exact obedience, such reverence in these Spartans to a general who is, perhaps, the youngest man in the whole army!" Indeed, this young prince's simplicity of diet, his love of labour, and his affecting no show either in his dress

or arms above a private soldier, made all the common people, as he passed, look upon him with pleasure and admiration: but his new regulations at Lacedæmon displeased the rich, and they were afraid that he might raise commotions every where among the commonalty, and put them upon following the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he showed a proper courage and spirit, without any enthusiastic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "That they should give battle, and not suffer the war to enter the gates of Peloponnesus. He would do, however, what Aratus thought most expedient, because he was the older man, and general of the Achæans, whom he came not to dictate to, but to assist in the war."

It must be acknowledged that Bato* of Sinope relates it in another manner. He says, Aratus was for fighting, and Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes by way of apology for himself upon this point. That general tells us, "That as the husbandmen had almost finished their harvest, he thought it better to let the enemy pass, than to hazard, by a battle, the loss of the whole country." Therefore, when Aratus determined not to fight, and dismissed his allies with compliments on their readiness to serve him, Agis, who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where, by this time, internal troubles and changes demanded his presence.

Agesilaus, still one of the *ephori*, and delivered from the pressure of debt which had weighed down his spirits, scrupled no act of injustice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation was not come, and insisting on the people's paying supernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid, however, of revenge from those he had injured, and seeing himself hated by all the world, he thought it necessary to maintain a guard, which always attended him to the senate-house. As to the kings, he expressed an utter contempt for one of them, and the respect he paid the other he would have understood to be rather on account of his being his kinsman, than his wearing the crown: besides, he propagated a report, that he should be one of the *ephori* the year following. His enemies, therefore, determined to hazard an immediate attempt against him, and openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea, and placed him on the throne. The people saw it with pleasure; for they were angry at finding themselves deceived with respect to the promised distribution of lands. Agesilaus had hardly escaped their

* He wrote the history of Persia.

fury, had not his son Hippomedon, who was held in great esteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

The kings both took sanctuary, Agis in *Chalcioicos*, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was against the latter that Leonidas was most incensed; and therefore passing Agis by, he went with a party of soldiers to seize Cleombrotus, whom he reproached, in terms of resentment, with conspiring against him, though honoured with his alliance, depriving him of the crown, and banishing him his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to say, but sat in the deepest distress and silence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done her father as done to herself. When Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, she left him to console her father in his misfortune. While he was in sanctuary, she staid with him, and, when he retired, she attended him in his flight, sympathizing with his sorrow, and full of resentment against Cleombrotus. But when the misfortunes of her father changed, she changed too.—She joined her husband as a suppliant, and was found sitting by him with great marks of tenderness, and her two children, one on each side, at her feet. The whole company were much struck at the sight, and they could not refrain from tears, when they considered her goodness of heart, and such superior instances of affection.

Chelonis, then pointing to her mourning habit and dishevelled hair, thus addressed Leonidas: "It was not, my dear father, compassion for Cleombrotus which put me in this habit, and gave me this look of misery. My sorrows took their date with your misfortunes and your banishment, and have ever since remained my familiar companions. Now you have conquered your enemies, and are again king of Sparta, should I still retain these ensigns of affliction, or assume festival and royal ornaments, while the husband of my youth, whom you gave me, falls a victim to your vengeance? If his own submission, if the tears of his wife and children cannot propitiate you, he must suffer a severer punishment for his offences than you require—he must see his beloved wife die before him: for how can I live and support the sight of my own sex, after both my husband and my father have refused to hearken to my supplication—when it appears that, both as a wife and a daughter, I am born to be a miserable outcast with my family? If this poor man had any plausible reasons for what he did, I obviated them all by forsaking him to follow you. But you furnish him with a sufficient apology for his misbehaviour, by showing that a crown is so great and desirable an object, that a son-in-law must be slain, and a daughter utterly disregarded, where that is in the question."

Chelonis, after this supplication, rested her cheek on her husband's head, and, with an eye dim and languid with sorrow, looked round on the spectators. Leonidas consulted his friends upon the point, and then commanded Cleombrotus to rise and go into exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not leave so affectionate a father, who had been kind enough to grant her her husband's life. Chelonis, however, would not be persuaded. When her husband was risen from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and, after having paid due homage at the altar where they had taken sanctuary, she went with him into banishment: so that, had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love of false glory, he must have thought exile, with such a woman, a greater happiness than a kingdom without her.

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the *ephori* removed, and others put in their place, Leonidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power. At first he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and resume his share of the government: "For the people," he said, "thought he might well be pardoned, as a young man ambitious of honour; and the rather, because they, as well as he, had been deceived by the craft of Agesilaus." But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares, Demochares, and Arcesilaus, used to give Agis their company, for they were his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and, after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed a great deal of plate and other rich furniture of Agesistrata, and he hoped, that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. On this account, he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the *ephori*, his colleagues, to do the same.

As Agis spent the rest of his time in the temple, and only went out to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. Therefore, one day on his return, they met him with a great appearance of friendship, and, as they conducted him on his way, conversed with much freedom and gaiety, which his youth and their intimacy with him seemed to warrant. But when they came to the turning of a street which led to the prison, Amphares, by virtue of his office, arrested him. "I take you, Agis," said he, "into custody, in order to your giving account to the *ephori* of your administration." At the same time, Demochares, who was a tall strong man, wrapped his cloke about his head, and dragged him off. The rest, as they had previously concerted the thing, pushed him on

behind, and no one coming to his rescue or assistance, he was committed to prison.

Leonidas presently came with a strong band of mercenaries to secure the prison without, and the *ephori* entered it with such senators as were of their party. They began, as in a judicial process, with demanding what he had to say in defence of his proceedings; and as the young prince only laughed at their dissimulation, Amphares told him, "They would soon make him weep for his presumption." Another of the *ephori*, seeming inclined to put him in a way of excusing himself and getting off, asked him whether Lysander and Agesilaus had not forced him into the measures he took?" But Agis answered, "I was forced by no man; it was my attachment to the institutions of Lycurgus, and my desire to imitate him, which made me adopt his form of government." Then the same magistrate demanded, "Whether he repented of what he had done?" and his answer was, "I shall never repent of so glorious a design, though I see death before my eyes." Upon this they passed sentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the *decade*, which is a small apartment in the prison where they strangle malefactors. But the officers durst not touch him, and the very mercenaries declined it; for they thought it impious to lay violent hands on a king. Demochares, seeing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to punish them. At the same time, he laid hold of Agis himself, and thrust him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into custody, and there was a great concourse of people at the prison-gates with lanterns and torches. Among the numbers who resented these proceedings, were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out and begging that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full assembly: but this, instead of procuring him a respite, hastened his execution; for they were afraid he would be rescued in the night, if the tumult should increase.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears; upon which he said, "My friend, dry up your tears; for, as I suffer innocently, I am in a better condition than those who condemn me contrary to law and justice." So saying, he cheerfully offered his neck to the executioner.

Amphares then going to the gate, Agesistrata threw herself at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendship. He raised her from the ground, and told her, "No further violence should be offered her son, nor should he now have any hard treatment." He told her, too, she might go in and see her son, if she pleased. She desired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares

assured her there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be locked again, and Archidamia to be first introduced. She was very old, and had lived in great honour and esteem among the Spartans. After she was put to death, he ordered Agesistrata to walk in: she did so, and beheld her son extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. She assisted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her son, and kissing him, she said, "My son, thy too great moderation, lenity, and humanity, have both ruined thee and us". Amphares, who from the door saw and heard all that passed, went up in great fury to Agesistrata, and said, "If you approved your son's actions, you shall also have his reward." She rose up to meet her fate, and said, with a sigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of Sparta!"

When these events were reported in the city, and the three corpses carried out, the terror the sad scene inspired was not so great, but that the people openly expressed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares: for they were persuaded that there had not been such a train of villanous and impious actions at Sparta, since the Dorians first inhabited Peloponnesus. The majesty of the kings of Sparta had been held in such veneration, even by their enemies, that they had scrupled to strike them, when they had opportunity for it, in battle. Hence it was, that in the many actions between the Lacedæmonians and the other Greeks, the former had lost only their king Cleombrotus, who fell by a javelin at the battle of Leuctra a little before the time of Philip of Macedon. As for Theopompus, who, as the Messenians affirm, was slain by Aristomenes, the Lacedæmonians deny it, and say he was only wounded. That, indeed, is a matter of some dispute; but it is certain that Agis was the first king of Lacedæmon put to death by the *ephori:* and that he suffered only for engaging in an enterprise that was truly glorious and worthy of Sparta; though he was of an age at which even errors are considered as pardonable. His friends had more reason to complain of him than his enemies for saving Leonidas, and trusting his associates, in the undesigning generosity and goodness of his heart.

CLEOMENES.

AFTER Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the same fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince saved himself by a

timely retreat. However, his wife Agiatis, who was newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own house, and given to his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was not quite come to years of maturity, but his father was not willing that any other man should have the lady; for she was daughter to Gylippus, and heiress to his great estate; and in beauty, as well as happiness of temper and conduct, superior to all the women of Greece. She left nothing unattempted to prevent her being forced into this match, but found all her efforts ineffectual. Therefore, when she was married to Cleomenes, she made him a good and affectionate wife, though she hated his father. Cleomenes was passionately fond of her from the first, and his attachment to his wife made him sympathize with her on the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often ask her for the history of that unfortunate prince, and listen with great attention to her account of his sentiments and designs.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatness of mind. Nature had, moreover, disposed him to temperance and simplicity of manners, as much as Agis; but he had not his calmness and moderation. His spirit had an ardour in it; and there was an impetuosity in his pursuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He thought it most glorious to reign over a willing people; but, at the same time, he thought it not inglorious to subdue their reluctancies, and bring them against their inclinations into what was good and salutary.

He was not satisfied with the prevailing manners and customs of Sparta. He saw that ease and pleasure were the great objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and, if nobody gave him any disturbance, chose to spend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury; that individuals, entirely actuated by self-interest, paid no attention to the business of the state, any further than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the prospect still more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to strong exercises and strict temperance, to persevering fortitude and universal equality, since the proposing of these things cost Agis his life.

It is said, too, that Cleomenes was instructed in philosophy, at a very early period of life, by Sphærus the Borysthenite*, who came to Lacedæmon and taught the youth with great diligence and success. Sphærus was one of the principal disciples of Zeno the Ci-

* This Sphærus was born towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and flourished under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Laertius has given us a catalogue of his works, which were considerable. He was the scholar of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthus.

tian*; and, it seems, that he admired the strength of genius he found in Cleomenes, and added fresh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed, that when Leonidas of old was asked, "What he thought of the poetry of Tyrtæus?" he said, "I think it well calculated to excite the courage of our youth; for the enthusiasm with which it inspires them makes them fear no danger in battle." So the Stoic philosophy† may put persons of great and fiery spirits upon enterprises that are too desperate; but, in those of a grave and mild disposition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was designed.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he observed that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleasure, and utterly neglected the public interest. The common people, on account of the meanness of their circumstances, had no spirit for war, nor ambition to instruct their children in the Spartan exercises. Cleomenes himself had only the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the *ephori*. He therefore soon began to think of changing the present posture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by such an affection as the Spartans called *inspiration*. Him he first sounded; inquiring of him what kind of prince Agis was; by what steps, and with what associates, he came into the way he took. Xenares at first consented readily enough to satisfy his curiosity, and gave him an exact narrative of all the proceedings: but when he found that Cleomenes interested himself deeply in the affair, and took such an enthusiastic pleasure in the new schemes of Agis, as to desire to hear them again and again, he reproved his distempered inclinations, and at last entirely left his company. However, he did not acquaint any one with the cause of their misunderstanding; but only said, "Cleomenes knew very well." As Xenares so strongly opposed the king's project, he thought others must be as little disposed to come into it; and therefore he concerted the whole matter by himself. In the persuasion that he could more easily effect his intended change in time of war than in peace, he embroiled his country with the Achæans, who had indeed given sufficient occasion of complaint: for Aratus, who was the leading man among them, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his administration, to reduce all Peloponnesus to one body. This was the end he had in view in his

* He was so called to distinguish him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Laconia, who flourished about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citian. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town in Cyprus.

† From its tendency to inspire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of Providence.

numerous expeditions, and in all the proceedings of government, during the many years that he held the reins in Achaia. And, indeed, he was of opinion that this was the only way to secure Peloponnesus against its enemies without. He had succeeded with most of the states of that peninsula; the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, and such of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedæmonian interest, were all that stood out. Upon the death of Leonidas, he commenced hostilities against the Arcadians, particularly those who bordered upon the Achæans; by this means designing to try how the Lacedæmonians stood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he despised him as a young man without experience.

The *ephori*, however, sent Cleomenes to seize Athenæum*, near Belbina. This place is one of the keys of Laconia, and was then in dispute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes accordingly took it, and fortified it. Aratus made no remonstrance, but marched by night to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. However, the persons who had promised to betray these places to him found their hearts fail them, when they came to the point; and he retired undiscovered, as he thought. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him, in a familiar way, desiring to know, "Whither he marched the night before?" Aratus answered, "That, understanding his design to fortify Belbina, the intent of his last motion was to prevent that measure." Cleomenes humorously replied, "I am satisfied with the account of your march; but should be glad to know where those torches and ladders were marching."

Aratus could not help laughing at the jest; and he asked what kind of man this young prince was? Democrates, a Lacedæmonian exile, answered, "If you design to do any thing against the Spartans, you must do it quickly, before the spurs of this cockrel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horse, and three hundred foot, was now posted in Arcadia. The *ephori*, apprehensive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed: but finding that, in consequence of this retreat, Aratus had taken Caphyæ, they ordered him to take the field again. Cleomenes made himself master of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos: whereupon the Achæans marched against him with twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Aristomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle: but Aratus, intimidated by this instance of the young prince's spirit, dissuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat exposed Aratus to reproach among the Achæans, and to scorn and contempt among the Spartans, whose

* A temple of Minerva.

army consisted of not more than five thousand men. Cleomenes, elevated with this success, began to talk in a higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expression of one of their ancient kings, who said, "The Lacedæmonians seldom inquired the number of their enemies, but the place where they could be found."

After this he went to the assistance of the Eleans, against whom the Achæans had now turned their arms. He attacked the latter at Lycæum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout; not only spreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many prisoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was of the number of the slain. Aratus, availing himself in the best manner of the opportunity, with the troops that attended him in his flight, marched immediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by surprise, took it, and secured it for the Achæans.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly dispirited at this loss, opposed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He therefore bethought himself of calling Archidamus, the brother of Agis, from Messene, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged: for he imagined that the power of the *ephori* would not be so formidable, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan constitution, was complete, and had its proper weight in the scale. The party that had put Agis to death perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he should be established on the throne, took this method to prevent it: they joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and even assisted him in his return; but they assassinated him immediately after. Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus thinks, or whether his friends persuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot take upon us to say. The greatest part of the blame, however, fell upon those friends, who, if he gave his consent, were supposed to have teazed him into it.

By this time, he was resolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution, and therefore he bribed the *ephori* to permit him to renew the war. He gained also many others by the assistance of his mother Cratesiclea, who liberally supplied him with money, and joined in his schemes of glory. Nay, it is said, that, though disinclined to marry again, for her son's sake, she accepted a man who had great interest and authority among the people.

One of his first operations was the going to seize Leuctra, which is a place within the dependencies of Megalopolis. The Achæans hastened to its relief, under the command of Aratus; and a battle was fought under the walls, in which part of the Lacedæmonian

army was beaten. But Aratus stopping the pursuit at a defile which was in the way, Lysiadas* the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry under his command to pursue the advantage they had gained; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other enclosures, where they were forced to break their ranks, and fell into great disorder. Cleomenes, seeing his opportunity, commanded the Tarentines and Cretans to fall upon them; and Lysiadas, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and slain. The Lacedæmonians, thus encouraged, returned to the action with shouts of joy, and routed the whole Achæan army. After a considerable carnage, a truce was granted the survivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lysiadas to be brought to him. He clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon its head, and in this attire he sent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was that Lysiadas who restored liberty to the city in which he was an absolute prince, and united it to the Achæan league.

Cleomenes, greatly elated with this victory, thought, if matters were once entirely at his disposal in Sparta, the Achæans would no longer be able to stand before him. For this reason, he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law, Megistonus, that the yoke of the *ephori* ought to be broken, and an equal division of the property to be made; by means of which equality Sparta would resume her ancient valour, and once more rise to the empire of Greece. Megistonus complied, and the king then took two or three other friends into the scheme.

About that time, one of the *ephori* had a surprising dream, as he slept in the temple of Pasiphæ. He thought that, in the court where the *ephori* used to sit for the despatch of business, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And, as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the sanctuary, which said, "This is best for Sparta." The magistrate related this vision of his to Cleomenes, who at first was greatly disconcerted, thinking that some suspicion had led him to sound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the case, he was the more confirmed in his purpose; and taking with him such of the citizens as he thought most likely to oppose it, he marched against Heræa and Alsæa, two cities belonging to the Achæan league, and took them. After this, he laid in a great store of provisions at Orchomenus, and then besieged Mantinea. At last he so harassed the Lacedæmonians by a variety of long marches, that most of them desired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only. By the way

* In the text it is *Lydiadas*. But Polybius calls him *Lysiadas*; so does Plutarch in another place

he communicated his design to such of them as he believed most attached to his interest, and advanced slowly, that he might come upon the *ephori* as they were at supper.

When he approached the town, he sent Euryclidas before him to the hall where those magistrates used to sup, upon pretence of his being charged with some message relative to the army. He was accompanied by Thericion and Phœbis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call *Samothracians*. These were at the head of a small party. While Euryclidas was holding the *ephori* in discourse, the others ran upon them with their drawn swords. They were all slain but Agesilaus, and he was then thought to have shared the same fate, for he was the first man that fell; but in a little time he conveyed himself silently out of the room, and crept into a little building which was the temple of FEAR. This temple was generally shut up, but then happened to be open. When he was got in, he immediately barred the door. The other four were despatched outright; and so were above ten more who came to their assistance. Those who remained quiet received no harm; nor were any hindered from departing the city. Nay, Agesilaus himself was spared, when he came the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedæmonians have not only temples dedicated to FEAR, but also to DEATH, to LAUGHTER, and many of the passions. Nor do they pay homage to *Fear*, as one of the noxious and destroying demons, but they consider it as the best cement of society. Hence it was, that the *ephori*, (as Aristotle tells us), when they entered upon their office, caused proclamation to be made, that the people should shave their upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the necessity of having recourse to severity. As for the shaving of the upper lip, in my opinion, all the design of that injunction is, to teach the youth obedience in the smallest matters. And it seems to me that the ancients did not think that valour consists in the exemption from fear; but, on the contrary, in the fear of reproach, and the dread of infamy: for those who stand most in fear of the law act with the greatest intrepidity against the enemy; and they who are most tender of their reputation look with the least concern upon other dangers. Therefore one of the poets said well,

Ingenuous shame resides with fear.

Hence Homer makes Helen say to her father-in-law, Priamus,

Before thy presence, father, I appear
With conscious shame and reverential fear.—*Pope.*

And in another place he says, the Grecian troops

With fear and silence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence in vulgar minds is generally the concomitant of fear.

And therefore the Lacedæmonians placed the temple of fear near the hall where the *ephori* used to eat, to show that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next day Cleomenes proscribed eighty of the citizens, whom he thought it necessary to expel; and he removed all the seats of the *ephori* except one, in which he designed to sit himself, to hear causes, and despatch other business. Then he assembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had done. His speech was to this effect: "The administration was put by Lycurgus in the hands of the kings and the senate; and Sparta was governed by them a long time, without any occasion for other magistrates: but, as the Messénian war was drawn out to a great length, and the kings, having the armies to command, had not leisure to attend to the decision of causes at home, they pitched upon some of their friends to be left as their deputies for that purpose, under the title of *ephori*, or *inspectors*. At first they behaved as substitutes and servants to the kings; but, by little and little, they got the power into their own hands, and insensibly erected their office into an independent magistracy*. A proof of this is a custom which has obtained till this time, that when the *ephori* sent for the king, he refused to hearken to the first and second message, and did not attend them till they sent a third. Asteropus was the first of the *ephori* who raised their office to that height of authority many ages after their creation. While they kept within the bounds of moderation, it was better to endure than to remove them; but when, by their usurpations, they destroyed the ancient form of government, when they deposed some kings, put others to death without any form of trial, and threatened those princes who desire to see the divine constitution of their country in its original lustre, they became absolutely insupportable. Had it been possible, without the shedding of blood, to have exterminated those pests which they had introduced into Lacedæmon; such as luxury, superfluous expense, debts, usury, and those more ancient evils, poverty and riches, I should then have thought myself the happiest of kings. In curing the distempers of my country, I should have been considered as the physician whose lenient hand heals without giving pain. But for what necessity has obliged me to do, I have the authority of Lycurgus, who, though neither king nor magistrate, but only a private man, took upon him to act as a king†,

* When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompus found it necessary to curb it by the institution of the *ephori*. But they were not as Cleomenes says; they were, in their first establishment, ministers to the kings.

† Lycurgus never assumed or aspired to regal authority; and Cleomenes mentions this only to take off the odium from himself.

and appeared publicly in arms: the consequence of which was, that Charilaus, the reigning prince, in great consternation, fled to the altar. But, being a mild and patriotic king, he soon entered into the designs of Lycurgus, and accepted his new form of government. Therefore the proceedings of Lycurgus are an evidence that it is next to impossible to new-model a constitution without the terror of an armed force: for my own part, I have applied that remedy with great moderation; only ridding myself of such as opposed the true interest of Lacedæmon. Among the rest, I shall make a distribution of all the lands, and clear the people of their debts. Among the strangers, I shall select some of the best and ablest, that they may be admitted citizens of Sparta, and protect her with their arms; and that we may no longer see Laconia a prey to the Ætolians and Illyrians, for want of a sufficient number of inhabitants concerned for its defence."

When he had finished his speech, he was the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His father-in-law, Megistonus, and his other friends, followed his example: the rest of the citizens did the same; and then the land was divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons whom he had driven into exile, and declared that they should all be recalled, when tranquillity had once more taken place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the best of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raised a body of four thousand foot, whom he taught to use the two-handed pike instead of the javelin, and to hold their shields by a handle, and not by a ring as before. Then he applied himself to the education of the youth, and formed them with all the strictness of the Lacedæmonian discipline; in the course of which he was much assisted by Sphærus. Their schools of exercise, and their refectories, were soon brought into that good order which they had of old; some being reduced to it by compulsion, but the greatest part coming voluntarily into that noble training peculiar to Sparta. However, to prevent any offence that might be taken at the name of monarchy, he made his brother Euclidas his partner to the throne; and this was the only time that the Spartans had two kings of the same family.

He observed that the Achæans, and Aratus, the principal man among them, were persuaded that the late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unsettled state, and that he would not quit the city while it was in such a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both its honour and utility, to show the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In consequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he spread desolation, and made a very considerable booty. In one of his last marches, he

seized a company of comedians who were on the road from Messene; upon which he built a stage in the enemy's country, proposed a prize of forty *minæ* to the best performer, and spent one day in seeing them. Not that he set any great value on such diversions, but he did it by way of insult upon the enemy, to show his superiority by this mark of contempt: for, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one which had not a train of players, jugglers, singers, and dancers of both sexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public shows or feasts, except on the late occasion, were ever seen in his camp. The young men passed the greatest part of their time in the exercises, and the old men in teaching them. The hours of leisure were amused with cheerful discourse, which had all the smartness of laconic rapartee. This kind of amusement had those advantages which we have mentioned in the life of Lycurgus.

The king himself was the best teacher. Plain and simple in his equipage and diet, assuming no manner of pomp above a common citizen, he set a glorious example of sobriety. This was no small advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addressed themselves to other kings, they did not so much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and spirit of ostentation, their difficulty of access, and harshness of behaviour to all who had business at their courts: but when they applied to Cleomenes, who not only bore the title, but had all the great qualities of a king, they saw no purple or robes of state, no rich carriages, no gauntlets of pages or door-keepers to be run. Nor had they their answer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of secretaries; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them and offer them his hand. He received them with a cheerful countenance, and entered into their business with the utmost ease and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts, and they declared he was the only worthy descendant of Hercules.

His common supper was short and truly Laconic. There were only couches for three people; but when he entertained ambassadors or strangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little better furnished by the servants. Not that any curious dessert was added; only the dishes were larger, and the wine more generous: for he blamed one of his friends for setting nothing before strangers but the coarse cake and black broth, which they ate in their common refectories. "When we have strangers to entertain," he said, "we need not be such very exact Lacedæmonians." After supper, a three-legged stand was brought in, upon which were placed a brass bowl full of wine, two silver pots that held about a pint and a half a-piece, and a few cups of the same metal. Such of

the guests as were inclined to drink made use of these vessels, for the cup was not pressed upon any man against his will. There was no music or other extrinsic amusement; nor was any such thing wanted. He entertained his company very agreeably with his own conversation; sometimes asking questions, and sometimes telling stories. His serious discourse was perfectly free from moroseness, and his mirth from petulance and rusticity. The arts which other princes used of drawing men to their purpose by bribery and corruption, he looked upon as both iniquitous and impolitic: but to engage and fix people in his interest by the charms of conversation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king: for he thought this the true difference between a hireling and a friend; that the one is gained by money, and the other by an obliging behaviour.

The Mantineans were the first who applied for his assistance. They admitted him into their city in the night; and having with his help expelled the Achæan garrison, put themselves under his protection. He re-established their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the same day to Tegea. From thence he fetched a compass through Arcadia, and marched down to Pheræ in Achaia; intending by this movement either to bring the Achæans to a battle, or make them look upon Aratus in a mean light for giving up the country, as it were, to his destroying sword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus had all the authority. The Achæans assembled their forces, and encamped at Dymeæ*, near Hecatombœum; upon which Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was thought a rash step for him to take post between Dymeæ, which belonged to the enemy, and the Achæan camp. However, he boldly challenged the Achæans, and indeed forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them, killed great numbers upon the spot, and took many prisoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achæan garrison, and then put the town into the hands of the Eleans.

When the Achæan affairs were in this ruinous state, Aratus, who used to be general every other year, refused the command, though they pressed him strongly to accept it. But certainly it was wrong, when such a storm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another. The first demands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achæan deputies moderate enough; afterwards he insisted on having the command himself. In other matters, he said, he should not differ with them, for he would restore them both the prisoners and their lands. The Achæans agreed to a pacification on these con-

* Polybius calls it Dymæ.

ditions, and invited Cleomenes to Lerna, where a general assembly of their state was to be held. But Cleomenes, hastening his march too much, heated himself, and then very imprudently drank cold water; the consequence of which was, that he threw up a great quantity of blood, and lost the use of his speech. He therefore sent the Achæans the most respectable of the prisoners, and, putting off the meeting, retired to Lacedæmon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, she might have recovered out of her present distress, and have maintained herself against the insolence and rapaciousness of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared or distrusted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected success. He thought it intolerable that a young man newly sprung up should rob him at once of the honour and power which he had been in possession of for three-and-thirty years, and come into a government which had been growing so long under his auspices. For this reason, he first tried what his interest and powers of persuasion would do to keep the Achæans from closing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him by their admiration of the great spirit of Cleomenes, and their opinion that the demands of the Spartans were not unreasonable, who only desired to bring Peloponnesus back to its antient model. Aratus then undertook a thing which would not have become any man in Greece, but in him was particularly dishonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct, both in the cabinet and the field: he called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponnesus with Macedonians, though in his youth he had expelled them, and rescued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy to all kings, and was equally hated by them.—Antigonus, in particular, he loaded with a thousand reproaches, as appears from the writings he has left behind him*. He boasts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties, in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garrison; and yet he brought those very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, into his own house, and even into the women's apartment. At the same time he could not bear that a Spartan king, a descendant of Hercules, who wanted only to restore the ancient policy of his country, to correct its broken harmony, and bring it back to the sober Doric tone which Lycurgus had given it†; he could not bear that such a prince should be declared general of the Sicyonians and Triccæans‡. While he avoided the coarse cake and the short cloke, and what he thought

* Aratus wrote a history of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

† The music, like the architecture of the Dorians, was remarkable for its simplicity.

‡ This, probably, should be Tritæans. Tritæ was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; but Tricca, which was in Thessaly, could hardly be so.

the greatest grievance in the whole system of Cleomenes, the abolishing of riches, and the making poverty a more supportable thing, he made Achaia truckle to the diadem and purple of Macedonians, and of Asiatic grandees. To shun the appearance of submission to Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to the divinity of Antigonus, and, with a garland on his head, sung *pæans* in honour of a rotten Macedonian. These things we say not in accusation of Aratus, (for in many respects he was a great man and worthy of Greece), we mean only to point out with compassion the weakness of human nature, which, in dispositions the best formed to virtue, can produce no excellence without some taint of imperfection.

When the Achæans assembled again at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them, the Greeks entertained great hopes of peace. But Aratus, who had already settled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his obliging manner of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted of the people, proposed, "That he should take three hundred hostages for the security of his person, and enter the town alone; or, if he did not approve of that proposal, should come to the place of exercise without the walls, called *Cyllabarium**, and treat there at the head of his army." Cleomenes remonstrated that these proceedings were very unjust: he said, "They should have made him these proposals at first, and not now, when he was come to their gates, distrust and shut him out." He therefore wrote the Achæans a letter on this subject, almost filled with complaints against Aratus; and the applications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives against the king of Sparta. The consequence of this was, that the latter quickly retired, and sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans. This herald, according to Aratus, was sent not to Argos, but to Ægium†, in order that the Achæans might be entirely unprepared. There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achæan league, and many towns were ready to fall off: for the common people hoped for an equal distribution of lands, and to have their debts cancelled; while the better sort in general were displeased at Aratus, and some of them highly provoked at his bringing the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia, where he first took Pellene by surprise, and dislodged the Achæan garrison. Afterwards he made himself master of Pheneum

* From Cyllabarus, the son of Sthenelus.

† This was a maritime town of Achaia, on the Corinthian Bay.—The intention of Cleomenes was to take it by surprise, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of the war.

and Penteleum. As the Achæans were apprehensive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they sent a body of cavalry and some mercenaries from Argos, to guard against any measures tending that way, and went themselves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos. Upon this, Cleomenes hoping, what really proved the case, that if he could come suddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes assembled to partake of the diversions, he should throw all into the greatest confusion, marched up to the walls by night, and seized the quarter called *Aspis*, which lay above the theatre, notwithstanding its difficulty of access. This struck them with such terror, that not a man thought of making any resistance; they agreed to receive a garrison, and gave twenty of the citizens as hostages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and following the standard of Cleomenes as their general.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince: for the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their interest; and Pyrrhus, one of the ablest generals in the world, though he forced his way into the town, could not hold it, but lost his life in the attempt, and had great part of his army cut in pieces. Hence the despatch and keenness of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they who before had laughed at him for declaring he would tread in the steps of Solon and Lycurgus in the cancelling of debts, and in an equal division of property, were now fully persuaded that he was the sole cause of all the change in the spirit and success of the Spartans. In both respects they were so contemptible before, and so little able to help themselves, that the Ætolians made an inroad into Laconia, and carried off fifty thousand slaves: on which occasion one of the old Spartans said, "The enemy had done them a kindness, in taking such a heavy charge off their hands." Yet they had no sooner returned to their primitive customs and discipline, than, as if Lycurgus himself had restored his polity, and invigorated it with his presence, they had given the most extraordinary instances of valour and obedience to their magistrates, in raising Sparta to its ancient superiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponnesus.

Cleonæ and Phlius* came in the same tide of success with Argos. Aratus was then making an inquisition at Corinth into the conduct of such as were reported to be in the Lacedæmonian interest: but when the news of their late losses reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and wanted to get rid of the Achæans, he was not a little alarmed. In this confusion he could think of no better expedient than that of calling the citizens to coun-

* Towns between Argos and Corinth.

cil, and, in the mean time, he stole away to the gate. A horse being ready for him there, he mounted and fled to Sicyon.—The Corinthians were in such haste to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that, Aratus tells us, they killed or spoiled all their horses. He acquaints us also, that Cleomenes highly blamed the people of Corinth for suffering him to escape. Nevertheless, he adds, that Megistonus came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large sums, if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achæan garrison. He answered, "That affairs did not then depend upon him, but he must be governed by their circumstances." So Aratus himself writes.

Cleomenes, in his march from Argos, added the Trœzenians, the Epidaurians, and Hermionians, to the number of his friends and allies, and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel, which the Achæans refused to surrender. However, he sent for the friends and stewards of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his house and effects in that city. He likewise sent again to that general by Tritymallus the Messenian, and proposed that the citadel should be garrisoned half with Achæans and half with Lacedæmonians; offering, at the same time, to double the pension he had from Ptolemy king of Egypt. As Aratus, instead of accepting these conditions, sent his son and other hostages to Antigonus, and persuaded the Achæans to give orders that the citadel of Corinth should be put into the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and, in pursuance of a decree of the Corinthians, seized on the whole estate of Aratus. After Antigonus had passed Gerania* with a great army, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify the Onæan mountains† than the Isthmus; and, by the advantage of his post, to tire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with a veteran phalanx. Antigonus was greatly perplexed at this plan of operations: for he had neither laid in a sufficient quantity of provisions, nor could he easily force the pass by which Cleomenes had sat down. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponnesus by the port of Lachœum‡, but was repulsed with loss.

Cleomenes was much encouraged with this success, and his troops went to their evening's refreshment with pleasure. Antigonus, on the other hand, was extremely dispirited; for he saw himself in so troublesome a situation, that it was scarcely possible to find any re-

* Mountain between Megara and Corinth.

† This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as Mount Citheron.—*Strab.* l. vii.

‡ One of the harbours at Corinth.

sources which were not extremely difficult. At last he determined to move to the promontory of Heræum, and from thence to transport his troops in boats to Sicyon; but that required a great deal of time, and very considerable preparations. However, the evening after, some of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by sea, being sent to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and purposed to invite him to the city. Aristotle was the author of the defection; and he had found no great difficulty in persuading the people into it, because Cleomenes had not cancelled their debts, as he had given them room to hope. Upon this Aratus, with fifteen hundred men, whom he had from Antigonus, sailed to Epidaurus: but Aristotle, not waiting for him, assembled the townsmen, and, with the assistance of Timoxenus and a party of Achæans from Sicyon, attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes, getting intelligence of this about the second watch of the night, sent for Megistonus, and, in an angry tone, ordered him to the relief of Argos: for he it was who had principally undertaken for the obedience of the Argives, and by that means prevented the expulsion of such as were suspected. Having despatched Megistonus upon this business, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to dispel the fears of the Corinthians, assuring them it was no great thing that had happened at Argos, but only an inconsiderable tumult. Megistonus got into Argos, and was slain in a skirmish there; the garrison were hard pressed, and messenger after messenger sent to Cleomenes. Upon this, he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themselves masters of Argos, would block up the passages against him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleasure, and besiege Sparta itself, which was left without defence. He therefore decamped from Corinth; the consequence of which was the loss of the town, for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garrison there. In the mean time Cleomenes, having collected his forces which were scattered in their march, attempted to scale the walls of Argos; but, failing in that enterprise, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called *Aspis*, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garrison, which still held out against the Achæans. After this he took some other quarters of the city by assault, and ordering the Cretan archers to ply their bows, cleared the streets of the enemy. But when he saw Antigonus descending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city; he thought it impossible to maintain his post. He had now no other resource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loss. Thus, after achieving the greatest things in

a short space of time, and making himself master of almost all Peloponnesus in one campaign, he lost all in less time than he gained it; some cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others surrendering themselves not long after to Antigonus.

Such was the ill success of this expedition: and what was no less a misfortune, as he was marching home, messengers from Lacedæmon met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife. His affection and esteem for Agiatis was so great, that, amidst the current of his happiest success, he could not stay from her a whole campaign, but often repaired to Sparta. No wonder, then, that a young man, deprived of so beautiful and virtuous a wife, was extremely affected with the loss. Yet his sorrow did not debase the dignity of his mind. He spoke in the same accent; he preserved the same dress and look; he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the security of Tegea.

Next morning he entered Lacedæmon, and, after paying a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himself to the concerns of state. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, agreed to furnish him with succours; but it was on condition that he sent him his mother and children as hostages. This circumstance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and he often attempted to mention it to her, but could not go forward. She began to suspect that there was something which he was afraid to open to her, and she asked his friends what it might be. At last he ventured to tell her; upon which she laughed very pleasantly, and said, "Was this the thing which you have so long hesitated to express? Why do not you immediately put us on board a ship, and send this carcase of mine where you may think it may be of most use to Sparta, before age renders it good for nothing, and sinks it into the grave?"

When every thing was prepared for the voyage, they went by land to Tænarus; the army conducting them to that port. Cratesiclea, being on the point of taking ship, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where, seeing him in great emotion and concern, she threw her arms about him, and said, "King of Sparta, take care that, when we go out, no one perceive us weeping, or doing any thing unworthy that glorious place. This alone is in our power; the event is in the hands of God." After she had given him this advice, and composed her countenance, she went on board, with her little grandson in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to sea as soon as possible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, she understood that Ptolemy had received ambassadors from Antigonus, and seemed to listen to his proposals; and, on the other hand, she was informed that Cleo-

menes, though invited by the Athenians to a pacification, was afraid, on her account, to put an end to the war without Ptolemy's consent. In this difficulty she wrote to her son, to desire him "to do what he thought most advantageous and honourable for Sparta, and not, for the sake of an old woman and a child, to live always in fear of Ptolemy." So great was the behaviour of Cratesiclea under adverse fortune.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomenus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now shut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchised such of the *helots* as could pay five Attic *minæ* for their liberty. By this expedient he raised fifty talents; and having, moreover, armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thousand of those *helots*, whom he designed to oppose to the *Leucaspides* of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterprise. Megalopolis was at that time as great and powerful a city as Sparta. It was supported, besides, by the Achæans and Antigonus, whose troops lay on each side of it. Indeed, the Megalopolitans were the foremost and most eager of all the Achæans in their application to Antigonus. This city, however, Cleomenes resolved to surprise; for which purpose he ordered his men to take five days provisions, and led them to Sellasia, as if he designed an inroad into the territories of Argos: but he turned short, and entered those of Megalopolis; and after having refreshed his troops at Rhœtium, he marched, by Helicon*, directly to the object he had in view. When he was near it, he sent Panteus before, with two companies of Lacedæmonians, to seize that part of the wall which was between the two towers, and which he understood to be the least guarded. He followed with the rest of his army at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but great part of the wall without defence, pulled it down in some places, undermined it in others, and put all the sentinels to the sword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes came up, and entered the city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

They were no sooner apprised of the misfortune which had befallen them, than the greatest part left the city, taking their money and most valuable effects with them. The rest made a stand, and though they could not dislodge the enemy, yet their resistance gave their fellow-citizens opportunity to escape. There remained not above a thousand men in the town, all the rest having retired to Messene, with their wives and children, before there was any possibility of pursuing them. A considerable part even of those who

* Lubinus thinks it ought to be read Helisson, there being no such place as Helicon in Arcadia.

had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken prisoners. Of this number were Lysandridas and Thearidas, two persons of great name and authority at Megalopolis. As they were such respectable men, the soldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lysandridas no sooner saw Cleomenes, than he thus addressed him: "Now," said he, in a loud voice, because it was at a distance, "now, king of Sparta, you have an opportunity to do an action much more glorious and princely than the late one, and to acquire immortal honour." Cleomenes, guessing at his aim, made answer: "You would not have me restore you the town?" "That is the very thing," said Lysandridas, "I would propose. I advise you, by all means, not to destroy so fine a city, but to fill it with firm friends and faithful allies, by restoring the Megalopolitans to their country, and becoming the saviour of so considerable a people." Cleomenes paused awhile, and then replied, "This is hard to believe; but, be it as it will, let glory with us have always greater weight than interest." In consequence of this determination, he sent the two men to Messene, with a herald in his own name, to make the Megalopolitans an offer of their town, on condition that they would renounce the Achæans, and declare themselves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes made so gracious and humane a proposal, Philopœmen would not suffer the Megalopolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achæan league*; but assuring them that the king of Sparta, instead of inclining to restore them their city, wanted to get the citizens too into his power, he forced Thearidas and Lysandridas to leave Messene. This is that Philopœmen who afterwards was the leading man among the Achæans, and (as we have related in his life) one of the most illustrious personages among the Greeks.

Upon this news, Cleomenes, who hitherto had kept the houses and goods of the Megalopolitans with such care that not the least thing was embezzled, was enraged to such a degree that he plundered the whole, sent the pictures and statues to Sparta, and levelled the greatest and best parts of the city with the ground.—After this, he marched home again, being under some apprehensions that Antigonus and the Achæans would come upon him. They, however, made no motion towards it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the *rostrum* on that occasion where he wept a long time, with his robe before his face. They were all greatly surprised, and desired him to speak. At last he said, "Megalopolis is destroyed by Cleomenes." The Achæans were astonished at

* Polybius bestows great and just encomiums on this conduct of the Megalopolitans, lib. xi.

so great and sudden a stroke, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made great efforts to go to the relief of the place; but, as his troops assembled slowly from their winter-quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with the forces he had with him.

This made the second enterprise of Cleomenes appear rash and desperate: but Polybius*, on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with great prudence and foresight: for, knowing (as he tells us) that the Macedonians were dispersed in winter-quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him, he entered the territories of that city, in the persuasion that either the shame of suffering such an inroad would provoke Antigonus to battle, and expose him to a defeat; or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into disrepute with the Argives. The event justified his expectation. When the people of Argos saw their country laid waste, every thing that was valuable destroyed or carried off, they ran in great displeasure to the king's gates, and besieged them with clamour, bidding him either go out and fight, or else give place to his superiors. Antigonus, however, like a wise and able general, thought the censures of strangers no disgrace, in comparison of his quitting a place of security, and rashly hazarding a battle, and therefore he abode by his first resolutions. Cleomenes, in the mean time, marched up to the very walls, insulted his enemies, and, before he retired, spread desolation at his pleasure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a design to enter Laconia on that side. Upon this emergency, he put his troops under march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with scythes and sickles, as people usually do, but beat it down with wooden instruments in the form of scimitars, as if this destruction was only an amusement to his soldiers in their march. Yet when they would have set fire to the Cyllabaris, the school of exercise, he prevented it, reflecting that the ruin of Megalopolis was dictated rather by passion than by reason.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the passes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmost contempt, sent heralds to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might sacrifice to the goddess. After he had pleased himself with this insult on his enemy, and offered his sacrifice under the walls of the temple, which was fast shut up, he led his troops off to Phlius. In his

* Polybius, lib. xi.

march from thence, he dislodged the garrison of Ologuntum, and then proceed to Orchomenus; by which means he not only inspired his people with fresh courage, but came to be considered by the enemy as a most able general, and a man capable of the greatest undertakings: for, with the strength of the single city, to oppose the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponnesians, and all the treasures of the king, and not only to keep Laconia untouched, but to carry devastation into the enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and spirit.

He who first called money *the sinews of business*, seems principally to have had respect to that of war.—And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy and get it out, though their treasury was very low, told them, "They must think of baking bread, before they thought of an embarkation." It is also said that old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies desired that the quota of each should be determined, made answer, that "War cannot be kept at a set diet." And in this case we may justly say, that as wrestlers, strengthened by long exercise, do at last tire out those who have equal skill and agility, but not the exercise, so Antigonus, coming to the war with vast funds, in process of time tired out and overcame Cleomenes, who could but in a very slender manner pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other respects, the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus being drawn home by the bad posture of his affairs: for, in his absence, the barbarians invaded and ravaged all Macedonia. The Illyrians in particular, descending with a great army from the north, harassed the Macedonians so much, that they were forced to send for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achæans a long farewell: but fortune, who loves to make the greatest affairs turn upon some minute circumstance, showed, on this occasion, of what consequence a moment of time may be*. As soon as the battle of Sellasia† was fought, and Cleomenes had lost his army and his city, messengers came to call Antigonus home.

* Plutarch had this reflection from Polybius.

† Polybius has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse. The army of Cleomenes consisted only of twenty thousand, but it was advantageously posted. He was encamped on two mountains, which were almost inaccessible, and separated only by a narrow defile. These he had fortified with strong ramparts and a deep fosse; so that Antigonus, after reconnoitering his situation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a small distance on the plain. At length, for want of money and provisions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action; and was beaten.—*Polyb.* lib. xi.

This was a great aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no necessity of fighting; and, after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achæans on what conditions he pleased: but such, as we said, was his want of money, that he had no resource but the sword; and therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thousand men was forced to challenge thirty thousand.

He showed himself an excellent general in the whole course of the action; his Spartans behaved with great spirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill. His defeat was owing to the superior advantage the Macedonians had in their armour, and to the weight and impetuosity of their *phalanx*.

Phylarchus, indeed, assures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians secretly to fetch a compass, and surround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, while he was marshalling the rest of his army. Cleomenes, taking a view from an eminence of his adversary's disposition, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Acarnanians were posted, and began to fear they were designed for some such manœuvre. He therefore called Damoteles, whose business it was to guard against any surprise, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the best conjecture he could of the movements they intended. Damoteles, who is said to be bribed by Antigonus, assured him, that "He had nothing to fear from that quarter, for all was safe in the rear; nor was there any thing more to be done, but to bear down upon the front." Cleomenes, satisfied with this report, attacked Antigonus. The Spartans charged with so much vigour, that they made the Macedonian *phalanx* give ground, and eagerly pursued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king, then, seeing Euclidas in the other wing quite surrounded, stopped, and cried out, "Thou art lost, my dear brother! thou art lost! in spite of all thy valour! but great is thy example to our Spartan youth, and the songs of our matrons shall for ever record thee*!"

Euclidas, and the wing he commanded, thus being slain, the victors fell upon Cleomenes, who, seeing his men in great confusion, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own safety. It is said that great numbers of the merce-

* He acted like a brave soldier, but not like a skilful officer. Instead of pouring upon the enemy from the heights, and retiring as he found it convenient, he stood still, and suffered the Macedonians to cut off his retreat.

naries were killed; and that of six thousand Lacedæmonians, no more than two hundred were saved.

When he reached Sparta, he advised the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," said he, "I am willing either to live or to die, as the one or the other may be most for the interest of my country." Seeing the women run to meet the few brave men who had escaped with him help to take off their armour, and present them with wine, he retired into his own house. After the death of his wife, he had taken into his house a young woman who was a native of Megalopolis, and free-born, but fell into his hands at the sack of the place. She approached him, according to custom, with a tender of her services on his return from the field: but, though both thirsty and weary, he would neither drink nor sit down; he only leaned his elbow against a pillar, and his head upon it, armed as he was; and, having rested a few moments, while he considered what course to take, he repaired to Gythium with his friends. There they went on board vessels provided for that purpose, and immediately put out to sea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta surrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane, and not unsuitable to the dignity of their republic: for he offered them no kind of insult, but restored to them their laws and polity; and, after having sacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He was informed, indeed, that Macedonia was involved in a dangerous war, and that the barbarians were ravaging the country. Besides, he was in a deep consumption, and had a continual defluxion upon his lungs. However, he bore up under this affliction, and wrestled with domestic wars, until a great victory over, and carnage of the barbarians, made him die more glorious.—Phylarchus tells us, (and it is not at all improbable), that he burst a vessel in his lungs with shouting in the battle: though it passed in the schools, that in expressing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glorious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the isle of Cythea, where Cleomenes first touched, he sailed to another island called Ægialia. There he had formed a design to pass over to Cyrene, when one of his friends, named Therycion, a man of high and intrepid spirit on all occasions, and one who always indulged himself in a lofty and haughty turn of expression, came privately to Cleomenes, and thus addressed him: "We have lost, my prince, the most glorious death, which we might have found in the battle; though the world had heard us boast that Antigonus should never conquer the king of Sparta till he had slain him. Yet

there is another exit still offered us by glory and virtue. Whither, then, are we so absurdly sailing? Flying a death that is near, and seeking one that is remote. If it is not dishonourable for the descendants of Hercules to serve the successors of Philip and Alexander, why do not we save ourselves a long voyage, by making our submission to Antigonus, who, in all probability, as much excels Ptolemy as the Macedonians do the Egyptians? But if we do not choose to be governed by a man who beat us in the field, why do we take one who never conquered us, for our master? Is it that we may show our inferiority to two instead of one, by flying before Antigonus, and then going to flatter Ptolemy? Shall we say that you go into Egypt for the sake of your mother?—It will be a glorious and happy thing truly for her to show Ptolemy's wives her son, of a king, become a captive and an exile. No! while we are yet masters of our swords, and are yet in sight of Laconia, let us deliver ourselves from this miserable fortune, and make our excuse for our past behaviour to those brave men who fell for Sparta at Sellasia: or shall we rather sit down in Egypt, and inquire whom Antigonus has left governor of Lacedæmon?"

Thus Theryoion spoke, and Cleomenes made this answer: "Dost thou think, then, wretch that thou art! dost thou think, by running into the arms of death, than which nothing is more easy to find, to show thy courage and fortitude? And dost thou not consider that this flight is more dastardly than the former? Better men than we have given way to their enemies, being either overset by fortune or oppressed by numbers: but he who gives out either for fear of labour and pain, or of the opinions and tongues of men, falls a victim to his own cowardice. A voluntary death ought to be an action, not a retreat from action: for it is an ungenerous thing either to live or to die to ourselves. All that thy expedient could possibly do, would be only the extricating us from our present misfortunes, without answering any purpose either of honour or utility. But I think neither thou nor I ought to give up all hopes for our country. If those hopes should desert us, death, when we seek for him, will not be hard to find." Therycion made no reply; but the first opportunity he had to leave Cleomenes, he walked down to the shore and stabbed himself.

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and sailed to Africa, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was first introduced to Ptolemy*, that prince behaved to him with sufficient kindness and humanity; but when, upon further trial of him, he found what strength of understanding he had, and that his

* Ptolemy Euergetes.

laconic and simple way of conversing was mixed with a vein of wit and pleasantry; when he saw that he did not, in any instance whatever, dishonour his royal birth, or crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleasure in his discourse than in the mean sacrifices of complaisance and flattery. He greatly repented, too, and blushed at the thought of having neglected such a man, and given him up to Antigonus, who, by conquering him, had acquired so much power and glory. He therefore encouraged him now with every mark of attention and respect, and promised to send him back to Greece with a fleet and supply of money to re-establish him in his kingdom. His present appointments amounted to four-and-twenty talents by the year. Out of this he maintained himself and his friends in a sober and frugal manner, and bestowed the rest in offices of humanity to such Greeks as had left their country, and retired into Egypt.

But old Ptolemy died before he could put his intentions in favour of Cleomenes in execution; and the court soon becoming a scene of debauchery, where women had the sway, the business of Cleomenes was neglected: for the king* was so much corrupted with wine and women, that, in his more sober and serious hours, he would attend to nothing but the celebration of mysteries, and the beating a drum with his royal hands about the palace; while the great affairs of state were left to his mistress Agathoclea and her mother, and Oenanthes, the infamous minister to his pleasures. It appears, however, that at first some use was made of Cleomenes: for Ptolemy being afraid of his brother Magas, who, through his mother's interest, stood well with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a consultation in his cabinet; the subject of which was, whether he should destroy his brother. All the rest voted for it, but Cleomenes opposed it strongly. He said, "The king, if it were possible, should have more brothers, for the greater security of the crown, and the better management of affairs." And when Sosibius, the king's principal favourite, replied, "That the mercenaries could not be depended on while Magas was alive," Cleomenes desired them to give themselves no pain about that: "For," said he, "above three thousand of the mercenaries are Peloponnesians, who, upon a nod from me, will be ready with their arms." Hence Ptolemy, for the present, looked upon Cleomenes, not only as a fast friend, but a man of power; but his weakness afterwards increasing his timidity, as is common with people of little understanding, he began to place his security in jealousy and suspicion. His ministers were of the same stamp, and they considered Cleomenes as an object of fear, on account of his interest with the mercenaries; insomuch, that many were heard to

* Ptolemy Philopater.

say, "That he was a lion among a flock of sheep." Such, indeed, he seemed to be in court, where, with a silent severity of aspect, he observed all that passed.

In these circumstances, he made no more applications for ships or troops: but being informed that Antigonus was dead; that the Achæans were engaged in war with the Ætolians; and that affairs called strongly for his presence, in the troubles and distractions that then reigned in Peloponnesus, he desired only a conveyance thither for himself and his friends; yet no man listened to him. The king, who spent his time in all kinds of Bacchanalian revels with women, could not possibly hear him. Sosibius, the prime minister, thought Cleomenes must prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt against his will; and that it was not safe to dismiss him, because of his bold and enterprising spirit, and because he had been an eye-witness to the distempered state of the kingdom; for it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the ox Apis, though revelling to all appearance, in every delight that he can desire, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him, wants to bound over the fields and pastures at his pleasure, and discovers a manifest uneasiness under the hands of the priest who feeds him; so Cleomenes could not be satisfied with a soft and effeminate life; but, like Achilles,

> Consuming cares lay heavy on his mind:
> In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
> And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul.—*Pope.*

While his affairs were in this posture, Nicagoras the Messenian, a man who concealed the most rancorous hatred of Cleomenes under the pretence of friendship, came to Alexandria. It seems he had formerly sold him a handsome piece of ground, and the king, either through want of money or his continual engagement in war, had neglected to pay him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, saw this Nicagoras just landing from a merchantman, and, saluting him with great kindness, asked, "What business had brought him to Egypt?" Nicagoras returned the compliment with equal appearance of friendship, and answered, "I am bringing some fine war-horses for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and said, "I could rather have wished that you had brought him some female musicians and pathics; for those are the cattle that the king at present likes best." Nicagoras, at that time, only smiled; but a few days after he put Cleomenes in mind of the field he had sold him, and desired he might now be paid; pretending, "That he would not have given him any trouble about it, if he had not found considerable loss in the disposal of his merchandize." Cleomenes assured him, "That he had nothing left of what the kings of Egypt had given him;" up-

on which Nicagoras, in his disappointment, acquainted Sosibius with the joke upon the king. Sosibius received the information with pleasure; but, being desirous to have something against Cleomenes that would exasperate Ptolemy still more, he persuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter, asserting, that, "If the Spartan prince had received a supply of ships and men from the king of Egypt's bounty, he would have made use of them in seizing Cyrene for himself." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and set sail. Four days after, Sosibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if just come into his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was resolved that Cleomenes should have a large apartment assigned him, and be served there as formerly, but not suffered to go out.

This was a great affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his prospects still more miserable. Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, who was an intimate friend of the king's, had all along behaved to Cleomenes with great civility; they seemed to like each other's company, and were upon some terms of confidence. Cleomenes, in this distress, desired the son of Chrysermus to come and speak to him. He came and talked to him plausibly enough, endeavouring to dispel his suspicions, and to apologize for the king: but as he was going out of the apartment, without observing that Cleomenes followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a severe reprimand "for looking so carelessly after a wild beast, who, if he escaped, in all probability could be taken no more." Cleomenes, having heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon this they all dismissed their former hopes, and, taking the measures which anger dictated, they resolved to revenge themselves of Ptolemy's injurious and insolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, instead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar: for they thought it an insufferable thing that Cleomenes, after he had disdained to come to terms with Antigonus, a brave warrior, and a man of action, should sit expecting his fate from a prince who assumed the character of a priest of Cybele; and who, after he had laid aside his drum, and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of sport in putting him to death.

After they had taken their resolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Canopus, they propagated a report, that, by the king's order, Cleomenes was to be released; and as it was the custom of the kings of Egypt to send those to whom they designed to extend such grace a supper, and other tokens of friendship, the friends of Cleomenes made ample provision for the purpose, and sent it to the gate. By this stratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined that the

whole was sent by the king. Cleomenes then offered sacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and afterwards sat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers should have large portions to regale them. It is said that he set about his enterprise sooner than he intended, because he found that one of the servants, who was in the secret, had been out all night with his mistress. Fearing, therefore, that a discovery might be made about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night still kept the guards fast asleep, he put on his military tunic, having first opened the seam of the left shoulder, and rushed out, sword in hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number, and accoutred in the same manner.

One of them, named Hippotas, though lame, at first was enabled, by the spirit of the enterprise, to keep pace with them; but afterwards perceiving that they went slower on his account, he desired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole scheme, by waiting for a man who could do them no service. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading a horse in the street; they took it, and set Hippotas upon it, and then moved swiftly through the streets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. They had just spirit enough left to praise and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not a man of them ventured to follow or assist him.

Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon him and despatched him. Another Ptolemy, who was governor of the city, advanced to meet them in his chariot: they attacked and dispersed his officers and guards, and, dragging him out of the chariot, put him to the sword. Then they marched to the citadel, with a design to break open the prison, and join the prisoners, who were no small number, to their party; but the keepers had prevented them by strongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus disappointed again, roamed up and down the city; and he found that not a single man would join him, but that all avoided him as they would avoid infection.

He therefore stopped, and said to his friends, "It is no wonder that women govern a people who fly from liberty;" adding, "That he hoped they would all die in a manner that would reflect no dishonour upon him, or on their own achievements." Hippotas desired one of the younger men to despatch him, and was the first that fell. Afterwards each of them, without fear or delay, fell upon his own sword, except Panteus, who was the first man that scaled the walls of Megalopolis, when it was taken by surprise. He was in the flower of his age, remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the rest of the youth for the Spartan discipline, which perfections had

given him a great share in the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to despatch himself till he saw his prince and all the rest breathless on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay, lest some one should happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contortion in his face. He therefore kissed him, and sat down by him till the breath was out of his body; and then embracing the corpse, slew himself upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes, after he had been sixteen years king of Sparta, and showed himself in all respects the great man. When the report of his death had spread over the city, Cratesiclea, though a woman of superior fortitude, sunk under the weight of the calamity; she embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The eldest of them, disengaging himself from her arms, got unsuspected to the top of the house, and threw himself down headlong. The child was not killed, but much hurt; and, when they took him up, he loudly expressed his grief and indignation that they would not suffer him to destroy himself.

Ptolemy was no sooner informed of these things, than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed, and nailed to a cross, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother and the women her companions. Amongst these was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and of most majestic presence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortunes overtook them amidst the first transports of love. When her husband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, she was desirous of accompanying him, but was prevented by her parents, who kept her in close custody. But soon after she provided herself a horse and a little money, and, making her escape by night, rode at full speed to Tænarus, and there embarked on board a ship bound for Egypt. She was brought safe to Panteus, and she cheerfully shared with him in all the inconveniences they found in a foreign country. When the soldiers came to take out Cratesiclea to execution, she led her by the hand, assisting in bearing her robe, and desired her to exert all the courage she was mistress of; though she was far from being afraid of death, and desired no other favour than that she might die before her children. But when they came to the place of execution, the children suffered before her eyes, and then Cratesiclea was despatched, who, in this extreme distress, uttered only these words, "O! my children! whither are you gone!"

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and strong, girt her robe about her, and, in a silent and composed manner, paid the last offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her present circumstances would admit. Last of all, she prepared herself

for the poniard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjusting it in such a manner as to need no assistance after death; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other person to approach her, she fell like a heroine. In death she retained all the decorum she had preserved in life; and the decency which had been so sacred with this excellent woman still remained about her. Thus, in this bloody tragedy, wherein the women contended to the last for the prize of courage with the men, Lacedæmon showed that *it is impossible for fortune to conquer virtue.*

A few days after, the soldiers who watched the body of Cleomenes on the cross* saw a great snake winding about his head, and covering all his face, so that no bird of prey durst touch it. This struck the king with superstitious terrors, and made way for the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now persuaded that he had caused the death of a person who was a favourite of heaven, and something more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a son of the gods, till the philosophers put a stop to their devotions, by assuring them, that as dead oxen breed bees†, horses wasps‡, and beetles rise out of the putrefaction of asses, so human carcases, when some of the moisture of the marrow is evaporated, and it comes to a thicker consistence, produce serpents§. The ancients, knowing this doctrine, appropriated the serpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING thus presented you with the history of Agis and Cleomenes, we have two Romans to compare with them, and no less dreadful a scene of calamities to open in the lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who, though he was once honoured with the censorship, twice with the

* That the friends of the deceased might not take it away by night. Thus we find in Petronius's Ephesian matron. *Miles qui cruces asservabat, nequis ad sepulturam corpora detraheret:* And thus we find in an authority we shall not mention at the same time with Petronius.

† This was the received opinion of antiquity, as we find in Varro, &c. &c.

‡ Pressus humo bellator equus carbonis origo.—*Ovid.*

§ Sunt qui, cum clauso putrefacta est spina sepulchro,
Mutata credant humanas angue medullas,—*Ovid.*

consulate, and led up two triumphs, yet derived still greater dignities from his virtues*. Hence, after the death of that Scipio who conquered Hannibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia, the daughter of that great man, though he had not been upon any terms of friendship with him, but rather always at variance. It is said that he once caught a pair of serpents upon his bed, and that the soothsayers, after they had considered the prodigy, advised him neither to kill them both, nor let them both go. If he killed the male serpent, they told him his death would be the consequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius, who loved his wife, and thought it more suitable for him to die first, who was much older than his wife, killed the male, and set the female at liberty. Not long after this he died, leaving Cornelia with no fewer than twelve children†.

The care of the house and the children now entirely devolved upon Cornelia; and she behaved with such sobriety, so much parental affection, and greatness of mind, that Tiberius seemed not to have judged ill in choosing to die for so valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy king of Egypt paid his addresses to her, and offered her a share in his throne, she refused him. During her widowhood, she lost all her children except three; one daughter, who was married to Scipio the younger; and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives we are now writing. Cornelia brought them up with so much care, that though they were, without dispute, of the noblest family, and had the happiest genius and disposition of all the Roman youth, yet education was allowed to have contributed more to their perfections than nature.

As in the statues and pictures of Castor and Pollux, though there is a resemblance between the brothers, yet there is also a difference in the make of him who delighted in the *cestus*, and in the other, whose province was horsemanship; so while these young men strongly resembled each other in point of valour, of temperance, of liberality, of eloquence, of greatness of mind, there appeared in their actions and political conduct no small dissimilarity. It may not be amiss to explain the difference before we proceed further.

In the first place, Tiberius had a mildness in his look, and a composure in his whole behaviour; Caius as much vehemence and fire: so that when they spoke in public, Tiberius had a great modesty of action, and shifted not his place; whereas Caius was the first of the

* Cicero, in his first book *de Divinatione*, passes the highest encomiums on his virtue and wisdom. He was grandson to Publius Sempronius.

† Cicero relates this story in his first book *de Divinatione*, from the memoirs of Caius Gracchus the son of Tiberius.

Romans that, in addressing the people, moved from one end of the *rostra* to the other, and threw his gown off his shoulder*. So it is related of Cleon of Athens, that he was the first orator who threw back his robe, and smote upon his thigh. The oratory of Caius was strongly impassioned, and calculated to excite terror; that of Tiberius was of a more gentle kind, and pity was the emotion that it raised.

The language of Tiberius was chaste and elaborate, that of Caius splendid and persuasive. So, in their manner of living, Tiberius was plain and frugal; Caius, when compared to other young Romans, temperate and sober, but, in comparison with his brother, a friend to luxury. Hence Drusus objected to him, that he had bought Delphic tables†, of silver only, but very exquisite workmanship, at the rate of twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a-pound.

Their tempers were no less different than their language. Tiberius was mild and gentle; Caius high-spirited and uncontrolled; insomuch, that in speaking he would often be carried away by the violence of his passion, exalt his voice above the regular pitch, give into abusive expressions, and disorder the whole frame of his oration.—To guard against these excesses, he ordered his servant Licinius, who was a sensible man, to stand with a pitchpipe‡ behind him when he spoke in public, and whenever he found him straining his voice, or breaking out into anger, to give him a softer key; upon which his violence both of tone and passion immediately abated, and he was easily recalled to a propriety of address.

Such was the difference between the two brothers. But in the valour they exerted against their enemies, in the justice they did their fellow citizens, in attention to their duty as magistrates, and in self-government with respect to pleasure, they were perfectly alike. Tiberius was nine years older than his brother; consequently their political operations took place in different periods. This was a great disadvantage, and indeed the principal thing that prevented their success. Had they flourished together, and acted in concert, such a union would have added greatly to their force, and perhaps might

* Cicero, in his third book *de Oratore*, quotes a passage from one of Caius's orations on the death of Tiberius, which strongly marks the nervous pathos of his eloquence—"Quo me miser conferam? In Capitoliumne? at fratris sanguine rudundat. An domum? Matremne ut miseram, lamentantemque videam et abjectam?" Cicero observes, that his action was no less animated than his eloquence: *Quæ sic ab illo acta esse constabit, oculis, voce, gestu, inimici ut lachrymas tenere non possent.*

† These we suppose were a kind of tripods.

‡ Cicero, in his third book *de Oratore*, calls this a small ivory pipe, *Eburneola fistula.*

have rendered it irresistible. We must therefore speak of each separately; and we shall begin with the eldest.

Tiberius, as he grew towards manhood, gained so extraordinary a reputation, that he was admitted into the college of the augurs, rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of the excellence of his character the following is also a proof: Appius Claudius, who had been honoured both with the consulate and censorship, whose merit had raised him to the rank of president of the senate, and who in sense and spirit was superior to all the Romans of his time, supping one evening with the *augurs* at a public entertainment, addressed himself to Tiberius with great kindness, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the proposal with pleasure; and the contract being agreed upon, Appius, when he went home, had no sooner entered the house than he called out aloud to his wife, and said, "Antistia, I have contracted our daughter Claudia." Antistia, much surprised, answered, "Why so suddenly? What need of such haste, unless Tiberius Gracchus be the man you have pitched upon?" I am not ignorant that some* tell the same story of Tiberius, the father of the Gracchi, and Scipio Africanus; but most historians give it in the manner we have mentioned; and Polybius, in particular, tells us, that, after the death of Africanus, Cornelia's relations gave her to Tiberius, in preference of all competitors; which is a proof that her father left her unengaged.

The Tiberius of whom we are writing served in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his sister; and as he lived in the same tent with the general, he became immediately attentive to his genius and powers, which were daily productive of such actions as might animate a young man to virtue, and attract his imitation.—With these advantages Tiberius soon excelled all of his age, both in point of discipline and valour. At a siege of one of the enemy's towns, he was the first that scaled the walls, as Fannius relates†, who according to his own account, mounted it with him, and had a share in the honour. In short, Tiberius, while he staid with the army, was greatly beloved, and as much regretted when he left it.

After this expedition he was appointed quæstor, and it fell to his lot to attend the consul Caius Mancinus in the Numantian war‡.—Mancinus did not want courage, but he was one of the most unfortunate generals the Romans ever had. Yet amidst a train of severe accidents, and desperate circumstances, Tiberius distinguished him-

* Amongst these was Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. 37.

† This Fannius was author of a history and certain annals which were abridged by Brutus.

‡ He was consul with Emilius Lepidus in the year of Rome 616.

self the more, not only by his courage and capacity, but, what did him greater honour, by his respectful behaviour to his general, whose misfortunes had made him forget even the authority that he bore: for, after having lost several important battles, he attempted to decamp in the night: the Numantians, perceiving this movement, seized the camp, and falling upon the fugitives, made great havock of the rear. Not satisfied with this, they surrounded the whole army, and drove the Romans upon impracticable ground, where there was no possibility of escape. Mancinus now despairing of making his way sword in hand, sent a herald to beg a truce, and conditions of peace. The Numantians, however, would trust no man but Tiberius, and they insisted on his being sent to treat. This they did not only out of regard to the young man, who had so great a character in the army, but to the memory of his father, who had formerly made war in Spain, and, after having subdued several nations, granted the Numantians a peace, which, through his interest, was confirmed at Rome, and observed with good faith. Tiberius was accordingly sent, and in his negotiation, he thought proper to comply with some articles, by which means he gained others, and made a peace that undoubtedly saved twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides slaves, and other retainers to the army.

But whatever was left in the camp the Numantians took as legal plunder. Among the rest they carried off the books and papers which contained the accounts of Tiberius's quæstorship. As it was a matter of importance to him to recover them, though the Roman army was already under march, he returned with a few friends to Numantia. Having called out the magistrates of the place, he desired them to restore him his books, that his enemies might not have an opportunity to accuse him, when they saw he had lost the means of defending himself. The Numantians were much pleased that the accident had given them an opportunity to oblige him, and they invited him to enter their city. As he was deliberating on this circumstance, they drew nearer, and taking him by the hand, earnestly entreated him no longer to look upon them as enemies, but to rank them among his friends, and place a confidence in them as such.—Tiberius thought it best to comply, both for the sake of his books, and for fear of offending them by the appearance of distrust. Accordingly, he went into the town with them, where the first thing they did was to provide a little collation, and to beg he would partake of it. Afterwards, they returned him his books, and desired he would take whatever else he chose among the spoils. He accepted, however, of nothing but some frankincense, to be used in the public

sacrifices, and at his departure he embraced them with great cordiality.

On his return to Rome, he found that the whole business of the peace was considered in an obnoxious and dishonourable light. In this danger, the relations and friends of the soldiers he had brought off, who made a very considerable part of the people, joined to support Tiberius, imputing all the disgrace of what was done to the general, and insisting that the quæstor had saved so many citizens. The generality of the citizens, however, could not suffer the peace to stand, and they demanded that in this case the example of their ancestors should be followed: for when their generals thought themselves happy in getting out of the hands of the Samnites, by agreeing to such a league, they delivered them naked to the enemy*. The quæstors, too, and the tribunes, and all that had a share in concluding the peace, they sent back in the same condition, and turned entirely upon them the breach of the treaty, and of the oath that should have confirmed it.

On this occasion the people showed their affection for Tiberius in a remarkable manner; for they decreed that the consul should be delivered up to the Numantians, naked and in chains; but that all the rest should be spared for the sake of Tiberius. Scipio, who had then great authority and interest in Rome, seems to have contributed to the procuring of this decree. He was blamed, notwithstanding, for not saving Mancinus, nor using his best endeavours to get the peace with the Numantians ratified, which would not have been granted at all, had it not been on account of his friend and relation, Tiberius. Great part of these complaints, indeed, seems to have arisen from the ambition and excessive zeal of Tiberius's friends, and the sophists he had about him; and the difference between him and Scipio was far from terminating in irreconcileable enmity. Nay, I am persuaded, that Tiberius would never have fallen into those misfortunes that ruined him, had Scipio been at home to assist him in his political conduct. He was engaged in war with Numantia, when Tiberius ventured to propose his new laws. It was on this occasion:—

When the Romans in their wars made any acquisitions of lands from their neighbours, they used formerly to sell part, to add part to the public demesnes, and to distribute the rest among the necessitous citizens; only reserving a small rent to be paid into the treasury.—But when the rich began to carry it with a high hand over the poor, and to exclude them entirely, if they did not pay exorbitant rents, a

* This was about 182 years before. The generals sent back were the consuls Veturius Calvinus and Posthumius Albinus.

law was made that no man should be possessed of more than five hundred acres of land. This statute for awhile restrained the avarice of the rich, and helped the poor, who, by virtue of it, remained upon their lands at the old rents. But afterwards their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, and held them in other names; though, in time, they scrupled not to claim them in their own. The poor, thus expelled, neither gave in their names readily to the levies, nor attended to the education of their children. The consequence was a want of freemen all over Italy; for it was filled with slaves and barbarians, who, after the poor Roman citizens were dispossessed, cultivated the ground for the rich. Caius Lælius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to correct this disorder; but finding a formidable opposition from persons in power, and fearing the matter could not be decided without the sword, he gave it up. This gained him the name of Lælius the *wise**. But Tiberius was no sooner appointed tribune of the people, than he embarked in the same enterprise. He was put upon it, according to most authors, by Diophanes, the rhetorician, and Blossius the philosopher; the former of whom was a Mitylenian exile, the latter a native of Cumæ in Italy, and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarsus, with whom he became acquainted at Rome, and who did him the honour to address some of his philosophical writings to him.

Some blame his mother Cornelia, who used to reproach her sons, that she was still called the mother-in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi. Others say, Tiberius took this rash step from a jealousy of Spurius Posthumius, who was of the same age with him, and his rival in oratory. It seems, when he returned from the wars, he found Posthumius so much before him in point of reputation and interest with the people, that, to recover his ground, he undertook this hazardous affair, which so effectually drew the popular attention upon him. But his brother Caius writes, that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany, on his way to Numantia, and found the country almost depopulated, there being scarce any husbandmen or shepherds, except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then first formed the project which plunged them in so many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that the people inflamed his spirit of enterprise and ambition, by putting up writings on the porticoes, walls, and monuments, in which they begged of him to restore their share of the public lands to the poor.

* Plutarch seems here to have followed some mistaken authority. It was not this circumstance, but the abstemiousness of his life, that gave Lælius the name of *wise*.—*Lælius eo dictus est* sapiens, *quod non intelligeret quid suavissimus esset.* Cic. de Fin. Bon. et Mal. l. 4.

Yet he did not frame the law without consulting some of the Romans that were most distinguished for their virtue and authority. Among these were Crassus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scævola the lawyer, who at that time was also consul, and Appius Claudius, father-in-law to Tiberius. There never was a milder law made against so much injustice and oppression: for they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates to such of the citizens as were to be relieved. But though the reformation was conducted with so much tenderness, the people were satisfied: they were willing to overlook what was past, on condition that they might guard against future usurpations.

On the other hand, persons of great property opposed the law out of avarice, and the law-giver out of a spirit of resentment and malignity; endeavouring to prejudice the people against the design, as if Tiberius intended by the *Agrarian* law to throw all into disorder, and subvert the constitution. But their attempts were vain; for in this just and glorious cause, Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worse subject, and which nothing could resist. How great was he when the people were gathered about the *rostrum*, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this: "The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause, have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods: for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."

Such speeches as this, delivered by a man of such spirit, and flowing from a heart really interested in the cause, filled the people with an enthusiastic fury, and none of his adversaries durst pretend to answer him. Forbearing, therefore, the war of words, they address themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, a grave and modest young man, and an intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. Out of reverence for his friend, he declined the task at first; but, upon a number of applications from men of the first rank, he was prevailed upon to oppose Tiberius, and prevent the passing of the

law: for the tribune's power chiefly lies in the negative voice, and if one of them stands out, the rest can effect nothing.

Incensed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropt his moderate bill, and proposed another more agreeable to the commonalty, and more severe against the usurpers: for by this they were commanded immediately to quit the lands which they held contrary to former laws. On this subject there were daily disputes between him and Octavius on the *rostra;* yet not one abusive or disparaging word is said to have escaped either of them in all the heat of speaking. Indeed, an ingenuous disposition and liberal education will prevent or restrain the sallies of passion, not only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but in the ardour of contention about points of a superior nature.

Tiberius observing that Octavius was liable to suffer by the bill, as having more land than the laws could warrant, desired him to give up his opposition, and offered at the same time to indemnify him out of his own fortune, though that was not great. As this proposal was not accepted, Tiberius forbade all other magistrates to exercise their functions till the *Agrarian* law was passed. He likewise put his own seal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, that the quæstors might neither bring any thing into the treasury, nor take any thing out; and he threatened to fine such of the prætors as should attempt to disobey his commands. This struck such a terror, that all departments of government were at a stand. Persons of great property put themselves into mourning, and appeared in public with all the circumstances that they thought might excite compassion. Not satisfied with this, they conspired the death of Tiberius, and suborned assassins to destroy him: for which reason he appeared with a tuck, such as is used by robbers, which the Romans call a *dolon**.

When the day appointed came, and Tiberius was summoning the people to give their suffrages, a party of the people of property carried off the balloting vessels†, which occasioned great confusion. Tiberius, however, seemed strong enough to carry his point by force, and his partizans were preparing to have recourse to it, when Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell at Tiberius's feet,

* We find this word used by Virgil:

Pila manu, sævosque gerunt in bella dolones.—*Æn.* vii. v. 664.

The dolon was a staff that had a poniard concealed within it, and had its name from *dolus*, deceit.

† The original, *udria*, signifies an urn. The Romans had two sorts of vessels which they used in balloting. The first were open vessels, called *cistæ*, or *cistellæ*, which contained the ballots before they were distributed to the people: the others, with narrow necks, were called *sitellæ*, and into these the people cast their ballots. The latter were the vessels which are here said to have been carried off.

bathed his hands with tears, and conjured him not to put his purpose in execution. He now perceived how dreadful the consequences of his attempt might be, and his reverence for those two great men had its effect upon him; he therefore asked them what they would have him do? They said, they were not capable of advising him in so important an affair, and earnestly entreated him to refer it to the senate. The senate assembled to deliberate upon it, but the influence of the people of fortune on that body was such, that their debates ended in nothing.

Tiberius then adopted a measure that was neither just nor moderate. He resolved to remove Octavius from the tribuneship, because there was no other means to get his law passed. He addressed him, indeed, in public, first in a mild and friendly manner, and, taking him by the hand, conjured him to gratify the people, who asked nothing that was unjust, and would only receive a small recompence for the great labours and dangers they had experienced. But Octavius absolutely refused to comply. Tiberius then declared, "That as it was not possible for two magistrates of equal authority, when they differed in such capital points, to go through the remainder of their office without coming to hostilities, he saw no other remedy but the deposing of them." He therefore desired Octavius to take the sense of the people first with respect to him; assuring him, that he would immediately return to a private station, if the suffrages of his fellow-citizens should order it so. As Octavius rejected this proposal too, Tiberius told him plainly, that he would put the question to the people concerning him, if, upon further consideration, he did not alter his mind.

Upon this he dismissed the assembly. Next day he convoked it again; and, when he had mounted the *rostra*, he made another trial to bring Octavius to compliance: but, finding him inflexible, he proposed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneship, and immediately put it to the vote. When, of the five-and-thirty tribes, seventeen had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to make Octavius a private man, Tiberius ordered them to stop, and once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with great tenderness in the sight of the people, and, with the most pressing instances, besought him neither to bring such a mark of infamy upon himself, nor expose him to the disreputation of being promoter of such severe and violent measures. It was not without emotion that Octavius is said to have listened to these entreaties. His eyes were filled with tears, and he stood a long time silent.—But, when he looked towards the persons of property, who were assembled in a body, shame and fear of losing himself in their opinion brought him back to his resolution to run all risks, and with a noble firmness he

bade Tiberius do his pleasure. The bill therefore was passed; and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal; for he employed his own freedmen as lictors. This ignominious manner of expulsion made the case of Octavius more pitiable. The people, notwithstanding, fell upon him; but by the assistance of those of the landed interest who came to his defence, and kept off the mob, he escaped with his life. However, a faithful servant of his, who stood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much against the will of Tiberius, who no sooner saw the tumult rising, than he hastened down to appease it.

The Agrarian law then was confirmed, and three commissioners appointed to take a survey of the lands, and see them properly distributed. Tiberius was one of the three, his father-in-law Appius Claudius another, and his brother Caius Gracchus the third. The latter was then making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius, having carried these points without opposition, next filled up the vacant tribune's seat, into which he did not put a man of any note, but Mutius, one of his own clients. These proceedings exasperated the patricians extremely, and, as they dreaded the increase of his power, they took every opportunity to insult him in the senate. When he desired, for instance, what was nothing more than customary, a tent at the public charge, for his use in dividing the lands, they refused him one, though such things had been often granted on much less important occasions. And, at the motion of Publius Nasica, he had only nine *oboli* a-day allowed for his expences. Nasica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy; for he had a great estate in the public lands, and was of course unwilling to be stripped of it.

At the same time the people were more and more enraged. One of Tiberius's friends happening to die suddenly, and malignant spots appearing upon the body, they loudly declared that the man was poisoned. They assembled at his funeral, took the bier upon their shoulders and carried it to the pile. There they were confirmed in their suspicions; for the corpse burst, and emitted such a quantity of corrupted humours that it put out the fire. Though more fire was brought, still the wood would not burn, till it was removed to another place, and it was with much difficulty at last that the body was consumed. Hence Tiberius took occasion to incense the commonalty still more against the other party. He put himself in mourning, he led his children into the *forum*, and recommended them and their mother to the protection of the people, as giving up his own life for lost.

* This was Attalus III. the son of Eumenes II. and Stratonice, and the last king of

About this time died Attalus* Philopator: and Eudemus of Pergamus brought his will to Rome, by which it appeared that he had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius, endeavouring to avail himself of this incident, immediately proposed a law, "That all the ready money the king had left, should be distributed among the citizens, to enable them to provide working tools, and proceed in the cultivation of their new-assigned lands. As to the cities, too, in the territories of Attalus, the senate, he said, had not a right to dispose of them, but the people, and he would refer the business entirely to their judgment."

This embroiled him still more with the senate; and one of their body, of the name of Pompey, stood up and said, "He was next neighbour to Tiberius, and by that means had opportunity to know that Eudemus, the Pergamenian, had brought him a royal diadem and purple robe for his use, when he was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus said another severe thing against him.—"During the censorship of your father, whenever he returned home after supper*, the citizens put out their lights, that they might not appear to indulge themselves at unseasonable hours; but you, at a late hour, have some of the meanest and most audacious of the people about you, with torches in their hands." And Titus Annius, a man of no character in point of morals, but an acute disputant, and remarkable for the subtilty both of his questions and answers, one day challenged Tiberius, and offered to prove him guilty of a great offence in deposing one of his colleagues, whose person, by the laws, was sacred and inviolable. This proposition raised a tumult in the audience, and Tiberius immediately went out and called an assembly of the people, designing to accuse Annius of the indignity he had offered him.—Annius appeared; and knowing himself greatly inferior both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourse to his old art, and begged leave only to ask him a question before the business came on. Tiberius consented, and silence being made, Annius said, "Would you fix a mark of disgrace and infamy upon me, if I should appeal to one of your colleagues? and, if he came to my assistance, would you in your anger deprive him of his office?" It is said, that this question so puzzled Tiberius, that, with all his readiness of speech, and propriety of assurance, he made no manner of answer.

He therefore dismissed the assembly for the present. He perceived, however, that the step he had taken in deposing a tribune had offended not only the patricians, but the people too; for by such

Pergamus. He was not, however, surnamed *Philopator*, but *Philometor*, and so it stands in the manuscript of St. Germain.

* Probably from the public hall, where he supped with his colleague.

a precedent he appeared to have robbed that high office of its dignity, which till then had been preserved in great security and honour. In consequence of this reflection, he called the commons together again, and made a speech to them, from which it may not be amiss to give an extract, by way of a specimen of the power and strength of his eloquence. "The person of a tribune, I acknowledge, is sacred and inviolable, because he is consecrated to the people, and takes their interests under his protection; but when he deserts those interests, and becomes an oppressor of the people; when he retrenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of voting, by those acts he deprives himself, for he no longer keeps to the intention of his employment. Otherwise, if a tribune should demolish the capitol, and burn the docks and naval stores, his person could not be touched. A man who might do such things as these might still be a tribune, though a vile one; but he who diminishes the privileges of the people, ceases to be a tribune of the people. Does it not shock you to think that a tribune should be able to imprison a consul, and the people not have it in their power to deprive a tribune of his authority, when he uses it against those who gave it? for the tribunes, as well as the consuls, are elected by the people. Kingly government seems to comprehend all authority in itself, and kings are consecrated with the most awful ceremonies; yet the citizens expelled Tarquin, when his administration became iniquitious; and, for the offence of one man, the ancient government, under whose auspices Rome was erected, was entirely abolished. What is there in Rome so sacred and venerable as the vestal virgins who keep the perpetual fire? yet if any of them transgress the rules of her order, she is buried alive: for they who are guilty of impiety against the gods lose that sacred character, which they had only for the sake of the gods. So a tribune who injures the people can be no longer sacred and inviolable on the people's account. He destroys that power in which alone his strength lay. If it is just for him to be invested with the tribunitial authority by a majority of tribes, is it not more just for him to be deposed by the suffrages of them all? What is more sacred and inviolable than the offerings in the temples of the gods? yet none pretend to hinder the people from making use of them, or removing them wherever they please. And, indeed, that the tribune's office is not inviolable or unremovable, appears from hence, that several have voluntarily laid it down, or been discharged at their own request." These were the heads of Tiberius's defence.

His friends, however, being sensible of the menaces of his enemies, and the combination to destroy him, were of opinion he ought

to make interest to get the tribuneship continued to him another year. For this purpose he thought of other laws, to secure the commonalty on his side; that for shortening the time of military service, and that for granting an appeal from the judges to the people. The bench of judges at that time consisted of senators only, but he ordered an equal number of knights and senators; though it must be confessed, that his taking every possible method to reduce the power of the patricians, savoured more of obstinacy and resentment, than of a regard for justice and the public good.

When the day came for it to be put to the vote whether these laws should be ratified, Tiberius and his party, perceiving that their adversaries were the strongest (for all the people did not attend), spun out the time in altercations with the other tribunes; and at last he adjourned the assembly to the day following. In the mean time he entered the *forum* with all the ensigns of distress, and, with tears in his eyes, humbly applied to the citizens, assuring them, "He was afraid that his enemies would demolish his house, and take his life before the next morning." This affected them so much, that numbers erected tents before his door, and guarded him all night.

At day-break, the person who had the care of the chickens which they use in augury, brought them, and set meat before them; but they would none of them come out of their pen, except one, though the man shook it very much; and that one would not eat*; it only raised up its left wing, and stretched out its leg, and then went in again. This put Tiberius in mind of a former ill omen. He had a helmet that he wore in battle, finely ornamented and remarkably magnificent; two serpents, that had crept into it privately, laid their eggs, and hatched in it. Such a bad presage made him more afraid of the late one. Yet he set out for the capitol, as soon as he understood that the people were assembled there: but, in going out of his house, he stumbled upon the threshold, and struck it with so much violence, that the nail of his great toe was broken, and the blood flowed from the wound. When he had got a little on his way, he saw on his left hand two ravens fighting on the top of a house, and though he was attended, on account of his dignity, by great numbers of people, a stone, which one of the ravens threw down, fell close by his foot. This staggered the boldest of his partizans: but Blossius†, of Cumæ, one of his train, said, it would be an insupportable disgrace, if Tiberius the son of Gracchus, grandson of Scipio Africanus, and protector of the people of Rome, should, for fear of

* When the chickens eat greadily, they thought it a sign of good fortune.

† In the printed text it is Blastus; but one of the manuscripts gives us Blossius, and all the translators have followed it.

a raven, disappoint that people when they called him to their assistance. His enemies, he assured him, would not be satisfied with laughing at this false step; they would represent him to the commons as already taking all the insolence of a tyrant upon him.

At the same time several messengers from his friends in the capitol came, and desired him to make haste, for (they told him) every thing went there according to his wish.

At first, indeed, there was a most promising appearance. When the assembly saw him at a distance, they expressed their joy in the loudest acclamations; on his approach they received him with the utmost cordiality, and formed a circle about him, to keep all strangers off. Mutius then began to call over the tribes, in order to business; but nothing could be done in the usual form, by reason of the disturbance made by the populace, who were still pressing forward. Meantime, Fulvius* Flaccus, a senator, got upon an eminence, and knowing he could not be heard, made a sign with his hand, that he had something to say to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got to him, and informed him, "That those of the landed interest had applied to the consul, while the senate was sitting, and, as they could not bring that magistrate into their views, they had resolved to despatch Tiberius themselves, and for that purpose had armed a number of their friends and slaves.

Tiberius no sooner communicated this intelligence to those about him, than they tucked up their gowns, seized the halberts with which the serjeants kept off thecrowd, broke them, and took the pieces to ward against any assault that might be made. Such as were at a distance, much surprised at this incident, asked what the reason might be? and Tiberius finding they could not hear him, touched his head with his hand, to signify the danger he was in. His adversaries seeing this, ran to the senate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem: alledging that gesture as a proof of it.

This raised a great commotion. Nasica called upon the consul to defend the commonwealth, and destroy the tyrant. The consul mildly answered, "That he would not begin to use violence, nor would he put any citizen to death who was not legally condemned; but, if Tiberius should either persuade or force the people to decree any thing contrary to the constitution, he would take care to annul it." Upon which Nasica started up, and said, "Since the consul gives up his country, let all who choose to support the laws follow me." So saying, he covered his head with the skirt of his robe, and

* Not *Flavius*, as it is in the printed text.

then advanced to the capitol. Those who followed him wrapped each his gown about his hand, and made their way through the crowd. Indeed, on account of their superior quality, they met with no resistance; on the contrary, the people trampled on one another to get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themselves seized the feet of the benches which the populace had broken in their flight. Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius, knocking down such as stood before him. These being killed or dispersed, Tiberius likewise fled. One of his enemies laid hold of his gown; but he let it go, and continued his flight in his under-garment. He happened, however, to stumble and fall upon some of the killed. As he was recovering himself, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues, came up openly, and struck him on the head with the foot of a stool. The second blow was given him by Lucius Rufus, who afterwards valued himself upon it as a glorious exploit. Above three hundred more lost their lives by clubs and stones, but not a man by the sword.

This is said to have been the first sedition in Rome, since the expulsion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was shed. All the rest, though neither small in themselves, nor about matters of little consequence, were appeased by mutual concessions; the senate giving up something, on one side, for fear of the people, and the people, on the other, out of respect for the senate. Had Tiberius been moderately dealt with, it is probable that he would have compromised matters in a much easier way; and certainly he might have been reduced, without their depriving him of his life; for he had not above three thousand men about him. But, it seems, the conspiracy was formed against him, rather to satisfy the resentment and malignity of the rich, than for the reasons they held out to the public. A strong proof of this we have in their cruel and abominable treatment of his dead body: for, notwithstanding the entreaties of his brother, they would not permit him to take away the corpse, and bury it in the night, but threw it into the river with the other carcases. Nor was this all: they banished some of his friends without form of trial, and took others and put them to death. Among the latter was Diophanes the rhetorician. One Caius Billius they shut up in a cask with vipers and other serpents, and left him to perish in that cruel manner. As for Blossius of Cumæ, he was carried before the consuls, and being interrogated about the late proceedings, he declared, that he had never failed to execute whatever Tiberius commanded*. "What, then," said Nasica, "if Tiberius had ordered

* Lælius, in the treatise written by Cicero under that name, gives a different account

thee to burn the capitol, wouldst thou have done it?" At first he turned it off, and said, "Tiberius would never have given him such an order." But when a number repeated the same question several times, he said, "In that case I should have thought it extremely right; for Tiberius would never have laid such a command upon me, if it had not been for the advantage of the people of Rome." He escaped, however, with his life, and afterwards repaired to Aristonicus†, in Asia; but finding that prince's affairs entirely ruined, he laid violent hands on himself.

The senate, now desirous to reconcile the people to these acts of theirs, no longer opposed the Agrarian law; and they permitted them to elect another commissioner, in the room of Tiberius, for dividing the lands. In consequence of which, they chose Publius Crassus, a relation of the Gracchi; for Caius Gracchus had married his daughter Licinia. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, says, it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of that Brutus who was honoured with a triumph for his conquests in Lusitania; but most historians give it for the former.

Nevertheless, the people were still much concerned at the loss of Tiberius, and it was plain that they only waited for an opportunity of revenge. Nasica was now threatened with an impeachment. The senate, therefore, dreading the consequence, sent him into Asia, though there was no need of him there. For the people, whenever they met him, did not suppress their resentment in the least: on the contrary, with all the violence that hatred could suggest, they called him an execrable wretch, a tyrant who had defiled the holiest and most awful temple in Rome with the blood of a magistrate, whose person ought to have been sacred and inviolable.

For this reason Nasica privately quitted Italy, though by his office he was obliged to attend the principal sacrifices, for he was chief pon-

of the matter: "Blossius," he says, "after the murder of Tiberius, came to him, whilst he was in conference with the consuls Popilius Lænas and Publius Rupilius, and earnestly begged for a pardon, alleging in his defence, that, such was his veneration for Tiberius, he could not refuse to do any thing he desired." "If, then," said Lælius, "he had ordered you to set fire to the capitol, would you have done it?" "That," replied Blossius, "he would never have ordered me to do; but, if he had, I should have obeyed him." Blossius does not, upon this occasion, appear to have been under a judicial examination, as Plutarch represents him.

† Aristonicus was a bastard brother of Attalus; and being highly offended at him for bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans, he attempted to get possession of it by arms, and made himself master of several towns. The Romans sent Crassus the consul against him, the second year after the death of Tiberius. Crassus was defeated and taken by Aristonicus. The year following, Aristonicus was defeated in his turn, and taken prisoner by Perpenna.

diff. Thus he wandered from place to place in a foreign country, and, after awhile, died at Pergamus. Nor is it to be wondered that the people had so unconquerable an aversion to Nasica, since Scipio Africanus himself, who seems to have been one of the greatest favourites of the Romans, as well as to have had great right to their affection, was nearly forfeiting all the kind regards of the people, because, when the news of Tiberius's death was brought to Numantia, he expressed himself in that verse of Homer,

So perish all that in such crimes engage*.

Afterwards Caius and Fulvius asked him, in an assembly of the people, what he thought of the death of Tiberius, and by his answer he gave them to understand that he was far from approving of his proceedings. Ever after this, the commons interrupted him when he spoke in public, though they had offered him no such affront before; and, on the other hand, he scrupled not to treat them with very severe language. But these things we have related at large in the life of Scipio.

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

WHETHER it was that Caius Gracchus was afraid of his enemies, or wanted to make them more obnoxious to the people, at first he left the *forum*, and kept close in his own house, like one who was either sensible how much his family was reduced, or who intended to make public business no more his object; insomuch that some scrupled not to affirm that he disapproved and even detested his brother's administration. He was, indeed, as yet very young, not being so old as Tiberius by nine years; and Tiberius at his death was not quite thirty. However, in a short time, it appeared that he had an aversion not only to idleness and effeminacy, but to intemperance and avarice; and he improved his powers of oratory, as if he considered them as the wings on which he must rise to the great offices of state. These circumstances showed that he would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius, he exerted so much eloquence, that the people were charmed beyond expression, and borne away with all the transports of enthusiasm. On this occasion he showed that other orators were no more than children in

* In Minerva's speech to Jupiter.—*Odys.* lib. i.

comparison. The nobility had all their former apprehensions renewed, and they began to take measures among themselves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

It happened to fall to his lot to attend Orestes* the consul, in Sardinia, in capacity of quæstor. This gave his enemies great pleasure. Caius, however, was not uneasy on the event; for he was of a military turn, and had as good talents for the camp as for the bar. Besides, he was under some apprehension about taking a share in the administration, or of appearing upon the *rostra*, and at the same time he knew that he could not resist the importunities of the people or his friends. For these reasons he thought himself happy in the opportunity of going abroad.

It is a common opinion, that of his own accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more studious than Tiberius to make himself popular: but that is not the truth. On the contrary, it seems to have been rather necessity than choice that brought him upon the public stage: for Cicero the orator relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the state, and had taken a resolution to live perfectly quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addressed him: "Why lingerest thou, Caius? There is no alternative: the Fates have decreed us both the same pursuit of life, and the same death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

In Sardinia Caius gave a noble specimen of every virtue, distinguishing himself greatly among the other young Romans, not only in his operations against the enemy, and in acts of justice to such as submitted, but in his respectful and obliging behaviour to the general. In temperance, in simplicity of diet, and love of labour, he excelled even the veterans.

There followed a severe and sickly winter in Sardinia, and the general demanded of the cities clothing for his men. But they sent a deputation to Rome to solicit an exemption from this burden. The senate listened to their requests, and ordered the general to take some other method. As he could not think of withdrawing his demands, and the soldiers suffered much in the mean time, Caius applied to the towns in person, and prevailed with them to send the Romans a voluntary supply of clothing. News of this being brought to Rome, and the whole looking like a prelude to future attempts at popularity, the senate were greatly disturbed at it. Another instance they gave of their jealousy was in the ill reception which the ambassadors of Micipsa found, who came to acquaint them that the king,

* Lucius Aurelius Orestes was consul with Emilius Lepidus in the year of Rome 627, so that Caius went quæstor into Sardinia at the age of 27.

their master, out of regard to Caius Gracchus, had sent their general in Sardinia a large quantity of corn. The ambassadors were turned out of the house; and the senate proceeded to make a decree, that the private men in Sardinia should be relieved, but that Orestes should remain, in order that he might keep his quæstor with him. An account of this being brought to Caius, his anger overcame him so far, that he embarked; and, as he made his appearance in Rome when none expected him, he was not only censured by his enemies, but the people in general thought it singular that the quæstor should return before his general. An information was laid against him before the censors, and he obtained permission to speak for himself; which he did so effectually, that the whole court changed their opinions, and were persuaded that he was very much injured: for he told them: "He had served twelve campaigns, whereas he was not obliged to serve more than ten; and that, in capacity of quæstor, he had attended his general three years*, though the laws did not require him to do it more than one." He added, "That he was the only man who went out with a full purse, and returned with an empty one; while others, after having drank the wine they carried out, brought back the vessels filled with gold and silver."

After this they brought other charges against him. They accused him of promoting disaffection among the allies, and of being concerned in the conspiracy of Fregellæ†, which was detected about that time. He cleared himself, however, of all suspicion; and having fully proved his innocence, offered himself to the people as a candidate for the tribuneship. The patricians united their forces to oppose him; but such a number of people came in from all parts of Italy to support his election, that many of them could not get lodging, and the *Campus Martius* not being large enough to contain them, gave their voices from the tops of houses.

All that the nobility could gain of the people, and all the mortification that Caius had, was this: instead of being returned first, as he had flattered himself he should be, he was returned the fourth. But when he had entered upon his office, he soon became the leading tribune, partly by means of his eloquence, in which he was greatly superior to the rest, and partly on account of the misfortunes of his family, which gave him opportunity to bewail the cruel fate of his brother. For whatever subject he began upon, before he had done, he led the people back to that idea, and, at the same time put them

* Great part of this speech is preserved by Aulus Gellius; but there Caius, says he, had been quæstor only two years. *Biennium enim fui in provincia.—Aul. Gell.* l. xii. c. 15.

† This place was destroyed by Lucius Opimius, the prætor, in the year of Rome 629.

in mind of the different behaviour of their ancestors. "Your forefathers," said he, "declared war against the Falisci, in order to revenge the cause of Genucius, one of their tribunes, to whom that people had given scurrilous language; and they thought capital punishment little enough for Caius Veturius, because he alone did not break way for a tribune who was passing through the *forum*. But you suffered Tiberius to be despatched with bludgeons before your eyes, and his dead body to be dragged from the capitol through the middle of the city, in order to be thrown into the river. Such of his friends, too, as fell into their hands, were put to death without form of trial: yet, by the custom of our country, if any person under a prosecution for a capital crime did not appear, an officer was sent to his door in the morning to summon him by sound of trumpet, and the judges would never pass sentence before so public a citation; so tender were our ancestors in any matter where the life of a citizen was concerned."

Having prepared the people by such speeches as this, (for his voice was strong enough to be heard by so great a multitude), he proposed two laws: one was, "That if the people deposed any magistrate, he should from that time be incapable of bearing any public office:" the other, "That if any magistrate should banish a citizen without a legal trial, the people should be authorized to take cognizance of that offence." The first of these laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneship; and the second to Popilius, who, in his prætorship, had banished the friends of Tiberius. In consequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to stand a trial, fled out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, to oblige, as he said, his mother Cornelia, who interposed in behalf of Octavius. The people were perfectly satisfied; for they honoured Cornelia, not only on account of her children, but of her father. They afterwards erected a statue to her, with this inscription:

CORNELIA, THE MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

There are several extraordinary expressions of Caius Gracchus handed down to us concerning his mother. To one of her enemies he said, "Darest thou pretend to reflect on Cornelia, the mother of Tiberius?" And as that person had spent his youth in an infamous manner, he said, "With what front canst thou put thyself upon a footing with Cornelia? Hast thou brought children as she has done? Yet all Rome knows that she has lived longer than thou hast without any commerce with men." Such was the keenness of his language; and many expressions equally severe might be collected out of his writings.

Among the laws which he procured to increase the authority of the people, and lessen that of the senate, one related to colonizing and dividing the public lands among the poor. Another was in favour of the army, who were now to be clothed at the public charge, without diminution of their pay, and none were to serve till they were full seventeen years old. A third was for the benefit of the Italian allies, who were to have the same right of voting at elections as the citizens of Rome. By a fourth the markets were regulated, and the poor enabled to buy bread-corn at a cheaper rate. A fifth related to the courts of judicature, and, indeed, contributed more than any thing to retrench the power of the senate: for, before this, senators only were judges on all causes, and on that account their body was formidable both to the equestrian order and to the people; but now he added three hundred knights to the three hundred senators, and decreed that a judicial authority should be equally invested in the six hundred*. In offering this bill, he exerted himself greatly in all respects, but there was one thing very remarkable: whereas the orators before him, in all addresses to the people, stood with their faces towards the senate-house and the *comitium*, he then, for the first time, turned the other way, that is to say, towards the *forum*, and continued to speak in that position ever after. Thus, by a small alteration in the posture of his body, he indicated something very great, and, as it were, turned the government from an aristocracy into a democratic form: for, by this action, he intimated that all orators ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

As the people not only ratified this law, but empowered him to select the three hundred out of the equestrian order for judges, he found himself in a manner possessed of sovereign power. Even the senate, in their deliberations, were willing to listen to his advice; and he never gave them any that was not suitable to their dignity. That wise and moderate decree, for instance, was of his suggesting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when *pro-prætor* in Spain, sent from that country. Caius persuaded the senate to sell the corn, and send the money to the Spanish states; and, at the same time, to censure Fabius for rendering the Roman government odious and insupportable to the people of that country. This gained him great respect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees, for sending out colonies, for making

* The authorities of all antiquity are against Plutarch in this article. Caius did not associate the knights and the senators in the judicial power, but vested that power in the knights only, and they enjoyed it till the consulship of Servilius Cæpio, for the space of sixteen or seventeen years. Velleius, Asconius, Appian, Livy, and Cicero himself, sufficiently prove this.

roads, and for building public granaries. In all these matters he was appointed supreme director, and yet was far from thinking so much business a fatigue: on the contrary, he applied to the whole with as much activity, and despatched it with as much ease, as if there had been only one thing for him to attend to: insomuch, that they who both hated and feared the man, were struck with his amazing industry, and the celerity of his operations. The people were charmed to see him followed by such numbers of architects, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, military men, and men of letters. These were all kindly received, yet, amidst his civilities, he preserved a dignity, addressing each according to his capacity and station; by which he showed how unjust the censures of those people were, who represented him as a violent and overbearing man; for he had even a more popular manner in conversation, and in business, than in his addresses from the *rostrum*.

The work that he took most pains with was that of the public roads, in which he paid a great regard to beauty as well as use. They were drawn in a straight line through the country, and either paved with hewn stone, or made of a binding sand, brought thither for that purpose. When he met with dells or other deep holes made by land-floods, he either filled them up with rubbish, or laid bridges over them; so that being levelled, and brought to a perfect parallel on both sides, they afforded a regular and elegant prospect through the whole. Besides, he divided all the roads into miles of near eight furlongs each, and set up pillars of stone to mark the divisions. He likewise erected other stones, at proper distances, on each side of the way, to assist travellers, who rode without servants, to mount their horses.

The people extolled his performances, and there was no instance of their affection that he might not have expected. In one of his speeches he told them, "There was one thing in particular, which he should esteem as a greater favour than all the rest, if they indulged him in it, and, if they denied it, he would not complain." By this it was imagined that he meant the consulship; and the commons expected that he would desire to be consul and tribune at the same time. When the day of election of consuls came, and all were waiting with anxiety to see what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Fannius into the *Campus Martius*, and joined with his friends in the canvass. This greatly inclined the scale on Fannius's side, and he was immediately created consul. Caius too, without the least application, or even declaring himself a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people, was appointed tribune the second time.

Finding, however, that the senate avowed their aversion to him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he thought of new laws which might secure the people in his interest. Such were those for sending colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of citizens of Rome. The senate now, apprehending that his power would soon become entirely incontrollable, took a new and unheard-of method to draw the people from him, by gratifying them in every thing, however contrary to the true interests of the state.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus, there was one, named Livius Drusus; a man who, in birth and education, was not behind any of the Romans, and who, in point of eloquence and wealth, might vie with the greatest and most powerful men of his time. To him the nobility applied, exhorting him to set himself up against Caius, and join them in opposing him; not in the way of force, or in any thing that might offend the commons, but in directing all his measures to please them, and granting them things which it would have been an honour to refuse at the hazard of their utmost resentment.

Drusus agreed to list in the service of the senate, and to apply all the power of his office to their views. He therefore proposed laws which had nothing in them either honourable or advantageous to the community. His sole view was to outdo Caius in flattering and pleasing the multitude, and for this purpose he contended with him like a commedian upon a stage. Thus the senate plainly discovered, that it was not so much the measures of Caius, as the man, they were offended with, and that they were resolved to take every method to humble or destroy him: for when he procured a decree for sending out two colonies only, which were to consist of some of the most deserving citizens, they accused him of ingratiating himself by undue methods with the plebeians; but when Drusus sent out twelve, and selected three hundred of the meanest of the people for each, they patronized the whole scheme. When Caius divided the public lands among the poor citizens, on condition that they should pay a small rent into the treasury, they inveighed against him as a flatterer of the populace; but Drusus had their praise for discharging the lands even of that acknowledgment. Caius procured the Latins the privilege of voting as citizens of Rome, and the patricians were offended; Drusus, on the contrary, was supported by them in a law for exempting the Latin soldiers from being flogged, though upon service, for any misdemeanor. Meantime Drusus asserted, in all his speeches, that the senate, in their great regard for the commons, put him upon proposing such advantageous decrees. This was the only

good thing in his manœuvres; for by these arts the people became better affected to the senate. Before, they had suspected and hated the leaders of that body; but Drusus appeased their resentment, and removed their aversion, by assuring them that the patricians were the first movers of all these popular laws.

What contributed most to satisfy the people as to the sincerity of his regard, and the purity of his intentions, was, that Drusus, in all his edicts, appeared not to have the least view to his own interest: for he employed others as commissioners for planting the new colonies; and if there was an affair of money he would have no concern with it himself; whereas Caius chose to preside in the greatest and most important matters of that nature. Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonizing Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, it fell to the lot of Caius to execute that commission, and, in pursuance thereof, he sailed to Africa. Drusus took advantage of his absence to gain more ground upon him, and to establish himself in the favour of the people. To lay an information against Fulvius he thought would be very conducive to this end.

Fulvius was a particular friend of Caius, and his assistant in the distribution of the lands. At the same time he was a factious man, and known to be upon ill terms with the senate. Others besides the patricians suspected him of raising commotions among the allies, and of privately exciting the Italians to a revolt. These things, indeed, were said without evidence or proof; but Fulvius himself gave strength to the report by his unpeaceable and unsalutary conduct. Caius, as his acquaintance, came in for his share of the dislike, and this was one of the principal things that brought on his ruin.

Besides, when Scipio Africanus died without any previous sickness, and (as we have observed in his life) there appeared marks of violence upon his body, most people laid it to the charge of Fulvius, who was his avowed enemy, and had that very day abused him from the *rostrum*. Nor was Caius himself unsuspected. Yet so execrable a crime as this, committed against the first and greatest man in Rome, escaped with impunity; nay, it was not even inquired into: for the people prevented any cognizance of it from being taken, out of fear for Caius, lest, upon a strict inquisition, he should be found accessory to the murder. But this happened some time before.

While Caius was employed in Africa in the re-establishment of Carthage, the name of which he changed to *Junonia**, he was interrupted by several inauspicious omens. The staff of the first stand-

* Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Posthabitâ coluisse Samo. .....

ard was broken, between the violent efforts of the wind to tear it away, and those of the ensign to hold it. Another storm of wind blew the sacrifices from the altars, and bore them beyond the bounds marked out for the city; and the wolves came and seized the marks themselves, and carried them to a great distance. Caius, however, brought every thing under good regulations in the space of seventy days, and then returned to Rome, where he understood that Fulvius was hard pressed by Drusus, and affairs demanded his presence. For Lucius Opimius*, who was of the patrician party, and very powerful in the senate, had lately been unsuccessful in his application for the consulship, through the opposition of Caius, and his support of Fannius; but now his interest was greatly strengthened, and it was thought he would be chosen the following year. It was expected, too, that the consulship would enable him to ruin Caius, whose interest was already upon the decline. Indeed, by this time the people were cloyed with indulgence; because there were many besides Caius who flattered them in all the measures of administration, and the senate saw them do it with pleasure.

At his return, he removed his lodgings from the Palatine Mount to the neighbourhood of the *forum:* in which he had a view to popularity; for many of the meanest and most indigent of the commonalty dwelt there. After this he proposed the rest of his laws, in order to their being ratified by the suffrages of the people. As the populace came to him from all quarters, the senate persuaded Fannius to command all persons to depart the city who were not Romans by birth. Upon this strange and unusual proclamation, that none of the allies or friends of the republic should remain in Rome, or, though citizens, be permitted to vote, Caius, in his turn, published articles of impeachment against the consul, and at the same time declared he would protect the allies, if they would stay. He did not, however, perform his promise; on the contrary, he suffered the consul's *lictors* to take away a person before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hospitality, without giving him the least assistance; whether it was that he feared to show how much his strength was diminished, or whether (as he alledged) he did not choose to give his enemies occasion to have recourse to the sword, who only sought a pretence for it.

He happened, moreover, to be at variance with his colleagues. The reason was this:—There was a show of gladiators to be exhibited

* In the printed text it is *Hostilius*, but it should be *Opimius*: for he was consul the year following with Q. Fabius Maximus, which was the year of Rome 631. Plutarch himself calls him *Opimius* a little after. *Hostilius*, therefore, must be a false reading: and, indeed, one of the manuscripts gives us *Opimius* here.

to the people in the *forum*, and most of the magistrates had caused scaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to let them out for hire. Caius insisted that they should be taken down, that the poor might see the exhibition without paying for it. As none of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the show, and then went with his own workmen, and demolished the scaffolds. Next day the populace saw the place quite clear for them, and of course they admired him as a man of superior spirit. But his colleagues were greatly offended at his violent temper and measures.* This seems to have been the cause of his miscarriage in his application for a third tribuneship; for, it seems, he had a majority of voices, but his colleagues are said to have procured a fraudulent and unjust return. Be that as it may, (for it was a matter of some doubt), it is certain that he did not bear his disappointment with patience; but when he saw his adversaries laugh, he told them with too much insolence, "Their laugh was of the Sardonic* kind, for they did not perceive how much their actions were eclipsed by his."

After Opimius was elected consul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius's laws, and to annul his establishment at Carthage, on purpose to provoke him to some act of violence, and to gain an opportunity to destroy him. He bore this treatment for some time; but afterwards, at the instigation of his friends, and of Fulvius in particular, he began to raise an opposition once more against the consul. Some say, his mother on this occasion entered into the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken some strangers into pay, sent them into Rome in the disguise of reapers; and they assert that these things are enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her son. But others say, Cornelia was much displeased at these measures.

When the day came, on which Opimius was to get those laws repealed, both parties early in the morning posted themselves in the capitol; and, after the consul had sacrificed, Quintus Antyllius, one of his *lictors*, who was carrying out the entrails of the victims, said to Fulvius and his friends, "Stand off, ye factious citizens, and make way for honest men." Some add, that, along with this scurrilous language, he stretched his naked arm towards them in a form that

* It was not easy to see the propriety of this expression as it is used here. The Sardonic laugh was an involuntary distension of the muscles of the mouth, occasioned by a poisonous plant; and persons that died of this poison had a smile on their countenances. Hence it came to signify forced or affected laughter; but why the laughter of Gracchus's opponents should be called forced, or Sardonic, because they did not perceive his superiority, it does not appear. It might more properly have been called affected, if they did perceive it. Indeed, if every species of unreasonable laughing may be called Sardonic, it will do still.

expressed the utmost contempt. They immediately killed Antyllius with long styles, said to have been made for such a purpose.

The people were much chagrined at this act of violence. As for the two chiefs, they made very different reflections upon the event. Caius was concerned at it, and reproached his partizans with having given their enemies the handle they long had wanted. Opimius rejoiced at the opportunity, and excited the people to revenge. But for the present they were parted by a heavy rain.

At an early hour next day, the consul assembled the senate, and while he was addressing them within, others exposed the corpse of Antyllius naked on a bier without, and, as it had been previously concerted, carried it through the *forum* to the senate-house, making loud acclamations all the way. Opimius knew the whole farce, but pretended to be much surprised. The senate went out, and planting themselves about the corpse, expressed their grief and indignation, as if some dreadful misfortune had befallen them. This scene, however, excited only hatred and detestation in the breasts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus in the capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river; and yet now when Antyllius, a vile serjeant, who possibly did not deserve quite so severe a punishment, but by his impertinence had brought it upon himself; when such a hireling lay exposed in the *forum*, the senate of Rome stood weeping about him, and then attended the wretch to his funeral, with no other view than to procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

On their return to the house, they charged Opimius the consul, by a formal decree, to take every possible method for the preservation of the commonwealth, and the destruction of the tyrants. He therefore ordered the patricians to arms, and each of the knights to attend with two servants well armed the next morning. Fulvius, on the other hand, prepared himself, and drew together a crowd of people.

Caius, as he returned from the *forum*, stood a long time looking upon his father's statue, and, after having given vent to his sorrow in some sighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the plebeians, who saw this, were moved with compassion; and declaring they should be the most dastardly of beings if they abandoned such a man to his enemies, repaired to his house to guard him, and passed the night before his door. This they did in a very different manner from the people who attended Fulvius on the same occasion. These passed their time in noise and riot, in carousing and empty threats; Fulvius himself being the first man that was intoxicated, and giving into many expressions and actions unsuitable to his years. But

those about Caius were silent, as in a time of public calamity: and, with a thoughtful regard to what was yet to come, they kept watch and took rest by turns.

Fulvius slept so sound after his wine, that it was with difficulty they awoke him at break of day. Then he and his company armed themselves with the Gallic spoils which he had brought off in his consulship, upon his conquering that people; and thus accoutred they sallied out, with loud menaces, to seize the Aventine hill. As for Caius, he would not arm, but went out in his gown, as if he had been going upon business in the *forum;* only he had a small dagger under it.

At the gate his wife threw herself at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and of her son with the other, she thus expressed herself:—"You do not now leave me, my dear Caius, as formerly, to go to the *rostra* in capacity of tribune or lawgiver, nor do I send you out to a glorious war, where, if the common lot fell to your share, my distress might at least have the consolation of honour. You expose yourself to the murderers of Tiberius, unarmed indeed, as a man should go, who had rather suffer than commit any violence; but it is throwing away your life without any advantage to the community. Faction reigns; outrage and the sword are the only measures of justice. Had your brother fallen before Numantia, the truce would have restored us his body; but now perhaps I shall have to go a suppliant to some river of the sea, to be shown where your remains may be found: for what confidence can we have either in the laws or in the gods, after the assassination of Tiberius!"

When Licinia had poured out these lamentations, Caius disengaged himself as quietly as he could from her arms, and walked on with his friends in deep silence. She catched at his gown, but in the attempt fell to the ground, and lay a long time speechless. At last her servants, seeing her in that condition, took her up and carried her to her brother Crassus.

Fulvius, when all the party was assembled, listened to the advice of Caius, and sent his younger son into the *forum,* equipped like a herald*. He was a youth of most engaging appearance, and he approached with great modesty and tears in his eyes, to propose terms of accommodation to the consul and the senate. Many were disposed to hearken to the proposal; but Opimius said, "The criminals ought not to treat by heralds, but come in person to make their submission to the senate, and surrender themselves to justice, before they interceed for mercy." At the same time he bade the

* Literally, with a caduceus, or *herald's wand in his hand.*

young man return with an account that these conditions were complied with, or not return at all.

Caius was of opinion that they should go and endeavour to reconcile themselves to the senate: but as none of the rest acceded to that opinion, Fulvius sent his son again with propositions much the same. Opimius, who was in haste to begin hostilities, immediately took the young man into custody, and marched against Fulvius with a numerous body of infantry, and a company of Cretan archers. The latter galled their adversaries much, and put them in such confusion that they took to flight. Fulvius hid himself in an old neglected bath, where he was soon found and put to the sword, together with his eldest son. Caius was not seen to lift his hand in the fray; on the contrary, he expressed the greatest uneasiness at their coming to such extremities, and retired into the temple of Diana. There he would have despatched himself, but was hindered by Pomponius and Licinius, the most faithful of his friends, who took away his poniard, and persuaded him to try the alternative of flight. On this occasion he is said to have kneeled down, and with uplifted hands to have prayed to the deity of that temple—"That the people of Rome, for their ingratitude and base desertion of him, might be slaves for ever." Indeed, most of them, on promise of impunity by proclamation, openly went over to the other party.

The enemy pursued Caius with great eagerness, and came up with him at the wooden bridge. His two friends, bidding him go forward, planted themselves before it, and suffered no man to pass till they were overpowered and slain. One of his servants, named Philocrates, accompanied Caius in his flight. All encouraged him to make the best of his way, as they do a runner in the lists, but not one assisted him, or offered him a horse, though he desired it, for they saw the enemy now almost upon him*. He got, however, a little before them into a grove sacred to the *Furies*†, and there closed the scene. Philocrates first despatched him, and afterwards himself. Some, indeed, say, that they both came alive into the enemy's hands, and that the slave clung so close to his master, that they could not come to the one, till they had cut the other in pieces. We are told also, that after a person, whose name is not mentioned, had cut off the head of Caius, and was bearing away his prize, Septimuleius‡, one of

* Aurelius Victor mentions two of Caius's friends who stopped the pursuit of the enemy; Pomponius, at the *Porta Trigemina*, and Lætorius, at the *Pons Sublicius*.

† This grove was called *Lucus Furinæ*, and was near the *Pons Sublicius*. The goddess had a high-priest called *Flamen Furinalis*, and annual sacrifices.—*Varro de Ling.* l. v.

‡ Pliny and Valerius Maximus say, he was an intimate acquaintance of Gracchus.

Opimius's friends, took it from him: for, at the beginning of the action, the weight in gold had been offered by proclamation either for his head, or for that of Fulvius. Septimuleius carried it to Opimius upon the point of a pike; and, when put in the scales, it was found to weigh seventeen pounds eight ounces. For Septimuleius had added fraud to his other villanies; he had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with molten lead. Those who brought in the head of Fulvius, being persons of no note, had no reward at all.

The bodies of Caius and Fulvius, and the rest of the slain, who were no fewer than three thousand, were thrown into the river: their goods were confiscated and sold, and their wives forbidden to go into mourning. Licinia was, moreover, deprived of her dowry. The most savage cruelty was exercised upon the younger son of Fulvius, who had never born arms against them, nor appeared among the combatants, but was imprisoned when he came with proposals of peace, and put to death after the battle. But neither this nor any other instance of despotism so sensibly touched the people as Opimius's building a temple to CONCORD: for by that he appeared to claim honour for what he had done, and in some sort to triumph in the destruction of so many citizens. Somebody therefore, in the night, wrote this line under the inscription on the temple,

Madness and Discord rear the fane of Concord.

Opimius was the first consul who usurped the power of a dictator, and condemned three thousand citizens without any form of justice, besides Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; though one of them had been honoured with the consulship and a triumph, and the other, both in virtue and reputation, was superior to all the men of his time.

Opimius was vile enough to suffer himself to be corrupted with money. Going afterwards ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian, he took a bribe; and being called to account for it at his return in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him. At the same time, he was hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to an abject condition. In a little time those commons showed how deeply they regretted the Gracchi. They erected their statues in one of the most public parts of the city; they consecrated the places where they were killed, and offered to them all first fruits, according to the season of the year; nay, many offered daily sacrifices, and paid their devotions there, as in the temples of the gods.

Cornelia is reported to have born all these misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places, in particular, where her sons lost their lives, "That they were monuments worthy of them." She took up her residence at Misenum, and made

no alteration in her manner of living. As she had many friends, her table was always open for the purposes of hospitality. Greeks and other men of letters she had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and receiving the like civilities in return. She made herself very agreeable to her guests by acquainting them with many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they most admired in her was, that she could speak of her sons without a sigh or a tear, and recount their actions and sufferings, as if she had been giving a narrative of some ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined that age and the greatness of her misfortunes had deprived her of her understanding and sensibility: but those who were of that opinion seemed rather to have wanted understanding themselves; since they knew not how much a noble mind may, by a liberal education, be enabled to support itself against distress, and that though, in the pursuit of rectitude, Fortune may often defeat the purposes of VIRTUE, yet VIRTUE, in bearing affliction, can never lose her prerogative.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES

COMPARED WITH

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

THUS we have given the history of these great men severally, and it remains that we take a view of them in comparison with each other. Those who hated the Gracchi, and endeavoured the most to disparage them, never durst deny, that, of all the Romans of their time, nature had disposed them most happily to virtue, or that this disposition was cultivated by the most excellent education. But nature appears to have done still more for Agis and Cleomenes; for though they not only wanted the advantages of education, but were trained to such manners and customs as had corrupted many before them, yet they became examples of temperance and sobriety.

Besides, the Gracchi lived at a time when Rome was in her greatest glory; a time that was distinguished by a virtuous emulation; and of course they must have had a natural aversion to give up the inheritance of virtue which they had received from their ancestors: whereas Agis and Cleomenes had parents of very different principles, and found their country in a very diseased and unhappy state; and yet

these things did not in the least abate their ardour in the pursuits of honour.

We have a strong proof of the disinterested views of the Gracchi, and their aversion to avarice, in their keeping themselves clear of all iniquitous practices in the whole course of their administration. But Agis might even have resented it, if any one had commended him for not touching the property of others, since he distributed his whole substance among the citizens of Sparta, which, besides other considerable articles, consisted of six hundred talents in money. What a crime then must unjust gain have appeared to him, who thought it nothing less than avarice to possess more than others, though by the fairest title?

If we consider them with respect to the hardiness of their enterprises, and the new regulations they wanted to establish, we shall find the two Grecians greatly superior. One of the two Romans applied himself principally to making roads and colonising towns. The boldest attempt of Tiberius was the distribution of the public lands; and Caius did nothing more extraordinary than the joining an equal number of the equestrian order in commission with the three hundred patrician judges.

The alterations which Agis and Cleomenes brought into the system of their commonwealth were of a different nature. They saw that a small and partial amendment was no better, as Plato expresses it, than the cutting off one of the Hydra's heads*; and therefore they introduced a change that might remove all the distempers of the constitution at once. Perhaps we may express ourselves with more propriety, if we say, that, by removing the changes that had caused all their misfortunes, they brought Sparta back to its first principles.

Possibly it may not be amiss to add, that the measures the Gracchi adopted were offensive to the greatest men in Rome†; whereas all that Agis meditated, and Cleomenes brought to bear, had the best and most respectable authorities to support it, I mean the sanction either of Lycurgus or Apollo.

What is still more considerable, by the political measures of the Gracchi, Rome made not the least acquisition of power or territory; whereas, through those of Cleomenes, Greece saw the Spartans in a little time become masters of Peloponnesus, and contending for

* In the fourth book of the Commonwealth.

† Plutarch seems to censure the Agrarian law as an irrational one, and as the invention of the Gracchi: but, in fact, there was an Agrarian law among the institutions of Lycurgus; and the Gracchi were not the first promoters of such a law among the Romans. Spurius Cassius offered a bill of the same kind above two hundred years before, which proved equally fatal to him.

superiority with the most powerful princes of that age: and this without any other view than to deliver Greece from the incursions of the Illyrians and Gauls, and put her once more under the protection of the race of Hercules.

The different manner of the deaths of these great men appears also to me to point out a difference in their characters. The Gracchi fought with their fellow-citizens, and, being defeated, perished in their flight. Agis, on the other hand, fell almost a voluntary sacrifice, rather than that any Spartan should lose his life on his account. Cleomenes, when insulted and oppressed, had recourse to vengeance; and, as circumstances did not favour him, had courage enough to give himself the fatal blow.

If we view them in another light, Agis never distinguished himself as a general; for he was killed before he had any opportunity of that kind: and with the many great and glorious victories of Cleomenes we may compare the memorable exploit of Tiberius, in being the first to scale the walls of Carthage, and his saving twenty thousand Romans who had no other hope of life, by the peace which he happily concluded with the Numantians. As for Caius, there were many instances of his military talents both in the Numantian war and in Sardinia. So that the two brothers would probably one day have been ranked with the greatest generals among the Romans, had they not come to an untimely death.

As to their political abilities, Agis seems to have wanted firmness and despatch. He suffered himself to be imposed upon by Agesilaus, and performed not his promise to the citizens, of making a distribution of lands. He was indeed extremely young, and on that account had a timidity which prevented the completion of those schemes that had so much raised the expectation of the public. Cleomenes, on the contrary, took too bold and too violent a method to effectuate the changes he had resolved on in the police of Sparta. It was an act of injustice to put the *ephori* to death, whom he might either have brought over to his party by force, because he was superior in arms, or else have banished, as he did many others: for to have recourse to the knife, except in cases of extreme necessity, indicates neither the good physician nor the able statesman, but unskilfulness in both. Besides, in politics, that ignorance is always attended with injustice and cruelty. But neither of the Gracchi began the civil war, or dipped his hands in the blood of his countrymen. Caius, we are told, even when attacked, did not repel force with force; and though none behaved with greater courage and vigour than he in other wars, none was so slow to lift up his hand against a fellow-citizen. He went out unarmed to a scene of fury and sedition: when the fight began,

he retired; and, through the whole, appeared more solicitous to avoid the doing of harm, than the receiving it. The flight, therefore, of the Gracchi, must not be considered as an act of cowardice, but patriotic discretion: for they were under the necessity either of taking the method they did, or of fighting in their own defence, if they staid.

The strongest charge against Tiberius is, that he deposed his colleague, and sued for a second tribuneship. Caius was blamed for the death of Antyllius, but against all reason and justice; for the fact was committed without his approbation, and he looked upon it as a most unhappy circumstance. On the other hand, Cleomenes, not to mention any more his destroying the *ephori*, took an unconstitutional step in enfranchising all the slaves; and, in reality, he reigned alone, though, to save appearances, he took in his brother Euclidas as a partner in the throne, who was not of the other family that claimed a right to give one of the kings to Sparta. Archidamus, who was of that family, and had as much right to the throne, he persuaded to return from Messene. In consequence of this, he was assassinated; and as Cleomenes made no inquiry into the murder, it is probable that he was justly censured as the cause of it: whereas Lycurgus, whom he pretended to take as his pattern, freely surrendered to his nephew Charilaus the kingdom committed to his charge; and that he might not be blamed in case of his untimely death, he went abroad, and wandered a long time in foreign countries; nor did he return till Charilaus had a son to succeed him in the throne. It is true, Greece had not produced any other man who can be compared to Lycurgus.

We have shown that Cleomenes, in the course of his government, brought in greater innovations, and committed more violent acts of injustice. And those that are inclined to censure the persons of whom we are writing, represent Cleomenes as from the first of a tyrannical disposition, and a lover of war. The Gracchi they accuse of immoderate ambition, malignity itself not being able to find any other flaw in them. At the same time they acknowledge, that those tribunes might possibly be carried beyond the dictates of their native disposition by anger and the heat of contention, which, like so many hurricanes, drove them at last upon some extremities in their administration. What could be more just or meritorious than their first design, to which they would have adhered, had not the rich and great, by the violent measures they took to abrogate their law, involved them both in those fatal quarrels; the one to defend himself, and the other to revenge his brother, who was taken off without any form of law or justice.

From these observations, you may easily perceive the difference between them, and if you required me to characterize each of them singly, I should say that the palm of virtue belongs to Tiberius; young Agis had the fewest faults; and Caius, in point of courage and spirit of enterprise, was little inferior to Cleomenes.

DEMOSTHENES.

WHOEVER it was, my Sossius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games; whether Euripides (which is the common opinion) or some other, he asserts, that "The first requisite to happiness is, that a man be born in a famous city." But as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part, I think it would make no difference though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty; for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julius, a small town in the isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and Ægina, which an Athenian "wanted to have taken away, as an eye-sore to the Piræus," should give birth to good poets and players*, and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts which are to gain the master of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns: but virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place where it can find an ingenuous nature, and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline. Therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to an author, who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has his materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books; and the particulars that are wanting in writers he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in

* The poet Simonides was of Ceos, and Polus the actor was of Ægina.

a little town, and I choose to live there, lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life, that I began to read the Roman authors. The process may seem strange, and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that to attain such a skill in the language as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment: but the practice and pains it requires are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

In this book, which is the fifth of our parallels, we intend to give the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, and, from their actions and political conduct, we shall collect and compare their manners and disposition; but, for the reason already assigned, we shall not pretend to examine their orations, or to determine which of them was the more agreeable speaker: for, as Ion says,

> What's the gay dolphin when he quits the waves,
> And bounds upon the shore?

Cæcilius*, a writer at all times much too presumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poets, when he so boldly attempted a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. But perhaps the precept *know thyself* would not be considered as divine, if every man could easily reduce it to practice.

It seems to me that Demosthenes and Cicero were originally formed by nature in the same mould, so great is the resemblance in their dispositions. The same ambition, the same love of liberty, appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes; for I think it is impossible to find two other orators who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power; who both opposed kings and tyrants; who both lost their daughters; were banished their country, and returned with honour; were forced to fly again; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country. So that if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to descend upon the scene, and dispute about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a greater resemblance in their dis-

* Cæcilius was a celebrated rhetorician, who lived in the time of Augustus. He wrote a treatise on the sublime, which is mentioned by Longinus.

positions, or the latter in the circumstances of their lives. We shall begin with the more ancient.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athenes. Theopompus tells us, he was called the *sword-cutler*, because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother*, that she was the daughter of one Gylon†, who was forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to say whether it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father who died when he was only seven years of age; the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected: nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not choose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. Indeed, from the first he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have given him the contemptuous name of *Batalus*‡ for his natural defects. Some say Batalus was an effeminate musician, whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others, that he was a poet, whose verses were of the most wanton and licentious kind. The Athenians, too, at that time seem to have called a part of the body *Batalus*, which decency forbids us to name. We are told that Demosthenes had likewise the name of *Argas*, either on account of the savage and morose turn of his behaviour, for there is a sort of a serpent which some of the poets call *Argas*§; or else, for the severity of his expressions, which often gave his hearers pain; for there was a poet named *Argas*, whose verses were very keen and satirical. But enough of this article.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on this occasion: the orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause which the

* In his oration against Ctesiphon.

† Gylon was accused of betraying to the enemy a town in Pontus called Nymphæum; upon which he fled into Scythia, where he married a native of the country, and had two daughters by her; one of whom was married to Philochares, and the other, named Cleobule, to Demosthenes. Her fortune was forty *minæ*; and of this miscarriage came Demosthenes the orator.

‡ Hesychius gives a different explanation of the word *Batalus*; but Plutarch must be allowed, (though Dacier will not here allow him), to understand the sense of the Greek word as well as Hesychius.

§ Hippocrates, too, mentions a serpent of that name.

city of Oropus* had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raised both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes, hearing the governors and tutors agree among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master, having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a seat, where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demosthenes was fired with a spirit of emulation. When he saw with what distinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other studies and exercises in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with great assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Isæus was the man he made use of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates then taught it; whether it was that the loss of his father incapacitated him to pay the sum of ten *minæ*†, which was that rhetorician's usual price, or whether he preferred the keen and subtle manner of Isæus, as more fit for public use.

Hermippus says he met with an account in certain anonymous memoirs, that Demosthenes likewise studied under Plato‡, and received great assistance from him in preparing to speak in public. He adds, that Ctesibius used to say, that Demosthenes was privately supplied by Callias the Syracusan, and some others, with the systems

* Oropus was a town on the banks of the Euripus, on the frontiers of Attica. The Thebans, though they had been relieved in their distress by Chabrias and the Athenians, forgot their former services, and took Oropus from them: Chabrias was suspected of treachery, and Callistratus the orator was retained to plead against him. Demosthenes mentions this in his oration against Phidias. At the time of this trial he was about sixteen.

† This could not be the reason, if what is recorded in the life of Isæus be true, that he was retained as tutor to Demosthenes at the price of a hundred *minæ*.

‡ This is confirmed by Cicero in his Brutus:—*Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse etiam Demosthenes dicitur: Idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum.* Again in his book *de Oratore*:—*Quod idem de Demosthene existimari potest, cujus ex epistolis intelligi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor.* It is possible that Cicero in this place alludes to that letter of Demosthenes addressed to Heracliodorus, in which he thus speaks of Plato's philosophy:—"Since you have espoused the doctrine of Plato, which is so distant from avarice, from artifice, and violence—a doctrine whose object is the perfection of goodness and justice! Immortal gods! when once a man has adopted this doctrine is it possible he should deviate from truth, or entertain one selfish or ungenerous sentiment?"

of rhetoric taught by Isocrates and Alcidamus, and made his advantage of them.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides says, to exercise his talent for the bar*. It was not without much pains and some risk, that he gained his cause; and at last it was but a very small part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper assurance, and some experience; and having tasted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration. As it is said of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that, by the advice of his physicians, in some disorder of the spleen, he applied himself to running, and continued it constantly a great length of way, till he had gained such excellent health and breath, that he tried for the crown at the public games, and distinguished himself in the long course; so it happened to Demosthenes, that he first appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been so much embezzled; and having acquired in that cause a persuasive and powerful manner of speaking, he contested the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general assembly.

However, in his first address to the people, he was laughed at, and interrupted by their clamours; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods, and a distortion of his argument. Besides, he had a weakness and a stammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse, that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly, Eunomus the Thriasian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to set him right. "You," said he, "have a manner of speaking very like that of Pericles; and yet you lose yourself out of mere timidity and cowardice. You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the *rostrum*, but suffer your parts to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his speeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greatest distress, Satyros the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him. Demosthenes lamented to him, "That,

* He lost his father at the age of seven, and he was ten years in the hands of guardians. He therefore began to plead in his eighteenth year, which, as it was only in his own private affairs, was not forbidden by the laws.

though he was the most laborious of all the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to that application, yet he could gain no favour with the people; but drunken seamen, and other unlettered persons were heard, and kept the *rostrum*, while he was entirely disregarded*."—"You say true," answered Satyrus; "but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles." When Demosthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with such propriety of action, and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so well how much grace and dignity action adds to the best oration, that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost care, if the pronunciation and propriety of gesture were not attended to. Upon this he built himself a subterraneous study, which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day, to form his action, and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together; shaving one side of his head, that, if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular sentences and periods†, meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius; and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak anything *extempore*, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it, unless he came prepared. For this many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all his arguments smelled of the lamp." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him, "Yes, indeed, but your lamp and mine, my friend, are not conscious to the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, "He neither wrote

* This was the privilege of all democratic states. Some think, that by seamen he means Demades, whose profession was that of a mariner.

† Cicero did the same, as we find in his epistles to Atticus. These arguments he calls *Theses Politicæ*.

the whole of his orations, nor spoke without first committing part to writing." He farther affirmed, "That this showed him a good member of a democratic state; for the coming prepared to the *rostrum* was a mark of respect for the people: whereas, to be regardless of what the people might think of a man's address, showed his inclination for oligarchy; and that he had rather gain his point by force than by persuasion." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion is, that when he happened to be put in disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an *extempore* address; but he never did the same for Demades.

Wherefore, then, it may be said, did Æschines call him an orator of the most admirable assurance? How could he stand up alone, and refute Python the Byzantian*, whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhenean† pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander, and in which he had asserted many severe and reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalcidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought such a change in the minds of the great audience, that the sophist, his antagonist, apprehending a tumult, stole out of the assembly.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being persuaded that it was to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he chose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by

* This was one of the most glorious circumstances in the life of Demosthenes. The fate of his country, in a great measure, depended on his eloquence. After Platæa was lost, and Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians applied for succours to the Bœotians. When the league was established, and the troops assembled at Chæronea, Philip sent ambassadors to the council of Bœotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ablest orators of his time. When he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence against the Athenians and their cause, Demosthenes answered him, and carried the point in their favour. He was so elevated with this victory, that he mentions it in one of his orations in almost the same terms that Plutarch has used here.

† If we suppose this Lamachus to have been of Attica, the text should be altered from *Myrrhenean* to *Myrrhinusian*; for *Myrrhinus* was a borough of Attica. But there was a town called Myrrhine in Æolia, and another in Lemnos, and probably Lamachus was of one of these.

speaking on a sudden occasion. And, if we believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets, there was a greater spirit and boldness in his unpremeditated orations than in those he had committed to writing. Eratosthenes says, that, in his extemporaneous harangues, he often spoke as from a supernatural impulse; and Demetrius tells us, that, in an address to the people, like a man inspired, he once uttered this oath in verse,

By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods.

One of the comic writers calls him *Rhopoperperethras**; and another, ridiculing his frequent use of the antithesis, says, "As he took, so he retook." For Demosthenes affected to use that expression. Possibly Antiphanes played upon that passage in the oration concerning the Isle of Halonesus, in which Demosthenes advised the Athenians "not to take, but to retake it from Philip†."

It was agreed, however, on all hands that Demades excelled all the orators, when he trusted to nature only; and that his sudden effusions were superior to the laboured speeches of Demosthenes. Ariston of Chios gives us the following account of the opinion of Theophrastus concerning these orators. Being asked in what light he looked upon Demosthenes as an orator? he said, "I think him worthy of Athens:" what of Demades? "I think him above it." The same philosopher relates of Polyeuctus the Sphettian, who was one of the principal persons in the Athenian administration at that time, that he called "Demosthenes the greatest orator, and Phocion the most powerful speaker;" because the latter comprised a great deal of sense in a few words. To the same purpose, we are told, that Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion got up to oppose him, used to say to his friends, "Here comes the pruning-hook of my periods." It is uncertain, indeed, whether Demosthenes referred to Phocion's manner of speaking, or to his life and character. The latter might be the case, because he knew that a word or nod from a man of superior character is more regarded than the long discourses of another.

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerean gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he says he had it from Demosthenes in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue he corrected by practising to speak with pebbles in his mouth; and he strengthened his voice by running or walking up hill, and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during

* *A haberdasher of small wares*, or something like it.

† There is an expression, something like what Plutarch has quoted, about the beginning of that oration. Libanius suspects the whole of that oration to be spurious; but this raillery of the poet on Demosthenes seems to prove that it was of his hand.

the difficulty of breath which that caused. He had, moreover, a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim, and adjust all his motions.

It is said, that a man came to him one day, and desired him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault. "Not you, indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have suffered no such thing." "What!" said the man, raising his voice, "have I not received those blows?" "Aye, now," replied Demosthenes, "you do speak like a person that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the speaker credit in what he affirms.

His action pleased the commonalty much; but people of taste (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean), thought there was something in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us, that Æsion being asked his opinion of the ancient orators, and those of that time, said, "Whoever has heard the orators of former times, must admire the decorum and dignity with which they spoke: yet when we read the orations of Demosthenes, we must allow they have more art in the composition, and greater force." It is needless to mention, that, in his written orations, there was something extremely cutting and severe; but in his sudden repartees there was also something of humour*. When Demades said, "Demosthenes to me! a sow to Minerva!" our orator made answer, "This Minerva was found the other day playing the whore in Colyttus." When a rascal, surnamed *Chalcus*†, attempted to jest upon his late studies and long watchings, he said, "I know my lamp offends thee. But you need not wonder, my countrymen, that we have so many robberies, when we have thieves of brass, and walls only of clay." Though more of his sayings might be produced, we shall pass them over, and go on to seek the rest of his manners and character in his actions and political conduct.

He tells us himself, that he entered upon public business in the time of the Phocian war‡; and the same may be collected from his Philippics: for some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished, and the former relate to the immediate transactions of it. It appears also, that he was two-and-thirty years old, when he was preparing his oration against Midias; and yet at that time he had

* Longinus will not allow him the least excellence in matters of humour or pleasantry. Cap. xxviii.

† That is, *Brass*.

‡ In the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, five hundred and thirty-three years before the Christian era. Demosthenes was then in his twenty-seventh year.

attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to be the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money: for,

> ..... No prayer, no moving art,
> E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart.—*Pope.*

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. He saw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported on all sides as Midias, by wealth and friends; and, therefore, he listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot think that three thousand *drachmas* could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, and soon gained great reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he spoke. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Persia.—Nay, Philip himself had a much higher opinion of him than the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man: for Æschines and Hyperides, in their very accusations, give him such a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could say that he was a man of no steadiness, who was never long pleased either with the same persons or things: for, on the contrary, it appears that he abode by the party and the measures which he first adopted; and was so far from quitting them during his life, that he forfeited his life rather than he would forsake them. Demades, to excuse the inconsistency of his public character, used to say, "I may have asserted things contrary to my former sentiments, but not any thing contrary to the true interest of the commonwealth." Melanopus, who was of the opposite party to Callistratus, often suffered himself to be bought off, and then said, by way of apology to the people, "It is true the man is my enemy; but the public good is an overruling consideration." And Nicodemus the Messenian, who first appeared strong in the interest of Cassander, and afterwards in that of Demetrius, said, "He did not contradict himself, for it was always the best way to listen to the strongest." But we have nothing of that kind to allege against Demosthenes. He was never a time-server either in his words or actions. The key of politics which he first touched he kept to without variation.

Panætius the philosopher asserts, that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only; that, for instance, *of the crown*, that against *Aristocrates*, that *for the immunities*, and the *philippics*. In all these

orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is most agreeable, or easy, or advantageous; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that if, besides that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blest with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clean of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Mirocles, Polyeuctus, and Hyperides; but have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among those who took the reins of government after him, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem, I mean that which seemed to favour the Macedonians, yet, on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demosthenes had neither the courage that could be trusted in the field, nor was he (as Demetrius expresses it) sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money. Though he bore up against the assaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana; so that he was much better qualified to recommend than to imitate the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the boldest truths, that he opposed their inclinations, and corrected their errors, with the greatest spirit and freedom. Theopompus also acquaints us, that when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but rose up and said, "My friends, I will be your counsellor, whether you will or no; but a false accuser I will not be, how much soever you may wish it." His behaviour in the case of Antipho was of the aristocratic cast*. The people had acquitted him in the general assembly, and yet he carried him before the *areopagus*, where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promised Philip to burn the arsenal; upon which he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewise accused the priestess Theoris of several misdemeanors; and, among the rest, of her teaching the slaves many arts of imposition. Such crimes, he insisted, were capital; and she was delivered over to the executioner.

Demosthenes is said to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cause against the general Timotheus, in an

* See his oration *de Corona*.

action of debt to the public treasury; as also those others against Phormio and Stephanus; which was a just exception against his character; for he composed the oration which Phormio had pronounced against Apollodorus. This, therefore, was like furnishing two enemies with weapons out of the same shop to fight one another. He wrote some public orations for others, before he had any concern in the administration himself, namely, those against Androtion, Timocrates, and Aristocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age when he published those orations. That against Aristogition, and that for the *immunities*, he delivered himself at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus, the son of Chabrias; though others tell us, it was because he paid his addresses to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her; for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magnesian informs us, in his account of persons of the same name. It is uncertain whether that against Æschines, *for betraying his trust as ambassador**, was ever spoken; though Idomeneus affirms that Æschines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations *concerning the crown*: for neither of them expressly mention it as a cause that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we shall leave for others to decide.

Demosthenes, through the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace, he laid hold on every opportunity to raise suspicions against him among the Athenians, and to excite their resentment. Hence Philip looked upon him as a person of the greatest importance in Athens; and when he went with nine other deputies to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, Demosthenes had not an equal share in them; they were bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. They therefore were large in the praise of Philip on all occasions; and they insisted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him praised, turned these things off as trifles. "The first," he said, "was the property of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

Afterwards it appeared that nothing was to be expected but war;

* In this oration, Demosthenes accused Æschines of many capital crimes committed in the embassy on which he was sent to oblige Philip to swear to the articles of peace. Both that oration and the answer of Æschines are still extant.

for, on one hand, Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity; and, on the other, Demosthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this case, the first step the orator took was, to put the people upon sending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and drove out the Macedonians. His second operation was the sending succours to the Byzantians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both those nations had committed in the confederate war, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and it saved them from ruin. After this he went ambassador to the states of Greece; and, by his animating address, brought them almost all to join in the league against Philip. Besides the troops of the several cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus tells us, that when the allies desired their contributions might be settled, Crobylus the orator answered, "That war could not be brought to any set diet."

The eyes of all Greece were now upon these movements, and all were solicitous for the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarensians, the Leucadians, the Corcyreans, had each severally engaged for themselves against the Macedonians. Yet the greatest work remained for Demosthenes to do; which was to bring the Thebans over to the league. Their country bordered upon Attica; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the best soldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocian war, and therefore it was not easy to draw them from him; especially when they considered the frequent quarrels and acts of hostility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them. Meantime Philip, elated with his success at Amphissa, surprised Elatea, and possessed himself of Phocis. The Athenians were struck with astonishment, and not one of them durst mount the *rostrum;* no one knew what advice to give, but a melancholy silence reigned in the city. In this distress Demosthenes alone stood forth, and proposed that application should be made to the Thebans. He likewise animated the people in his usual manner, and inspired them with fresh hopes; in consequence of which he was sent ambassador to Thebes, some others being joined in commission with him. Philip too, on his part, as Maryas informs us, sent Amyntas and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Doachus the Thessalian, and Thrasydæus the Elean, to answer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true interest pointed; but each of them had the evils

of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were still fresh upon them. However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and ambition so effectually, that all other objects were disregarded. They lost sight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and, through the force of his eloquence, fell with enthusiastic transports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace; Greece recovered her spirits, whilst she stood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Bœotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, as well those of Thebes as those of Athens, were under his direction: he was equally beloved, equally powerful in both places; and, as Theopompus shows, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, opposed and baffled all the measures that could be taken. The deity discovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the rest, the priestess of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles; and an old prophecy from the Sibylline books was then much repeated—

> Far from Thermodon's banks, when, stained with blood,
> Bœotia trembles o'er the crimson flood,
> On eagle-pinions let me pierce the sky,
> And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die!

This Thermodon, they say, is a small river in our country near Chæronea, which falls into the Cephisus. At present we know no river of that name; but we conjecture that the Hæmon, which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be called Thermodon; and the battle having filled it with blood and the bodies of the slain, it might on that account change its appellation. Duris, indeed, says, that Thermodon was not a river, but that some of the soldiers, as they were pitching their tents, and opening the trenches, found a small statue, with an inscription, which signified, that the person represented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. He adds, that there was another oracle on the subject, much taken notice of at that time—

> ..... Fell bird of prey,
> Wait thou the plenteous harvest, which the sword
> Will give thee on Thermodon. .....

But it is hard to say what truth there is in these accounts.

As to Demosthenes, he is said to have had such confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would

not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he suspected the prophetess herself of *philippizing*. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned such things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated. Thus far Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour: but in the battle he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had spoken. He quitted his post; he threw away his arms; he fled in the most infamous manner: and was not ashamed, as Pytheas says, to belie the inscription which he had put upon his shield in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE.

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thousand excesses. He drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of song of the first part of the decree which Demosthenes had procured, and beating time to it—*Demosthenes the Pæonean, son of Demosthenes, has decreed.* But when he came to be sober again, and considered the dangers with which he had lately been surrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged him to put both empire and life on the cast of a day, on a few hours of that day*.

The fame of Demosthenes reached the Persian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and to attend to him more than to any other man in Greece; because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by raising fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards discovered by the letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis; and the papers of the Persian governors, expressing the sums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had lost this great battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a person whom they knew to be a well-wisher to his country. So that, when the bones of those who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demosthenes, to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner, as Theopompus in a tragical strain represents it, that by the great

* Demades the orator contributed to bring him to the right use of his reason, when he told him, with such distinguished magnanimity, "That fortune had placed him in the character of Agamemnon, but that he chose to play the part of Thersites."

honour they did the counsellor, they showed they did not repent o having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration: but after this he dic not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortun as inauspicious to him; but sometimes that of one friend, some times that of another, till he recovered his spirits upon the death o Philip: for that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæronea; his fate seemed to be pre-signified in the last of his verses above quoted:

And see the vanquish'd weep, the victor die!

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of the death of Philip; and, in order to prepossess the people with hopes of some good success to come, he entered the assembly with a gay countenance, pretending he had seen a vision which announced something great fo Athens. Soon after, messengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered sacrifices of acknowledgment to the gods for so happy an event, and voted a crown fo Pausanias, who killed him. Demosthenes, on this occasion, mad his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, a Æschines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he must himself have been of an ungenerous and effeminate disposition, if he considered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore such a loss with moderation.

At the same time, I do not pretend to say the Athenians were right in crowning themselves with flowers, or in sacrificing, upon the death of a prince who had behaved to them with so much gentleness and humanity in their misfortunes: for it was a meanness, below contempt, to honour him in his life, and admit him a citizen, and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to keep their joy within any bounds, but to insult the dead and sing triumphal songs, as if they had performed some extraordinary act of valour.

I commend Demosthenes, indeed, for leaving the tears and other instances of mourning, which his domestic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about such actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country: for I think a man of such firmness and other abilities, as a statesman ought to have, should always have the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or business as considerations much inferior to the public: in consequence of which, he will be much more careful to maintain his dignity, than actors who personate kings and tyrants; and yet these, we see, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates o

their own passions, but as they are directed by the subject of the drama. It is universally acknowledged, that we are not to abandon the unhappy to their sorrows, but to endeavour to console them by rational discourse, or by turning their attention to more agreeable objects; in the same manner as we desire those who have weak eyes to turn them from bright and dazzling colours to green, or others of a softer kind. And what better consolation can there be under domestic afflictions, than to attemper and alleviate them with the public success? so that, by such a mixture, the bad may be corrected by the good. These reflections we thought proper to make, because we have observed that this discourse of Æschines has weakened the minds of many persons, and put them upon indulging all the effeminacy of sorrow.

Demosthenes now solicited the states of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furnished with arms by Demosthenes, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the *rostrum* almost every day; and he wrote to the king of Persia's lieutenants in Asia, to invite them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a *boy*, a second *Margites* *.

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the spirit of Demosthenes died away. They deserted the Thebans, and that unhappy people had to stand the whole fury of the war by themselves; in consequence of which they lost their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confusion; and they could think of no better measure than the sending Demosthenes, and some others, ambassadors to Alexander: but Demosthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at mount Cithæron, and relinquished his commission. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, who, (according to Idomeneus and Duris), demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greatest part, and those of the most reputable of the historians say, that he demanded only these eight: Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion, Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace: by which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flock, and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat

* Homer wrote a satire against this Margites, who appears to have been a very contemptible character.

with. And again: "As we see merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat, so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly; and Demades, seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents; whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood, he succeeded however in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased, and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true he raised his head a little when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field, but it soon fell again; for the Athenians refused to join him, Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedæmonians entirely routed.

About this time*, the affair *concerning the crown* came again upon the carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chærondas, and the cause was not determined till ten years after†, under Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges: for, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him, but, on the contrary, acquitted him so honourably, that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages‡. Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens§.

* Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expense, for which the people, at the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a crown of gold. This excited the envy and jealousy of Æschines, who thereupon brought that famous impeachment against Demosthenes, which occasioned his inimitable oration *de Corona*.

† Plutarch must be mistaken here. It does not appear, upon the exactest calculation, to have been more than eight years.

‡ This was a very ignominious circumstance; for if the accuser had not a fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand drachmas.

§ Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treasure in Babylon; and flattering himself that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he gave into all manner of crimes and excesses. At last, when he found that Alexander was really returning, and that he took a severe account of such people as himself, he thought proper to march off with 5000 talents, and 6000 men, into Attica.

He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious to himself of having falsified his trust to minister to his pleasure, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled and said, "It will bring you twenty talents;" and as soon as it was night he sent him the cup with that sum: for Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight, and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation; it made all the impression upon him that was expected; he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice: upon which some that were by said, "It was no common hoarseness that he had got in the night, it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards, when all the people were apprised of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour and expressed their indignation. At the same time, somebody or other stood up, and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup*?" The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off; and, fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a strict inquiry after it, and searched all their houses, except that of Callicles the son of Arenides, whom they spared, as Theopompus says, because he was newly married, and his bride was in his house.

At the same time, Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order, that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should

* This alludes to a custom of the ancients at their feasts, wherein it was usual for the cup to pass from hand to hand, and the person who held it sung a song, to which the rest gave attention.

be found guilty of taking bribes: in consequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the first that were convicted. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the disgrace of his conviction, and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly; and this he did, undiscovered by some, and assisted by others. It is said, that when he was not far from the city, he perceived some of his late adversaries following*, and endeavoured to hide himself: but they called to him by name; and, when they came nearer, desired him to take some necessary supplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpose. They assured him they had no other design in following, and exhorted him to take courage. But Demosthenes gave into more violent expressions of grief than ever, and said, "What comfort can I have, when I leave enemies in this city more generous than it seems possible to find friends in any other?" He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner: for the most part he resided in Ægina or Trœzene; where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expressions there was nothing of a rational firmness; nothing answerable to the bold things he had said and done in his administration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel, and said, "O Minerva, goddess of those towers, whence is it that thou delightest in three such monsters as an owl, a dragon, and the people?" The young men who resorted to him for instruction, he advised, by no means, to meddle with affairs of state. He told them, "That if two roads had been shown him at first, the one leading to the *rostrum* and the business of the assembly, and the other to certain destruction, and he could have foreseen the evils that awaited him in the political walk, the fears, the envy, the calumny, and contention, he would have chosen that road which led to immediate death."

During the exile of Demosthenes Alexander died†. The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things; and, among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had shut up in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambassadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in persuading them not to desert the Mace-

* It is recorded by Phocius, that Æschines, when he left Athens, was followed in like manner, and assisted by Demosthenes; and that, when he offered him consolations, he made the same answer. Plutarch likewise mentions this circumstance in the lives of the ten orators.

† Olymp. cxiv. Demosthenes was then in his fifty-eighth year.

donian cause, nor listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himself greatly with them in exhorting the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus tells us, that in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house into which ass's milk is brought, so the city, which an Athenian embassy ever enters, must necessarily be in a sick and decaying condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him, by saying, "As ass's milk never enters but for curing the sick, so the Athenians never appear but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recal of Demosthenes. It was Damon the Pæonean, cousin-german to Demosthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; insomuch that there was neither a magistrate nor priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us, that Demosthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier," said he, "is my return than that of Alcibiades. It was through compulsion that the Athenians restored him, but me they have recalled from a motive of kindness."

The fine, however, still remained due; for they could not extend their grace so far as to repeal his sentence; but they found out a method to evade the law, while they seemed to comply with it. It was the custom, in the sacrifices to Jupiter the Preserver, to pay the persons who prepared and adorned the altars. They therefore appointed Demosthenes to this charge, and ordered that he should have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the sum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of Crano in the month of August*, a Macedonian garrison entered Munychia in September†, and Demosthenes lost his life in October‡.

It happened in the following manner: when news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes and those of his party hastened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them

* Metagitnion. † Boëdromion. ‡ Pyanepsion.

to death. As they fled different ways, Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias, surnamed *Phugadotheras*, or the *exile-hunter*, was their captain. It is said he was a native of Thurim, and had been some time a tragedian; they add, that Polus of Ægina, who excelled all the actors of his time, was his scholar. Hermippus reckons Archias among the disciples of Lacritus the rhetorician; and Demetrius says he spent some time at the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, however, drew Hyperides the orator, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean, out of the temple of Æacus in Ægina, where they had taken refuge, and sent them to Antipater at Cleonæ. There they were executed; and Hyperides is said to have first had his tongue cut out.

Archias being informed that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and his Thracian soldiers passed over to it in row-boats. As soon as he was landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple, and go with him to Antipater, assuring him that he had no hard measure to expect. But it happened that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the best; that he succeeded in his action, had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with a great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and said, without rising from his seat, "Neither your action moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he said, "Before, you acted a part; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait awhile, till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple, and taking some paper, as if he meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when thoughtful about his composition; after which, he covered his head, and put it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then, approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat the promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, "Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon* in the play as

* Alluding to that passage in the Antigone of Sophocles, where Creon forbids the body of Polynices to be buried.

soon as you please, and cast out this carcase of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune, I quit thy temple with my breath within me; but Antipater and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him. But, in attempting to walk out, he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

Aristo says he sucked the poison from a pen, as we have related it. One Pappus, whose memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports, that when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more. He adds, that people being surprised that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes said he had long wore that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes tells us, that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject; but it is not necessary to give all their different accounts. We shall only add, that Demochares, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts, that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of the gods, and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and easy death. He died on the sixteenth of October, which is the most mournful day in the ceremonies of the *Thesmophoria**. The women keep it with fasting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the *Prytaneum* at the public charge. This celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue.

> Divine in speech, in judgment, too, divine,
> Had valour's wreath, Demosthenes been thine,
> Fair Greece had still her freedom's ensign born,
> And held the scourge of Macedon in scorn.

For no regard is to be paid to those who say that Demosthenes himself uttered these lines in Calauria, just before he took the poison†.

* This was an annual festival in honour of Ceres. It began the fourteenth of October, and ended the eighteenth. The third day of the festival was a day of fasting and mortification; and this is the day that Plutarch speaks of.

† This inscription, so far from doing Demosthenes honour, is the greatest disgrace that the Athenians could have fastened upon his memory. It reproaches him with a weakness, which, when the safety of his country was at stake, was such a deplorable want of virtue and manhood, as no parts or talents could atone for.

A little before I visited Athens, the following adventure is said to have happened: a soldier being summoned to appear before the commanding officer upon some misdemeanour, put the little gold he had in the hands of the statue of Demosthenes, which were in some measure clenched. A small plane-tree grew by it, and many leaves, either accidently lodged there by the winds, or purposely so placed by the soldier, covered the gold a considerable time. When he returned and found his money entire, the fame of this accident was spread abroad, and many of the wits of Athens strove which could write the best copy of verses to vindicate Demosthenes from the charge of corruption.

As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours he had acquired. The Being who took it in charge to revenge Demosthenes led him into Macedonia, where he justly perished by the hands of those whom he had basely flattered. They had hated him for some time; but at last they caught him in a fact which could neither be excused nor pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to seize Macedonia, and deliver Greece, which, he said, "hung only by an old rotten stalk," meaning Antipater. Dinarchus, the Corinthian, accusing him of this treason, Cassander was so much provoked, that he stabbed his son in his arms, and afterwards gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the most dreadful misfortunes, he learned that *traitors always first fell themselves:* a truth which Demosthenes had often told him before, but he would never believe it. Such, my Sossius, is the life of Demosthenes, which we have compiled, in the best manner we could, from books and from tradition.

CICERO.

THE account we have of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, is, that her family was noble*, and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing said but in extremes: for some affirm that he was the son of a fuller†, and educated in that trade; while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus‡, a prince who governed the Volsci

* Cinna was of this family.

† Dion tells us that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero, in his book *de Legibus*, has said enough to show that both his father and grandfather were persons of property, and of a liberal education.

‡ The same prince to whom Coriolanus retired four hundred years before.

with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the first of the family who bore the name of Cicero must have been an extraordinary man; and for that reason his posterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took to it with pleasure, though it was a common subject of ridicule; for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excrescence on the top of his nose in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname*. As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends advised him, on his first application to business, and soliciting one of the great offices of state, to lay aside or change that name: but he answered with great spirit, "That he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero more glorious than that of the Scauri and the Catuli." When quæstor in Sicily, he consecrated in one of the temples a vase or some other offering in silver, upon which he inscribed his two first names *Marcus Tullius*, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the third of January†, the day on which the magistrates now sacrifice, and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is said that his mother was delivered of him without pain. It is also reported, that a spectre appeared to his nurse, and foretold, that the child she had the happiness to attend would one day prove a great benefit to the whole commonwealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not soon demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with so much lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of some of them repaired to the schools to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilized were angry with their sons, when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and disposition which Plato‡ would have a scholar and philosopher to possess. He had both capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science that he despised; yet he was most inclined to poetry; and there is still extant a poem, entitled *Pontius Glaucus*§, which was

* Pliny's account of the origin of this name is more probable. He supposes that the person who first bore it was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. So Fabius, Lentulus, and Piso, had their names from beans, tares, and pease.

† In the sixth hundred and forty-seventh year of Rome, a hundred and four years before the Christian era. Pompey was born the same year.

‡ Plato's Commonwealth, lib. v.

§ This Glaucus was a famous fisherman, who, after eating of a certain herb, jumped into the sea; and became one of the gods of that element. Æschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject. Cicero's poem is lost.

written by him, when a boy, in *tetrameter* verse. In process of time, when he had studied this art with greater application, he was looked upon as the best poet, as well as the greatest orator, in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since been made in the language; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost its credit, and is now neglected*.

When he had finished those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom, of all the scholars of Clitomachus, the Romans most admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the same time, he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law under Mucius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, and president of the senate. He likewise got a taste of military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marsian war†. But, afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic and contemplative life; conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making further advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and there appeared to be some established government again.

About this time, Sylla ordered the estate of one of the citizens to be sold by auction, in consequence of his being killed as a person proscribed, when it was struck off to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the small sum of two thousand *drachmæ*. Roscius the son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus to be the manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty, that no man offered to appear in defence of Roscius, and nothing seemed left for him but to fall a sacrifice. In this distress he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator desired him to undertake the cause; thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lists of fame. Accordingly he undertook his defence, succeeded, and gained great applause‡. But, fearing Sylla's resent-

* Plutarch was a very indifferent judge of the Latin poetry, and his speaking with so much favour of Cicero's, contrary to the opinion of Juvenal and many others, is a strong proof of it. He translated Aratus into verse at the age of seventeen, and wrote a poem in praise of the actions of Marius, which, Scævola said, would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy: it has long been dead. And the poem which he wrote in three books on his own consulship has shared the same fate.

† In the eighteenth year of his age.

‡ In his twenty-seventh year.

ment, he travelled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. Indeed, he was of a lean and slender habit, and his stomach was so weak, that he was obliged to be very sparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice, however, had a variety of inflections, but was at the same time harsh and unformed; and as, in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking, he always rose into a loud key, there was reason to apprehend that he might injure his health.

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Ascalonite, and was charmed with the smoothness and grace of his elocution; though he did not approve his new doctrines in philosophy: for Antiochus had left the *new academy*, as it is called, and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the strength of the evidence of sense, or else from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted most of the doctrines of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the *new academy*, and entered more and more into its opinions; having already taken his resolution, if he failed in his design of rising in the state, to retire from the *forum*, and all political intrigues to Athens, and spend his days in peace in the bosom of philosophy.

But, not long after, he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was strengthened by exercise, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed; and at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear. Besides, his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himself to public affairs. For which reasons he exercised his rhetorical powers afresh, as the best engines for business, and called forth his political talents. In short, he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming, or attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution of this design, he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Amongst the rhetoricians of Asia, he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius the son of Molo*, and the philosopher Posidonius. It is said, that Apollonius, not understanding the Roman language, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek; and he readily complied, because he thought by that means his falts might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the rest were astonished at his performance, and strove which should

* Not *Apollonius the son of Molo*, but *Apollonius Molo*. The same mistake is made by our author in the life of Cæsar.

praise him most; but Apollonius shewed no signs of pleasure while he was speaking, and, when he had done, he sat a long while thoughtful and silent. At last, observing the uneasiness it gave his pupil, he said, "As for you Cicero, I praise and admire you, but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that, too, to Rome."

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs with great hopes of success; but his spirit received a check from the oracle at Delphi: for, upon his inquiring by what means he might rise to the greatest glory, the priestess bade him "follow nature, and not take the opinion of the multitude for the guide of his life." He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himself neglected, and called *a Greek, a scholastic;* terms which the artisans and others, the meanest of the Romans, are very liberal in applying. But, as he was naturally ambitious to honour, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar. Nor was it by slow and insensible degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence; his fame shot forth at once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demosthenes, and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius, who excelled in comedy; and of Æsop, whose talents lay in tragedy. This Æsop we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, in the part where he considers in what manner he should punish Thyestes, being worked up by his passion to a degree of insanity, with his sceptre struck a servant who happened suddenly to pass by, and laid him dead at his feet. In consequence of these helps, Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronunciation. But as for those orators who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and said, "Their weakness made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on horseback." His excellence at hitting off a jest or repartee animated his pleadings, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the *forum;* but, by bringing it much into life, he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quæstor at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at first, by compelling them to send their corn to Rome. But afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his justice, and moderation, they honoured him more than any quæstor that Rome had ever sent them. About that time, a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge

of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he tells us* he met with a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence, with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, "What they said and thought of his actions in Rome?" imagining that his name and the glory of his achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been then, Cicero, all this time?"

This answer dispirited him extremely: for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that contention for glory was an endless thing, and had neither measure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory, always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that, while mechanics know the name, the place, the use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He therefore made it his business to commit to memory not only their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle: so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet, as it was small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar. This was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been *prætor* in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by several adjournments to the last day†; and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard, and the

* In his oration for Plancus.

† Not till the *last* day. Cicero brought it on a *few* days before Verres's friends were to come into office; but of the seven orations which were composed on the occasion, the two first only were delivered. A. U. 683.

matter determined in the usual method, he rose up and said, "There was no occasion for pleadings." He therefore brought up the witnesses, and, after their depositions were taken, insisted that the judges should give their verdict immediately.

Yet we have an account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's in this cause. When an emancipated slave, Cæcilius by name, who was suspected of being a Jew, would have set aside the Sicilians, and taken the prosecution of Verres upon himself*, Cicero said, "What has a Jew to do with swine's flesh?" for the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he answered, "Why do you not first reprove your own children?" For Verres had a young son who was supposed to make an infamous use of his advantages of person. Hortensius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory *sphinx* from him by way of consideration. In this case Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said, "He knew not how to solve riddles," Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, when you have a *sphinx* in your house."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero set his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand *drachmæ;* upon which it was said by censorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off so low†. The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgment of his assistance, brought him, when he was ædile, a number of things for his games, and other valuable presents; but he was so far from considering his private advantage, that he made no other use of their generosity than to lower the price of provisions.

He had a handsome country-seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very considerable. His wife Terentia brought him a fortune of a hundred and twenty thousand *denarii*, and he fell heir to something that amounted to ninety thousand more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and, at the same time, a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans, around him. He rarely took his meal before sunset; not that business or study prevented his sitting down to table sooner, but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required that regi-

* Cicero knew that Cæcilius was secretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

† This fine, indeed, was very inconsiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in such cases as that of Verres, was twice the sum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of 322,916l. against Verres, the fine must therefore have been 645,832l, but 750,000 drachmæ was no more than 24,218l. Plutarch, must, therefore, most probably have been mistaken.

men. Indeed, he was so exact in all respects in the care of his health, that he had his stated hours for rubbing, and for the exercise of walking. By this management of his constitution, he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town-house, which belonged to his family, to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go: for he had a levee every day, not less than Crassus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and interest in the army, though they were the most followed, and the greatest men in Rome. Pompey himself paid all due respect to Cicero, and found his political assistance very useful to him, both in respect to power and reputation.

When Cicero stood for the prætorship, he had many competitors, who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity and honour. Licinius Macer, who had great interest of his own, and was supported, besides, with that of Crassus, was accused before him of some default with respect to money. He had so much confidence in his own influence, and the activity of his friends, that when the judges were going to decide the cause, it is said he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return so equipped to the *forum:* but Crassus met him in his court-yard and told him, that all the judges had given verdict against him; which affected him in such a manner, that he turned in again, took to his bed, and died*. Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept strict watch against corruption in the court.

There was another person, named Vatinius, an insolent orator, who paid very little respect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of scrophulous swellings. This man applied to Cicero about some business or other; and as that magistrate did not immediately comply with his request, but sat some time deliberating, he said, "I could easily swallow such a thing if I was

* The story is related differently by Valerius Maximus. He says, that Macer was in court waiting the issue, and perceiving that Cicero was proceeding to give sentence against him, he sent to inform him that he was dead, and at the same time suffocated himself with his handkerchief. Cicero, therefore, did not pronounce sentence against him, by which means his estate was saved to his son Licinius Calvus. Notwithstanding this, Cicero himself, in one of his epistles to Atticus, says, that he actually condemned him; and in another of his epistles he speaks of the popular esteem this affair procured him.—Cic. *Epp. ad Att.* l. i. e. 3, 4.

prætor;" upon which Cicero turned towards him, and made answer, "But I have not so large a neck."

When there were only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid against Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only prosecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He desired to have a day fixed for his trial; and, as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, because it had been customary for the prætors to allow the accused ten days at the least. The tribunes, therefore, cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of this proceeding.—He desired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect: "As I have always behaved to persons impeached with all the moderation and humanity that the laws will allow, I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of treating Manilius with the same candour. I was master only of one day more in my office of prætor, and consequently must appoint that; for, to leave the decision of the cause to another magistrate, was not the method for those who were inclined to serve Manilius." This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people; they were lavish in their praises, and desired him to undertake the defence himself. This he readily complied with; his regard for Pompey, who was absent, not being his least inducement. In consequence hereof, he presented himself before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make severe reflections on those who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet, for the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raising him to the consulship. The occasion was this: the change which Sylla introduced into the constitution at first, seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom it came to an establishment which many thought not a bad one. At present there were some who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the least view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome sufficient to suppress the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most remarkable versatility of manners; his name Lucius Catiline. Besides a variety of other crimes, he was accused of debauching his own daughter, and killing his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution for the latter, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among other engagements of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and ate of his flesh.

Catiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth, by indulgir their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine a women, and setting no bounds to his expenses for these purpos All Tuscany was prepared for a revolt, and most of Cisalpine Ga The vast inequality of the citizens, in point of property, prepar Rome, too, for a change. Men of spirit among the nobility h impoverished themselves by their great expenses on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices, and erecting magnificent buildings; by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people. In this tottering state of the commonwealth, there needed no great force to overset it, and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accomplish its ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his colleague: a man who had no firm principles, either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him that led him. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero* and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, began now to solicit them, and make all possible interest with the people. It is true they alleged many just and good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but it was an unseasonable time to give the administration so much trouble. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws which had the same tendency to distress the government; for they wanted to appoint *decemvirs*, and invest them with an unlimited power. This was to extend over all Italy, over Syria, and all the late conquests of Pompey. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries; to judge or banish whom they pleased; to plant colonies; to take money out of the public treasury; to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's colleague, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no stranger to

* In his forty-third year.

Catiline's designs, and that he did not disrelish them on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumstance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cicero guarded against; which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul, which was allotted to himself. Antony was so much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like a hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cicero for the benefit of his country. Cicero, having thus managed his colleague, began with greater courage to take his measures against the seditious party. He alleged his objections against the law in the senate, and effectually silenced the proposers*. They took another opportunity, however, and coming prepared, insisted that the consuls should appear before the people. Cicero, not in the least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him. He addressed the commons with such success, that they threw out the bill: and his victorious eloquence had such an effect upon the tribunes, that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was indeed the man who most effectually showed the Romans what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that justice is invincible when properly supported. He showed, also, that a magistrate, who watches for the good of the community, should, in his actions, always prefer right to popular measures, and in his speeches know how to make those right measures agreeable, by separating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he spoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation that took place in his consulship. Before, those of the equestrian order sat mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho, in his prætorship, was the first who separated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them seats which they still enjoy†. The people looked upon this as a mark of dishonour, and hissed and insulted Otho when he appeared at the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause; till at last they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre in the utmost disorder. Cicero, being informed of the disturbance, came and called the people to the temple of Bellona, where, partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he so corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly testified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and strove with the knights which should do him the most honour.

* This was the first of his three orations *de Lege Agraria*.

† About four years before, under the consulship of Piso and Glabrio. But Otho was not then prætor; he was tribune.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, began to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla: and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election; for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero therefore adjourned the day of election; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline, believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to show his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness—"As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head; the other strong and robust, but is without a head: what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the body that wants it?" By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people: consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election, he put on a coat of mail; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the *Campus Martius*. There he threw back his robe, and showed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was this: Crassus's porter brought him in a packet of letters after supper, which he had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and there was one for Crassus

himself, but without a name. This only Crassus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait on Cicero: for he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had some suspicions to remove, which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero, having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, desiring, at the same time, that they might be read in public. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of prætorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, was hovering about these parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations, the senate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issue, and never but in some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power, he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the *forum*. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army, and ordered Marcius and Cethegus to take their swords, and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him, and kill him: but Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular against Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter *Stator*, which stands at the entrance of the *Via Sacra*, in the way to the Palatine hill. Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make his defence; but there was not a senator who would sit by him; they all left the bench he had taken; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero rose up and commanded him to depart the city: "For," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, im-

mediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the *fasces* and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having assembled an army of twenty thousand men, he marched to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities having thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together, and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of noble birth, but bad life. He had been expelled the senate for his debaucheries, but was then prætor the second time; for that was a customary qualification, when ejected persons were to be restored to their places in the senate*. As to the surname of Sura, it is said to have been given him on this occasion: when he was quæstor in the time of Sylla, he had lavished away vast sums of the public money. Sylla, incensed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full senate. Lentulus came up in a very careless and disrespectful manner, and said, "I have no account to give, but I present you with the calf of my leg;" which was a common expression among the boys, when they missed their strokes at tennis. Hence he had the surname of *Sura*, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he said, "He had put himself to a needless expense in bribing one of those judges, for it would have been sufficient to have had a majority of one."

Such was the disposition of this man, who had not only been solicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated with vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up to him. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought him them, as from the books of the Sybils. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, "That three of the Cornelii would be monarchs of Rome." They added, "That two had already fulfilled their destiny, Cinna and Sylla; that he was the third Cornelius whom the gods now offered the monarchy; and that he ought by all means to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done."

Nothing little or trivial now entered into the schemes of Lentulus. He resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could; to burn the city; and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize, and keep as pledges of his peace with that general; for by this time it was strongly re-

* When a Roman senator was expelled, an appointment to prætorial office was a sufficient qualification for him to resume his seat.—*Dion.* l. xxxvii.

ported that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conspirators had fixed on a night during the feast of the *Saturnalia* for the execution of their enterprise. They had lodged arms and combustible matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the same number of men, each of which was allotted his quarter to set fire to. As this was to be done by them at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

While these things were preparing, there happened to be in Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought these ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates, and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors, they sent one Titus of Crotona, to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine, and in company with women, were soon discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in all parts of the city to trace every step they took; and he had, besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with those strangers.

In consequence hereof, he laid an ambush for the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him their assistance*. Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed, that several persons had heard Cethegus say, that three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed. The evidence of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, one of the prætors, who was sent to Cethegus's house, found there a great quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all new furbished. At last, the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of indemnity, Lentulus saw himself entirely detected, and laid down his office, (for he was then prætor): he put

* These ambassadors had been solicited by Umbrenus to join his party. Upon mature deliberation, however, they thought it safest to abide by the state, and discovered the plot to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their nation.

off his purple robe in the house, and took another more suitable to his present distress: upon which both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors, to be kept in custody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which they conducted him to the house of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; his own being taken up with the women, who were then employed in the mysterious rites of the goddess, whom the Romans call *Bona*, or the *Good*, and the Greeks *Gynæcea*. An annual sacrifice is offered her in the consul's house by his wife and mother, and the vestal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments assigned him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment he should inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loath to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence seemed to demand, as well by reason of the mildness of his disposition, as for fear of incurring the censure of making an extravagant and severe use of his power against men who were of the first families, and had powerful connexions in Rome. On the other side, if he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with any thing less than death, but would rather break out into the most desperate villanies, when their former wickedness was sharpened with anger and resentment. Besides, he might himself be branded with the mark of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him from them "Boldly to follow his best judgment in the service of his country; because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, promised him not only safety, but glory in his enterprise." Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share with him in politics, than she permitted him to have in domestic business. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical friends, whom he made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day the senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the

conspirators, and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till he turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert, that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest: for had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators, it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he rose and declared, "Not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered*." To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with great eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himself added no small weight: for in his speech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, first for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter sentence; insomuch that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying that he did not mean capital punishment, for that imprisonment was the severest which a Roman senator could suffer.

The matter thus went on till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment; and Cato supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar; which so roused the spirit and indignation of the senate, that they made a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating their goods; for, he said, it was unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should not be forfeited.

After this Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals,

* Plutarch seems here to intimate, that, after the defeat of Catiline, they might be put upon their trial: but it appears from Sallust, that Cicero had no such intention.

who were not all lodged in one house, but in those of the several prætors. First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the *Via Sacra*, and through the middle of the *forum*. The principal persons in Rome attended the consul on all sides, like a guard; the people stood silent at the horror of the scene: and the youth looked on with fear and astonishment, as if they were initiated that day in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the *forum*, and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethegus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death. In his return, he saw others who were in the conspiracy standing thick in the *forum:* as these knew not the fate of their ringleaders, they were waiting for night, in order to go to their rescue, for they supposed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, *They did live.* The Romans, who choose to avoid all inauspicious words, in this manner express death.

By this time it grew late, and as he passed through the *forum* to go to his own house, the people now did not conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him *the saviour and second founder of Rome.* The streets were illuminated* with a multitude of lamps and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold and pay a proper compliment to the man who was followed with solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich spoils, for power, but, for preservation and safety, to Cicero alone, who had rescued her from so great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quashing the enterprise, and punishing the delinquents, appeared so extraordinary a thing; but the wonder was, that he could suppress the greatest conspiracy that ever existed, with so little inconvenience to the state, without the least sedition or tumult: for many who had joined Catiline left him, on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus; and that traitor giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed with his whole army.

Yet some were displeased with this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At the head of this fac-

* Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally from the nocturnal celebration of religious mysteries, and on that account carried the idea of veneration and respect with them.

tion were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year; Cæsar, who was to be prætor, and Metellus and Bestia, tribunes*. These last, entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero's expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the *rostra*, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office†, after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly, when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "He had saved his country, and preserved the empire;" and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army, to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole commonwealth, that Cato was then one of the tribunes; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light, that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was called *the father of his country;* a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it‡.

His authority in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great; but he rendered himself obnoxious and burdensome to many, not by any ill action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself. He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Catiline and Lentulus were the burden of his song. Not satisfied with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself, that though his style was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the reader; for the blemish stuck to him like an incurable disease.

But though he had such an insatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others should have their share: for he was entirely free from envy; and it appears from his works that he was most liberal in his praises, not only of the ancients, but of those of his

* Bestia went out of office on the eighth of December. Metellus and Sextius were tribunes.

† The consuls took two oaths; one on entering into their office, that they would act according to the laws; and the other on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

‡ Q. Caius was the first who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people.

own time. Many of his remarkable sayings, too, of this nature, are preserved. Thus of Aristotle he said, "That he was a river of flowing gold;" and of Plato's dialogues, "That if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did." Theophrastus he used to call his "particular favourite;" and being asked which of Demosthenes's orations he thought the best? he answered, "The longest." Some who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain indeed of Cicero's saying in one of his epistles, "That Demosthenes sometimes nodded in his orations:" but they forget the many great encomiums he bestowed on him in other parts of his works, and do not consider that he gave the title of *philippics* to his orations against Mark Antony, which were the most elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his cotemporaries, celebrated either for his eloquence or philosophy, whose fame he did not promote, either by speaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He persuaded Cæsar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of *Areopagus* to make out an order for desiring him to remain at Athens to instruct the youth, and not deprive their city of such an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus: but he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of accustoming his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his society. Amongst his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that discover any thing of resentment. His reprimand to Gorgias was certainly right and proper, if he was the dissolute man that he passed for; but he betrays an excessive meanness in his expostulations with Pelops, for neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause; and his client was acquitted in consequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends; upon which he was so much transported with anger as to say, "Thinkest thou it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them from the sight of the court?" He had succeeded in an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the *rostrum;* and a few days after as publicly reproached him. "What!" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me in the place where you now stand?"—"True;" answered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject." Crassus had once affirmed, that none of his family

ever lived above threescore years; but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and said, "What could I be thinking of when I asserted such a thing?"—"You knew," said Cicero, "that such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome." Crassus happened one day to profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the Stoics, "The good man is always rich."—"I imagine," said Cicero, "there is another more agreeable to you, *all things belong to the prudent;*" for Crassus was notoriously covetous. Crassus had two sons, one of which resembled a man called Accius so much, that his mother was suspected of an intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the senate with great applause; and Cicero being asked what he thought of him, answered in Greek, *Axios Crassou**. When Crassus was going to set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy, and therefore addressed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and sup with him. Cicero accepted the offer with equal politeness. A few days after, Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends, and desired a reconciliation. "What!" said Cicero, "does Vatinius, too, want to sup with me?" Such were his jests upon Crassus. Vatinius had scrophulous tumours in his neck; and one day, when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said, "May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie!" When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, said, "That shall never be while I live."—"Let us wait awhile then," said Cicero, "for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius who had it objected to him that he was an African. One day, when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him. "That is somewhat strange," said Cicero, "for you are not without a hole in your ear†." When Metellus Nepos told him "that he had ruined more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate:" "I grant it," said Cicero, "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero answered, "I had much rather have them than your cake." Publius Sestius had taken Cicero,

* An ill-mannered pun, which signifies either that the young man was worthy of Crassus, or that he was the son of Accius.

† A mark of slavery amongst some nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornament.

among others, for his advocate in a cause of some importance, and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and said, "Sestius, make the best use of your time to-day, for to-morrow you will be out of office*." Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called in as a witness in a certain cause, declared, "He knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," said Cicero, "you think I am asking you some question in law." Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question." For his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind: he suddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument†: "This," said Cicero, "was one of the wisest things you ever did; for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak‡." Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every resource of care, eloquence, and fidelity, in his cause, Cicero said, "What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do any one thing that your friend has desired you!"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator to use this cutting raillery against enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiscriminately, merely to raise a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances: he used to call Marcus Aquilius *Adrastus*, because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile§. Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero, in the course of his canvass, happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank, "You do well to conceal me, for you are afraid that the censor will call me to account for drinking water."

* Probably Sestius, not being a professed advocate, would not be employed to speak for any body else; and therefore Cicero meant that he should indulge his vanity in speaking for himself.

† It was usual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monuments of the dead; and these were either such instruments as represented the profession of the deceased, or such animals as resembled them in disposition.

‡ Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.

§ Because Adrastus had married his daughters to Eteocles and Polynices, who were exiled.

Meeting Voconius one day with his three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out,

On this conception Phœbus never smil'd*.

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happening to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice, "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have been public criers in his family." Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans, having run deep in debt, and wasted great part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it; upon which Cicero said, "I like these bills much better than his father's.

Many hated him for these keen sarcasms, which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their schemes against him. The occasion was this: Clodius, who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar. This induced him to get privately into the house, which he did in the habit of a female musician. The women were offering in Cæsar's house that mysterious sacrifice which is kept from the sight and knowledge of men. But though no man is suffered to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet smooth, hoped to pass through the women to Pompeia undiscovered. As he entered a great house in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked him his name. Being now forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, shrieked out, and called the matrons together. They immediately made fast the doors, and searching the whole house, found Clodius skulking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, and prosecuted Clodius for that act of impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend; for, during the conspiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power, and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius insisted in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a considerable distance in the country. But Cicero attested, that he came that very day to his house, and talked with him about some particular business. This was indeed matter of fact; yet, probably, it was not so much the influence of truth, as the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia, that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his sister Clodia; for she was persuaded that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her husband, and that she managed the design by one Tullus. As Tullus

* A verse of Sophocles, speaking of Laius, the father of Œdipus.

was an intimate friend of Cicero's, and likewise constantly paid his court to Clodia, who was his neighbour, that circumstance strengthened her suspicions. Besides, Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and having an ascendant over her husband, she put him upon giving evidence against Clodius. Many other persons of honour alleged against him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid-servants to prove, that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own sister, who was the wife of that nobleman. This was the youngest of the sisters; and it was generally believed that he had connexions of the same kind with his other sisters; one of which, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex, and the other, Clodia, to Metellus Celer. The latter was called *Quadrantaria,* because one of her lovers palmed upon her a purse of small brass money instead of silver; the smallest brass coin being called a *quadrans.* It was on this sister's account that Clodius was most censured. As the people set themselves both against the witnesses and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified, that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court; and most of them confounded the letters upon the tablets*. He seemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but it was said to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, said, "You were right in desiring a guard for your defence, for you were afraid that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius told Cicero, that the judges did not give credit to his deposition, "Yes," said he, "five-and-twenty of them believed me, for so many condemned you; nor did the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money." As to Cæsar, when he was called upon, he gave no testimony against Clodius, nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done his bed. He only said, "He had divorced Pompeia because the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be clear of such a crime, but of the very suspicion of it."

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Piso was to have Macedonia, and Gabinius Syria. He registered many mean and indigent persons as citizens, and armed a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was an avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently caressed both parties, and Cæsar was going to set out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his

* See the note on the parallel passage in the life of Cæsar.

friend, but rather suspected of enmity since the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he asked of him was, that he would take him as his lieutenant, and Cæsar granted it*." Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw most of the blame of the late difference on Terentia, and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adversary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears so entirely†, that he gave up the lieutenancy which Cæsar had indulged him with, and began to attend to business as before.

Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all justice and law, in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death without any form of trial. This was the charge which he was summoned to answer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and, with every token of distress, went about to supplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him every where in the streets with his audacious and insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often disturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and stones. However, almost all the equestrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than twenty thousand young men, of the best families, attended him with their hair dishevelled, and entreated the people for him. Afterwards, the senate met with an intent to decree that the people should change their habits, as in times of public mourning; but as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius beset the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators ran out, rending their garments, and exclaiming against the outrage.

But this spectacle excited neither compassion nor shame, and it appeared that Cicero must either go into exile, or decide the dispute with the sword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely absented himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero first sent his son-in-law Piso to him, and afterwards went himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such battles for him, and rendered him so many services in the course

* Cicero says that this lieutenancy was a voluntary offer of Cæsar's—*Ep. ad. Att.*

† It does not appear that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius: he had always expressed an indifference to the lieutenancy that was offered to him by Cæsar.—*Ep. ad. Att.* l. ii. c. 18.

of his administration. But being now son-in-law to Cæsar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connexion, and went out at a back door to avoid his presence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion that it was best to fly, because the people would soon be desirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, he carried it to the capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inscription: TO MINERVA, THE PROTECTRESS OF ROME. About midnight he privately quitted the city, and, with some friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to pass from thence to Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled, than Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited him fire and water, and admission into any house within five hundred miles of Italy. But such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that, in general, there was no regard paid to the decree: they showed him every sort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the most cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him, when consul, as surveyor of the works, now refused to admit him into his house; but, at the same time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius*, the prætor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for considerable services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged at these instances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brundusium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He set sail, however, again, as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was going to land at Dyrrhachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for these were tokens of a sudden

* Some copies have it *Virgilius*.

change. Great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him; and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the greatest civilities; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit, which could not have been expected from a man that had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connexion and commerce with the multitude; unless they take care so to engage in every thing extrinsic, as to attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that are the common consequence of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burnt his villas, and his house in Rome; and on the place where the latter stood, erected a temple to Liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means he became formidable to the patricians; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflections, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero; and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate decreed that no public business of any kind should be despatched by their body till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus the sedition increased; some of the tribunes were wounded in the *forum*, and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to call Clodius to answer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey, with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the *forum*, and then he summoned the citizens to vote. It is said that nothing was ever carried among the commons with so great unanimity; and the senate endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks should be given the cities which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile, and that his town and country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge*.

* The consuls decreed for rebuilding his house in Rome near £11,000; for his Tusculan villa, near £3,000; and for his Formian villa, about half that sum, which Cicero called a very scanty estimate.

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment; and such joy was expressed by the cities, so much eagerness to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said, "That Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome." Crassus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero taking his opportunity when Clodius was absent*, went up with a great company to the capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered, "That his appointment as tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family, and consequently all his acts were invalid." Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in this assertion: not that he praised Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration; but he represented, "That it would be a violent stretch of prerogative for the senate to annul so many decrees and acts, among which were his own commission and his regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium." The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero did not come to an absolute rupture; it only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

After this Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials, and to provide both for the peace of the city and the courts of justice: in consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the *forum* before day, and secured every part of it. This made Milo apprehensive that Cicero would be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the *forum*, and to repose himself there till the judges were assembled, and the court filled; for he was not only timid in war, but he had his fear when he spoke in public; and in many causes he scarce left trembling, even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence. When he undertook to assist in the defence of Licinius Murænat against the prosecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortensius, who had already spoken with great applause; for which reason he sat up all night to prepare himself; but that watching and application hurt him so much, that he appeared inferior to his rival.

* Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was present; but Caius, the brother of Clodius, being prætor, by his means they were rescued out of the hands of Cicero.

† Muræna had retained three advocates, Hortensius, Marcus Crassus, and Cicero.

When he came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and saw Pompey seated on high, as in a camp, and weapons glistering all around the *forum*, he was so confounded that he could scarce begin his oration; for he shook, and his tongue faultered, though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a little to his condemnation. As for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend, than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called *Augurs* in the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him; and he sailed thither with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes; which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms. And finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. We are told that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent*; never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled, and enriched the cities with it. At the same time he was satisfied if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had also a taste for war; for he routed the bands of robbers that had possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and was saluted by his army *Imperator* on that account†. Cæcilius‡, the orator, having desired him to send him some panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his answer he could not forbear boasting of his achieve-

* This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity. "Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off one half of their beards, and cut off their garments to the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away."—2 *Sam.* x. 4.

† He not only received this mark of distinction, but public thanksgivings were ordered at Rome for his success; and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His services, therefore, must have been considerable, and Plutarch seems to mention them too slightly.

‡ Not Cæcilius, but Cælius. He was then ædile, and wanted the panthers for his public shows.

ments. He said, "There were no panthers left in Cilicia. Those animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only objects of war, while every thing else was at peace, were fled into Caria."

In his return from his province, he stopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made some stay at Athens, which he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of the conversations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were most famed for erudition, and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, he passed on to Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and every thing tending to a civil war.

When the senate decreed him a triumph, he said, "He had rather follow Cæsar's chariot-wheels in his triumph, if a reconciliation could be effected between him and Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Cæsar, and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not choose to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his train.—Cicero did not attend him in his flight, and therefore it was believed that he would join Cæsar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety: for he says in his epistles, "Whither shall I turn?—Pompey has the more honourable cause; but Cæsar manages his affairs with the greatest address, and is most able to save himself and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." At last, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar's, signified to him by letter, that Cæsar thought he had reason to reckon him of his side, and to consider him as partner of his hopes: but if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connexion with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself, and answered angrily, "That he would do nothing unworthy of his political character." Such is the account we have of the matter in his epistles.

However, upon Cæsar's marching for Spain, he crossed the sea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality, but Cato blamed him privately for taking this measure. "As for me," said he, "it would have been wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had staid at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events: whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in the danger with which you had nothing to do."

These arguments made Cicero change his opinion, especially when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any considerable service. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himself, for he made no secret of his repenting. He disparaged Pompey's preparations; he insinuated his dislike of his councils, and never spared his jests upon his allies. He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himself; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very solemn countenance; but he often made others laugh, though they were little inclined to it. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few instances. When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war to the rank of captain, and assigned for his reason that he was an honest and prudent man: "Why then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him for governor to your children?" When some were commending Theophanes the Lesbian, who was director of the board of works, for consoling the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "See," said Cicero, "what it is to have a Grecian director!" When Cæsar was successful in almost every instance, and held Pompey, as it were, besieged, Lentulus said, "He was informed that Cæsar's friends looked very sour."—"You mean, I suppose," said Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him." One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them a report prevailed at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: "Then," said Cicero, "you took a voyage on purpose to see it." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius said there was room yet for hope, for there were seven eagles left in the camp. Cicero answered, "That would be good encouragement, if we were to fight with jackdaws." When Labienus, on the strength of some oracles, insisted that Pompey must be conqueror at last, "By this oracular generalship," said Cicero, "we have lost our camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia, (in which he was not present on account of his ill health), and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, desired Cicero to take the command, because his consular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any further share in the war; upon which young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had not Cato interposed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundusium, and staid there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed from thence by land to Brundusium, he set out to meet him, not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance

at the thought of trying how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy, before so many witnesses. He had no occasion, however, either to do or to say any thing beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him, at some considerable distance, advancing before the rest, than he dismounted, and ran to embrace him; after which, he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindness and respect; insomuch that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Cæsar, in his answer, entitled *Anticato*, praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero, and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Theramenes.

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Cæsar is reported to have said, "Why may we not give ourselves a pleasure which we have not enjoyed so long, that of hearing Cicero speak, since I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero began; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed; and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting passions. At last, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men who were desirous to be instructed in philosophy.—As these were of the best families, by his interest with them he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy into the Roman language: for it is said, that he first, or principally, at least, gave Latin terms for these Greek words, *phantasia*, [imagination], *syncatathesis*, [assent], *epoche*, [doubt], *catalepsis*, [comprehension,] *atomos*, [atom], *ameres*, [indivisible], *kenon*, [void], and many other such terms in science; contriving, either by metaphorical expression, or strict translation, to make them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amusement; for, we are told, when he was intent upon it, he could make five hundred verses in one night. As in this period he spent most of his time at his Tusculan villa, he wrote to his friends, "That he led the life of Laertes;" either by way of raillery, as his custom was, or from an ambitious desire of public employment, and discontent in his present

situation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote him additional honours, and forward to say something new of him and his actions.—Thus, when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had been pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero said, "That, by this act of humanity in setting up Pompey's statues, he had established his own."

It is reported that he had formed a design to write the history of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inserted not only their speeches, but fables.—But he was prevented by many disagreeable circumstances, both public and private, into most of which he brought himself by his own indiscretion; for, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons he assigned were, that she had neglected him during the war, and even sent him out without necessaries. Besides, after his return to Italy, she behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long stay at Brundusium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took so long a journey to see him, she allowed her but an indifferent equipage, and insufficient supplies. Indeed, according to his account, his house was become naked and empty, through the many debts which she had contracted. These were the most specious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all these charges; and Cicero himself made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman not long after. Terentia said, he took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations persuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of years, and satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his answer to the Philippics, taxes him with "Repudiating a wife with whom he was grown old*;" and rallies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man either unfit for business or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who, after the death of Piso, had married Lentulus, died in childbed. The philosophers came from all parts to comfort him; for his loss affected him extremely; and he even put away his new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this posture were Cicero's domestic affairs.

As to those of the public, he had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends; and no man was more uneasy under the new establishment, or more de-

* Cicero was then sixty-two.

sirous of having the commonwealth restored. Possibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldest begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his death; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was consul, ordered a meeting of the senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union: but Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion, and persuaded the senate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pass a general amnesty as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

None of these things, however, took effect; for the people were inclined to pity on this event; and when they beheld the dead body of Cæsar carried into the *forum*, where Antony showed them his robe stained with blood, and pierced on all sides with swords, they broke out into a transport of rage. They sought all over the *forum* for the actors in that tragedy, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houses. By their precaution they escaped this danger; but as they saw others no less considerable impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the opposite party, who supposed that he would aim at nothing less than absolute power. But Cicero had particular reason to dread him; for, being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration was established again, and of his strong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his presence. Besides, there had long been some jealousy and dislike between them on account of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria as his lieutenant: but afterwards Hirtius and Pansa, who were to be consuls after Antony, persons of great merit, and good friends to Cicero, desired him not to leave them, and promised, with his assistance, to destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their scheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls elect to pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly he embarked for that place, without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome (for he did not choose to be without news) that there was a wonderful change in Antony; that he took all his steps agreeably to the sense of the senate; and that nothing but his presence was wanting to bring matters to the best establishment. He therefore condemned his excessive caution, and returned to Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almost a whole day was spent at the gates, and on his

way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the senate, and sent for Cicero; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed with his journey. In reality, he seem to have been afraid of assassination, in consequence of some hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incensed at these suggestions, and ordered a party of soldiers either to bring him, or to burn his house in case of refusal. However, at the request of numbers who interposed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his house.

After this, when they happened to meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. Meantime young Cæsar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for twenty-five millions of *drachmas**, which he had detained of the estate.

Hereupon Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both with the senate and the people; and that Cæsar should give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford: for the young man had already collected a considerable number of the veterans who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure. For while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero, it seems, had a dream, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch upon one of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and placed themselves about the temple; and the boys in their *prætexta* sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and, in their order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed: but, when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said, "Romans, this is the person who, when he comes to be your prince, will put an end to your civil wars." This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not yet know him. Next day he went down to the *Campus Martius*, when the boys were just returning from their exercises; and the first who struck his eye was the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. As he was so near a relation, and

* Plutarch is mistaken in the sum. It appears from Paterculus, and others, that it was seven times as much.

Cicero had no children of his own, he adopted him, and by will left him his estate. Cicero, after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard; and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to be born the year that Cicero was consul.

These were pretended to be the causes of their present connexion. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony, and the next, his natural avidity of glory; for he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the commonwealth: and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said, "That as, through fear of Antony, he paid his court to young Cæsar, it was plain that he took not his measures for the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle master for himself." Nevertheless, Brutus finding the son of Cicero at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services which proved successful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greatest height; he carried every point that he desired; insomuch that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle; and Cicero likewise prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the *fasces*, with the dignity of prætor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten; but both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man who was so much favoured by fortune, endeavoured, by honours and gifts, to draw his forces from him, and to diminish his power. They alleged, that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to entreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both; promising, at the same time, that he should direct all affairs according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth, and had no ambition for any thing but the title and honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterwards, that, in his apprehensions of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case, particularly, Cicero, old as he was, suffered himself to be imposed upon by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time; and it was not long before he was sensible that he

had ruined himself, and given up the liberties of his country: for Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority, than he gave up Cicero*; and reconciling himself to Antony and Lepidus, he united his power with theirs, and divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private estate. At the same time they proscribed above two hundred persons whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero: for Antony would come to no terms till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary; but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The place where they met was over against their camps, on a little island in the river. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the two first days; but the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each part were these. Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus; and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle, by the mother's side. Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity; or, more properly speaking, they showed that no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passion.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proscription, they determined to remove to Astyra, a country-house of Cicero's, near the sea, where they intended to take a ship, and repair to Brutus in Macedonia: for it was reported that he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair; and often joining their litters on the road, they stopped to bemoan their mutual misfortunes. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessaries; for, as he said, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a slender provision. They concluded, therefore, that it would be best for Cicero to hasten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his house, and get some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his son were betrayed by his servants to the assassins who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Astyra, where, finding a vessel, he immediately went on board, and coasted along to Circæum, with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to sail from thence; but whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæsar, he disembarked, and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his desti-

* Instead of taking him for his colleague, he chose Quintus Pedius.

nation. Repenting, however, afterwards, he left that road, and made again for the sea. He passed the night in the most perplexing and horrid thoughts; insomuch that he was sometimes inclined to go privately into Cæsar's house, and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer: but he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally distressful, presented themselves. At last he put himself in the hands of his servants, and ordered them to carry him by sea to Cajeta*, where he had a delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian winds set in†. There was a temple of Apollo on that coast, from which a flight of crows came, with great noise, towards Cicero's vessel, as it was making land. They perched on both sides the sail-yard, where some sat croaking, and others pecking the ends of the ropes. All looked upon this as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on shore, and entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the mean time, a number of the crows settled in the chamber window, and croaked in the most doleful manner. One of them even entered in, and alighting on the bed, attempted, with its beak, to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On sight of this, the servants began to reproach themselves: "Shall we," said they, "remain to be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, so innocent, and so great a sufferer as he is, when the brute creatures give him marks of their care and attention?" Then, partly by entreaty, partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the sea.

Meantime the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind said they knew nothing of him: but a young man, named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune, that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the sea-side. The tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out; but Cicero, perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down: and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the

* According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capua; but Valerius Maximus says the scene of that tragedy was at Cajeta.

† The north-east winds.

attendants of Herennius, that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the *Phillippics*. Such was the title he gave his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day.

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them, than he cried out, "Now let there be an end of all proscriptions." He ordered the head and hands to be fastened up over the *rostra*, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see the face of Cicero, as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice on this occasion, which was, the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia the wife of Quintus. When she was mistress of his fate, besides other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh by piecemeal, and roast and eat it. This is the account some historians give us; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.

I am informed, that a long time after, Cæsar going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe, which Cæsar perceived, and took it from him; and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it and said, "My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country."

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the son of Cicero for his colleague; under whose auspices the senate took down the statues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed, that for the future, none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishment for the house of Cicero.

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO COMPARED.

THESE are the most memorable circumstances in the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero that could be collected from the historians which have come to our knowledge. Though I shall not pretend to compare their talents for speaking, yet this, I think, I ought to observe, that Demosthenes, by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that object only, came to exceed, in energy

and strength, the most celebrated pleaders of his time; in grandeur and magnificence of style, all that were eminent for the sublime of declamation; and in accuracy and art, the most able professors of rhetoric. Cicero's studies were more general, and in his treasures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philosophical tracts, which he composed upon the principles of the academy; and we see something of an ostentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the *forum* and the bar.

Their different tempers are discernible in their way of writing. That of Demosthenes, without any embellishments of wit and humour, is always grave and serious: nor does it smell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly said, but of the water-drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterized by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge his vein of pleasantry, so much affected the wit, that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon; and by affecting gaiety in the most serious things to serve his client, he has offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in the oration of Cælius, he says, "Where is the absurdity, if a man with an affluent fortune at command, shall indulge himself in pleasure? It would be madness not to enjoy what is in his power, particularly when some of the greatest philosophers place man's chief good in pleasure*."

When Cato impeached Muræna, Cicero, who was then consul, undertook his defence; and in his pleading took occasion to ridicule several paradoxes of the Stoics, because Cato was of that sect. He succeeded so far as to raise a laugh in the assembly, and even among the judges: upon which Cato smiled, and said to those who sat by him, "What a pleasant consul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jest, but his countenance was gay and smiling. Whereas Demosthenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence, his enemies, as he confesses, called him a morose, ill-natured man.

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. Indeed he never gives into it at all, but when he has some great point in view; and on all other occasions is extremely modest. But Cicero, in his orations, speaks in such high terms of himself, that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out,

> Let arms revere the robe, the warrior's laurel
> Yield to the palm of eloquence.

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and ope-

* Plutarch has not quoted this passage with accuracy. Cicero apologizes for the excesses of youth, but does not defend or approve the pursuit of pleasure.

rations in the commonwealth, but his orations too, as well those which he had only pronounced, as those which he had committed to writing, as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes, instead of being inspired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people.

Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe.

It is necessary, indeed, for a statesman to have the advantage of eloquence; but it is mean and illiberal to rest in such a qualification, or to hunt after praise in that quarter. In this respect Demosthenes behaved with more dignity, with a superior elevation of soul. He said, "His ability to explain himself was a mere acquisition; and not so perfect but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience." He thought it must be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind that can value itself upon such attainments.

They both undoubtedly had political abilities, as well as powers to persuade. They had them in such a degree, that men who had armies at their devotion, stood in need of their support. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes, availed themselves of Demosthenes; Pompey and young Cæsar, of Cicero; as Cæsar himself acknowledges in his commentaries addressed to Agrippa and Mæcenas.

It is an observation no less just than common, that nothing makes so thorough a trial of a man's disposition as power and authority; for they awake every passion, and discover every latent vice. Demosthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind: he never obtained any eminent charge; nor did he lead those armies against Philip, which his eloquence had raised. But Cicero went quæstor into Sicily, and proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia; at a time, too, when avarice reigned without control; when the governors of provinces, thinking it beneath them to take a clandestine advantage, fell to open plunder; when to take another's property was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately passed for a man of character. Yet, at such a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money; many of his humanity and goodness. At Rome, with the title only of consul, he had an absolute and dictatorial power against Cataline and his accomplices: on which occasion he verified the prediction of Plato, "That every state will be delivered from its calamities, when, by the favour of fortune, great power unites with wisdom and justice in one person."

It is mentioned, to the disgrace of Demosthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary; that he privately composed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause: to which we may add, that he was suspected of receiving money from the king of Persia, and condemned for taking bribes of Harpalus. Supposing

some of these the calumnies of those who wrote against him, (and they are not a few), yet it is impossible to affirm that he was proof against the presents which were sent him by princes, as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man who vested his money at interest upon ships. Cicero, on the other hand, had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was ædile; by the king of Cappadocia, when proconsul; and his friends pressed him to receive their benefactions when in exile; yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him; for he was convicted of taking bribes: that of Cicero, great honour; because he suffered for destroying traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret: for the latter, the senate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and could not be persuaded to pass any act till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest, and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors: in which respect he discovered a much greater regard for his country than Themistocles and Alcibiades, when under the same misfortune. After his return, he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law; and Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him with "having reared a greater and more insupportable tyranny than that which they had destroyed."

As to the manner of their death, we cannot think of Cicero's without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution, suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death, which was a messenger that nature would soon have sent him, and overtaken notwithstanding, and slaughtered by his enemies! The other, though he did discover some fear by taking sanctuary, is, nevertheless to be admired for the provision he had made of poison, for the care with which he had preserved it, and his noble manner of using it: so that, when Neptune did not afford him an asylum, he had recourse to a more inviolable altar, rescued himself from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.

DEMETRIUS.

THOSE who first thought that the arts might be compared to the senses, in the perception of their respective objects, appear to me to have well understood the power by which that perception was to be formed, the power of distinguishing contrary qualities; for this they have in common; but in the mode of distinguishing, as well as in the end of what is distinguished, they evidently differ. The senses, for instance, have no connate power of perceiving a white object more than a black one; what is sweet, more than what is bitter; or what is soft and yielding, more than what is hard and solid: their office is to receive impressions from such objects as strike upon them, and to convey those impressions to the mind. But the operation of the arts is more rational: they are not, like the senses, passive in their perceptions; they choose or reject what is proper or improper.—What is good they attend to primarily and intentionally; and what is evil, only accidentally, in order to avoid it. Thus, the art of medicine considers the nature of diseases; and music that of discordant sounds, in order to produce their contraries. And the most excellent of all arts, temperance, justice, and prudence, teach us to judge not only of what is honourable, just, and useful, but also of what is pernicious, disgraceful, and unjust. These arts bestow no praise on that innocence which boasts of an entire ignorance of vice; in their reckoning, it is rather an absurd simplicity to be ignorant of those things, which every man who is disposed to live virtuously should make it his particular care to know. Accordingly the ancient Spartans, at their feasts, used to compel the *helots* to drink an excessive quantity of wine, and then bring them into the public halls where they dined, to show the young men what drunkenness was.

We do not, indeed, think it agreeable, either to humanity or good policy, to corrupt some part of the species, in order not to corrupt another. Yet, perhaps, it may not be amiss to insert among the rest of the lives, a few examples of those who have abused their power to the purposes of licentiousness, and whose elevation has only made their vices greater, and more conspicuous. Not that we adduce them to give pleasure, or to adorn our paintings with the graces of variety; but we do it from the same motive with Ismenias the Theban musician, who presented his scholars both with good and bad performers on the flute; and used to say, "Thus you must play; and thus you must not play." And Antigenidas observed, "That young men would hear able performers with much greater pleasure, after they

had heard bad ones." In like manner, according to my opinion, we shall behold and imitate the virtuous with greater attention, if we be not entirely unacquainted with the characters of the vicious and infamous.

In this book, therefore, we shall give the lives of Demetrius, surnamed *Poliorcetes*, and of Antony the *triumvir*, men who have most remarkably verified that observation of Plato, "That great parts produce great vices, as well as virtues." They were equally addicted to wine and women; both excellent soldiers, and persons of great munificence; but at the same time prodigal and insolent. There was the same resemblance in their fortune: for, in the course of their lives, they met both with great success, and great disappointments; now extending their conquests with the utmost rapidity, and now losing all; now falling beyond all expectation, and now recovering themselves when there was as little prospect of such a change. This similarity there was in their lives; and in the concluding scene there was not much difference; for the one was taken by his enemies, and died in captivity, and the other was near sharing the same fate.

Antigonus having two sons by Stratonice, the daughter of Corræus, called the one after his brother, Demetrius, and the other after his father, Philip. So most historians say: but some affirm that Demetrius was not the son of Antigonus, but his nephew; and that his father dying, and leaving him an infant, and his mother soon after marrying Antigonus, he was, on that account, considered as his son. Philip, who was not many years younger than Demetrius, died at an early period. Demetrius, though tall, was not equal in size to his father Antigonus; but his beauty and his mien were so inimitable, that no statuary or painter could hit off a likeness. His countenance had a mixture of grace and dignity, and was at once amiable and awful; and the unsubdued and eager air of youth was blended with the majesty of the hero and the king. There was the same happy mixture in his behaviour, which inspired, at the same time, both pleasure and awe. In his hours of leisure, a most agreeable companion; in his table, and every species of entertainment, of all princes the most delicate; and yet, when business called, nothing could equal his activity, his diligence, and despatch. In which respect he imitated Bacchus most of all the gods; since he was not only terrible in war, but knew how to terminate war with peace, and turn with the happiest address to the joys and pleasures which that inspires.

His affection for his father was remarkably great; and, in the respect he paid his mother, his love for his other parent was very discernible. His duty was genuine, and not in the least influenced by the considerations of high station or power. Demetrius happening

to come from hunting, when his father was giving audience to some ambassadors, went up and saluted him, and then sat down by him with his javelins in his hand. After they had received their answer, and were going away, Antigonus called out to them, and said, "You may mention, too, the happy terms upon which I am with my son." By which he gave them to understand, that the harmony and confidence in which they lived added strength to the kingdom, and security to his power. So incapable is regal authority of admitting a parner, so liable to jealousy and hatred, that the greatest and oldest of Alexander's successors rejoiced that he had no occasion to fear his own son, but could freely let him approach him with his weapons in his hand. Indeed, we may venture to say, that this family alone, in the course of many successions, was free from these evils. Of all the descendants of Antigonus, Philip was the only prince who put his son to death; whereas, in the families of other kings, nothing is more common than the murders of sons, mothers, and wives. As for the killing of brothers, like a *postulatum* in geometry, it was considered as indisputably necessary to the safety of the reigning prince.

That Demetrius was originally well disposed, by nature, to the offices of humanity and friendship, the following is a proof. Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, was of the same age, and his constant companion. He was likewise one of the attendants of Antigonus, and bore an unblemished character; yet Antigonus conceived some suspicion of him, from a dream. He thought he entered a large and beautiful field, and sowed it with filings of gold. This produced a crop of the same precious metal; but, coming a little after to visit it, he found it was cut, and nothing left but the stalks. As he was in great distress about his loss, he heard some people say, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harvest, and was gone with it towards the Euxine sea.

Disturbed at the dream, he communicated it to his son, having first made him swear to keep it secret, and, at the same time, informed him of his absolute determination to destroy Mithridates. Demetrius was exceedingly concerned at the affair; but though his friend waited on him as usual, that they might pursue their diversions together, he durst not speak to him on the subject, because of his oath. By degrees, however, he drew him aside from the rest of his companions; and when they were alone, he wrote on the ground, with the bottom of his spear, "Fly, Mithridates." The young man, understanding his danger, fled that night into Cappadocia, and fate soon accomplished the dream of Antigonus: for Mithridates conquered a rich and extensive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight successions, and was

at last destroyed by the Romans. This is a sufficient evidence that Demetrius was naturally well inclined to justice and humanity.

But as, according to Empedocles, love and hatred are the sources of perpetual wars between the elements, particularly such as touch or approach each other; so, among the successors of Alexander, there were continual wars; and the contentions were always the most violent when inflamed by the opposition of interest, or vicinity of place. This was the case of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus, while he resided in Phrygia, received information that Ptolemy was gone from Cyprus into Syria, where he was ravaging the country, and reducing the cities, either by solicitation or force. Upon this he sent his son Demetrius against him, though he was only twenty-two years of age; and in this first command had the greatest and most difficult affairs to manage. But a young and unexperienced man was unequally matched with a general from the school of Alexander, who had distinguished himself in many important combats under that prince: accordingly he was defeated near Gaza; five thousand of his men were killed, and eight thousand taken prisoners. He lost also his tents, his military chest, and his whole equipage: but Ptolemy sent them back to him, together with his friends; adding this generous and obliging message, "That they ought only to contend for glory and empire." When Demetrius received it, he begged of the gods, "That he might not long be Ptolemy's debtor, but soon have it in his power to return the favour." Nor was he disconcerted, as most young men would be, with such a miscarriage in his first essay; on the contrary, like a complete general, accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, he employed himself in making new levies, and providing arms; he kept the cities to their duty, and exercised the troops he had raised.

As soon as Antigonus was apprised how the battle went, he said, "Ptolemy has indeed beaten boys, but he shall soon have to do with men." However, as he did not choose to repress the spirit of his son, on his request he gave him permission to try his fortune again by himself. Not long after this, Cilles, Ptolemy's general, undertook to drive Demetrius entirely out of Syria; for which purpose he brought with him a numerous army, though he held him in contempt on account of his late defeat: but Demetrius, by a sudden attack, struck his adversaries with such a panic, that both the camp and the general fell into his hands, together with very considerable treasures. Yet he did not consider the gain, but the ability to give; nor so much valued the glory and riches which this advantage brought him, as its enabling him to requite the generosity of Ptolemy. He was not, however, for proceeding upon his own judgment; he con-

sulted his father; and, on his free permission to act as he thought proper, loaded Cilles and his friends with his favours, and sent them back to their master. By this turn of affairs Ptolemy lost his footing in Syria; and Antigonus marched down from Celænæ, rejoicing in his son's success, and impatient to embrace him.

Demetrius, after this, being sent to subdue the Nabathæan Arabs, found himself in great danger, by falling into a desert country, which afforded no water.—But the barbarians, astonished at his uncommon intrepidity, did not venture to attack him; and he retired with a considerable booty, amongst which were seven hundred camels.

Antigonus had formerly taken Babylon from Seleucus; but he had recovered it by his own arms, and was now marching with his main army to reduce the nations which bordered upon India, and the provinces about mount Caucasus. Meantime Demetrius, hoping to find Mesopotamia unguarded, suddenly passed the Euphrates, and fell upon Babylon. There were two strong castles in that city; but by this manœuvre, in the absence of Seleucus, he seized one of them, dislodged the garrison, and placed there seven thousand of his own men. After this, he ordered the rest of his soldiers to plunder the country for their own use, and then returned to the sea-coast.—By these proceedings he left Seleucus better established in his dominions than ever; for his laying waste the country seemed as if he had no further claim to it.

In his return through Syria, he was informed that Ptolemy was besieging Halicarnassus, upon which he hastened to its relief, and obliged him to retire. As this ambition to succour the distressed gained Antigonus and Demetrius great reputation, they conceived a strong desire to rescue all Greece from the slavery it was held in by Cassander and Ptolemy. No prince ever engaged in a more just and honourable war: for they employed the wealth which they had gained by the conquest of the barbarians for the advantage of the Greeks; solely with a view to the honour that such an enterprise promised.

When they had resolved to begin their operations with Athens, one of his friends advised Antigonus, if he took the city, to keep it as the key of Greece; but that prince would not listen to him: he said, "The best and securest of all keys was the friendship of the people; and that Athens was the watch tower of the world, from whence the torch of his glory would blaze over the earth."

In consequence of these resolutions, Demetrius sailed to Athens with five thousand talents of silver, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ships. Demetrius the Phalerean governed the city for Cassander, and had a good garrison in the fort of Munychia. His adversary, who managed the affair both with prudence and good fortune, made

his appearance before the Piræus on the twenty-fifth of May*. The town had no information of his approach; and when they saw his fleet coming in, they concluded that it belonged to Ptolemy, and prepared to receive it as such: but at last the officers who commanded in the city, being undeceived, ran to oppose it. All the tumult and confusion followed, which was natural when an enemy came unexpected, and was already landing; for Demetrius, finding the mouth of the harbour open, ran in with ease; and the people could plainly distinguish him on the deck of his ship, whence he made signs to them to compose themselves and keep silence. They complied with his demand; and a herald was ordered to proclaim, "That his father Antigonus, in a happy hour, he hoped, for Athens, had sent him to reinstate them in their liberties, by expelling the garrison, and to restore their laws and ancient form of government."

Upon this proclamation, the people threw down their arms, and receiving the proposal with loud acclamations, desired Demetrius to land, and called him their benefactor and deliverer. Demetrius the Phalerean, and his partisans, thought it necessary to receive a man who came with such a superior force, though he should perform none of his promises, and accordingly sent deputies to make their submission. Demetrius received them in an obliging manner, and sent back with them Aristodemus the Milesian, a friend of his father's. At the same time, he was not unmindful of Demetrius the Phalerean, who, in this revolution, was more afraid of the citizens than of the enemy; but, out of regard to his character and virtue, sent him with a strong convoy to Thebes, agreeable to his request. He likewise assured the Athenians, that however desirous he might be to see their city, he would deny himself that pleasure till he had set it entirely free, by expelling the garrison. He therefore surrounded the fortress of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, to cut off its communication with the rest of the city, and then sailed to Megara, where Cassander had another garrison.

On his arrival, he was informed that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander, the son of Polyperchon, a celebrated beauty, was at Patræ, and had a desire to see him. In consequence of which, he left his forces in the territory of Megara, and with a few light horse took the road to Patræ. When he was near the place, he drew off from his men, and pitched his tent apart, that Cratesipolis might not be perceived when she came to pay her visit. But a party of the enemy, getting intelligence of this, fell suddenly upon him. In his alarm, he had only time to throw over him a mean cloke, and in that disguise, saved himself by flight: so near an infamous captivity had his

* Thargelion.

intemperate love of beauty brought him. As for his tent, the enemy took it, with all the riches it contained.

After Megara was taken, the soldiers prepared to plunder it; but the Athenians interceded strongly for that people, and prevailed.—Demetrius was satisfied with expelling the garrison, and declared the city free. Amidst these transactions, he bethought himself of Stilpo, a philosopher of great reputation, who sought only the retirement and tranquillity of a studious life. He sent for him, and asked him, "Whether they had taken any thing from him?" "No," said Stilpo, "I found none that wanted to steal any knowledge." The soldiers, however, had clandestinely carried off almost all the slaves: therefore, when Demetrius paid his respects to him again, on leaving the place, he said, "Stilpo, I leave you entirely free." "True," answered Stilpo, "for you have not left a slave among us."

Demetrius then returned to the siege of Munychia, dislodged the garrison, and demolished the fortress. After which the Athenians pressed him to enter the city, and he complied. Having assembled the people, he re-established the commonwealth in its ancient form; and, moreover, promised them, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty thousand measures* of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred galleys. Thus they recovered the democracy fifteen years after it was dissolved. During the interval, after the Lamian war, and the battle of Cranon, the government was called an oligarchy, but, in fact, it was monarchial; for the power of Demetrius the Phalerean met with no control.

Their deliverer appeared glorious in his services to Athens; but they rendered him obnoxious by the extravagant honours they decreed him: for they were the first who gave him and his father Antigonus the title of kings, which they had hitherto religiously avoided; and which was, indeed, the only thing left the descendants of Philip and Alexander uninvaded by their generals. In the next place, they alone† honoured them with the appellation of the gods protectors; and, instead of denominating the year as formerly from the *archon*, they abolished his office, created annually in his room a priest of those gods protectors, and prefixed his name to all their public acts. They likewise ordered that their portraits should be wrought in the holy veil with those of the other gods‡. They consecrated the place where their

* Medimni.

† No other people were found capable of such vile adulation. Their servility showed how little they deserved the liberty that was restored them.

‡ Every fifth year the Athenians celebrated the *Panathenæa*, or festival of Minerva, and carried in procession the *Peplum*, or holy veil, in which the defeat of the Titans, and the actions of Minerva, were inwrought. In this veil, too, they placed the figures

patron first alighted from his chariot, and erected an altar there to DEMETRIUS *Catabetes*. They added two to the number of their tribes, and called them *Demetrias* and *Antigonis;* in consequence of which the senate, which before consisted of five hundred members, was to consist of six hundred; for each tribe supplied fifty.

Stratocles, of whose invention these wise compliments were, thought of a stroke still higher: he procured a decree, that those who should be sent upon public business from the commonwealth of Athens to Antigonus and Demetrius, should not be called *ambassadors*, but *theori*, a title which had been appropriated to those who, on the solemn festivals, carried the customary sacrifices to Delphi and Olympia, in the name of the Grecian states. This Stratocles was, in all respects, a person of the most daring effrontery, and the most debauched life, insomuch that he seemed to imitate the ancient Cleon in his scurrilous and licentious behaviour to the people. He kept a mistress called Phylacium; and one day, when she brought from the market some heads for supper, he said, "Why, how now, you have provided us just such things to eat, as we statesmen use for tennis-balls."

When the Athenians were defeated in the sea-fight near Amorgas, he arrived at Athens before any account of the misfortune had been received, and passing through the *Ceramicus* with a chaplet on his head, told the people that they were victorious. He then moved that sacrifices of thanksgiving should be offered, and meat distributed among the tribes for a public entertainment. Two days after, the poor remains of the fleet were brought home; and the people, in great anger, calling him to answer for the imposition, he made his appearance in the height of the tumult with the most consummate assurance, and said, "What harm have I done you, in making you merry for two days?" Such was the impudence of Stratocles.

But there were other extravagances, *hotter than fire itself*, as Aristophanes expresses it. One flatterer outdid even Stratocles in servility, by procuring a decree that Demetrius, whenever he visited Athens, should be received with the same honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever exceeded the rest in the splendour and magnificence of the reception he gave that prince, should have money out of the treasury to enable him to set up some pious memorial of his success. These instances of adulation concluded with their changing the name of the month *Munychion* to *Demetrion*,

of those commanders who had distinguished themselves by their victories; and from thence came the expression that such a one was worthy of the *Peplum*, meaning that he was a brave soldier. As to the form of the *Peplum*, it was a large robe without sleeves. It was drawn by land in a machine, like a ship, along the *Ceramicus*, as far as the temple of *Ceres* at *Eleusis*; from whence it was brought back, and consecrated in the citadel.

with calling the last day of every month *Demetrias*; and the *Dionysia*, or feasts of Bacchus, *Demetria*.

The gods soon showed how much they were offended at these things: for the veil, in which were wrought the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus, along with those of Jupiter and Minerva, as they carried it through the *Ceramicus*, was rent asunder by a sudden storm of wind. Hemlock grew up in great quantities round the altars of those princes, though it is a plant seldom found in that country. On the day when the *Dionysia* were to be celebrated, they were forced to put a stop to the procession by the excessive cold, which came entirely out of season; and there fell so strong a hoar-frost, that it blasted not only the vines and fig-trees, but great part of the corn in the blade. Hence Philippides, who was an enemy to Stratocles, thus attacked him in one of his comedies: "Who was the wicked cause of our vines being blasted by the frost, and of the sacred veil being rent asunder? He who transferred the honours of the gods to men: It is he, not comedy*, that is the ruin of the people." This Philippides enjoyed the friendship of Lysimachus, and the Athenians received many favours from that prince on his account. Nay, whenever Lysimachus was waited on by this poet, or happened to meet him, he considered it as a good omen, and a happy time to enter upon any great business or important expedition. Besides, he was a man of excellent character, never importunate, intriguing, or over-officious, like those who are bred in a court. One day Lysimachus talked to him in the most obliging manner, and said, "What is there of mine that you would share in?" "Any thing," said he, "but your secrets." I have purposely contrasted these characters, that the difference may be obvious between the comic writer and the demagogue.

What exceeded all the rage of flattery we have mentioned, was the decree proposed by Dromoclides the Sphettian; according to which, they were to consult the oracle of Demetrius as to the manner in which they were to dedicate certain shields at Delphi. It was conceived in these terms: "In a fortunate hour, be it decreed by the people, that a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to the god protector, and, after due sacrifices offered, demand of Demetrius, the god protector, what will be the most pious, the most honourable, and expeditious method of consecrating the intended offerings; and it is hereby enacted that the people of Athens will follow the method dictated by his oracle." By this mockery of incense to his vanity, who was scarcely in his senses before, they rendered him perfectly insane.

* It is probable that Stratocles, and other persons of his character, inveighed against the dramatic writers, on account of the liberties they took with their vices. Though this was after the time that the *middle comedy* prevailed at Athens.

During his stay at Athens, he married Eurydice, a descendant of the ancient Miltiades, who was the widow of Opheltes king of Cyrene, and had returned to Athens after his death. The Athenians reckoned this a particular favour and honour to their city; though Demetrius made no sort of difficulty of marrying, and had many wives at the same time. Of all his wives, he paid most respect to Phila, because she was the daughter of Antipater, and had been married to Craterus, who, of all the successors of Alexander, was most regretted by the Macedonians. Demetrius was very young when his father persuaded him to marry her, though she was advanced in life, and, on that account, unfit for him. As he was disinclined to the match, Antigonus is said to have repeated to him that verse of Euripides with a happy parody:

> When fortune spreads her stores, we yield to marriage
> Against the bent of nature.

Only putting *marriage* instead of *bondage*. However, the respect which Demetrius paid Phila and his other wives was not of such a nature but that he publicly entertained many mistresses, as well slaves as free-born women, and was more infamous for his excesses of that sort than any other prince of his time.

Meantime his father called him to take the conduct of the war against Ptolemy; and he found it necessary to obey him. But as it gave him pain to leave the war he had undertaken for the liberties of Greece, which was so much more advantageous in point of glory, he sent to Cleonides, who commanded for Pompey in Sicyon and Corinth, and offered him a pecuniary consideration, on condition that he would set those cities free. Cleonides not accepting the proposal, Demetrius immediately embarked his troops, and sailed to Cyprus. There he had an engagement with Menelaus, brother to Ptolemy, and defeated him. Ptolemy himself soon after made his appearance with a great number of land-forces, and a considerable fleet: on which occasion several menacing and haughty messages passed between them. Ptolemy bade Demetrius depart, before he collected all his forces and trod him under foot; and Demetrius said, he would let Ptolemy go, if he would promise to evacuate Sicyon and Corinth.

The approaching battle awaked the attention not only of the parties concerned, but of all other princes; for, besides the uncertainty of the event, so much depended upon it, that the conqueror would not be master of Cyprus and Syria alone, but superior to all his rivals in power. Ptolemy advanced with a hundred and fifty ships, and he had ordered Menelaus, with sixty more, to come out of the harbour of Salamis, in the heat of the battle, and put the enemy in disorder by falling on his rear. Against these sixty ships, Demetrius appointed

a guard of ten, for that number was sufficient to block up the mouth of the harbour. His land-forces he ranged on the adjoining promontories, and then bore down upon his adversary with a hundred and eighty ships. This he did with so much impetuosity, that Ptolemy could not stand the shock, but was defeated, and fled with eight ships only, which were all that he saved: for seventy were taken with their crews, and the rest were sunk in the engagement. His numerous train, his servants, friends, wives, arms, money, and machines, that were stationed near the fleet in transports, all fell into the hands of Demetrius, and he carried them to his camp.

Among these was the celebrated Lamia, who at first was only taken notice of for her performing on the flute, which was by no means contemptible, but afterwards became famous as a courtesan. By this time her beauty was in the wane, yet she captivated Demetrius, though not near her age, and so effectually enslaved him by the peculiar power of her address, that, though other women had a passion for him, he could only think of her.

After the sea-fight, Menelaus made no further resistance, but surrendered Salamis with all the ships and the land-forces, which consisted of twelve hundred horse and twelve thousand foot.

This victory, so great in itself, Demetrius rendered still more glorious by generosity and humanity, in giving the enemy's dead an honourable interment, and setting the prisoners free. He selected twelve hundred complete suits of armour from the spoils, and bestowed them on the Athenians. Aristodemus the Milesian was the person he sent to his father with an account of the victory. Of all the courtiers, this man was the boldest flatterer; and, on the present occasion, he designed to outdo himself. When he arrived on the coast of Syria from Cyprus, he would not suffer the ship to make land; but ordering it to anchor at a distance, and all the company to remain in it, he took the boat, and went on shore alone. He advanced towards the palace of Antigonus, who was watching for the event of this battle with all the solicitude that is natural to a man who has so great a concern at stake. As soon as he was informed that the messenger was coming, his anxiety increased to such a degree, that he could scarce keep within his palace. He sent his officers and friends, one after another, to Aristodemus, to demand what intelligence he brought; but, instead of giving any of them an answer, he walked on with great silence and solemnity. The king, by this time much alarmed, and having no longer patience, went to the door to meet him. A great crowd was gathered about Aristodemus, and people were running from all quarters to the palace to hear the news. When he was near enough to be heard, he stretched out his

hand, and cried aloud, "Hail to king Antigonus! We have totally beaten Ptolemy at sea; we are masters of Cyprus, and have made sixteen thousand eight hundred prisoners. Antigonus answered, "Hail to you too, my good friend! but I will punish you for torturing us so long; you shall wait long for your reward."

The people now, for the first time, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus had the diadem immediately put on by his friends. He sent one to Demetrius; and, in the letter that accompanied it, addressed him under the style of king. The Egyptians, when they were apprized of the circumstance, gave Ptolemy likewise the title of king, that they might not appear to be dispirited with their late defeat. The other successors of Alexander caught eagerly at the opportunity to aggrandize themselves. Lysimachus took the diadem, and Seleucus did the same in his transactions with the Greeks. The latter had worn it some time, when he gave audience to the barbarians, Cassander alone, while others wrote to him, and saluted him as king, prefixed his name to the letters in the same manner as formerly.

This title proved not a mere addition to their name and figure. It gave them higher notions. It introduced a pompousness into their manners, and self-importance into their discourse; just as tragedians, when they take the habit of kings, change their gait, their voice, their whole deportment, and manner of address. After this they became more severe in their judicial capacity; for they laid aside that dissimulation with which they had concealed their power, and which had made them much milder and more favourable to their subjects. So much could one word of a flatterer do! Such a change did it effect in the whole face of the world!

Antigonus, elated with his son's achievements at Cyprus, immediately marched against Ptolemy, commanding his land-forces in person, while Demetrius, with a powerful fleet, attended him along the coast. One of Antigonus's friends, named Medius, had the event of this expedition communicated to him in a dream. He thought that Antigonus and his whole army were running a race. At first he seemed to run with great swiftness and force; but afterwards his strength gradually abated; and, on turning, he became very weak, and drew his breath with such pain, that he could scarce recover himself. Accordingly Antigonus met with many difficulties at land, and Demetrius encountered such a storm at sea, that he was in danger of being driven upon an impracticable shore. In this storm he lost many of his ships, and returned without effecting any thing.

Antigonus was now little short of eighty; and his great size and weight disqualified him for war still more than his age. He therefore left the military department to his son, who, by his good fortune as

well as ability, managed it in the happiest manner. Nor was Antigonus hurt by his son's debaucheries, his expensive appearance, or his long carousals: for these were the things in which Demetrius employed himself in time of peace with the utmost licentiousness and most unbounded avidity; but in war no man, however naturally temperate, exceeded him in sobriety.

When the power that Lamia had over him was evident to all the world, Demetrius came, after some expedition or other, to salute his father, and kissed him so cordially that he laughed, and said, "Surely, my son, you think you are kissing Lamia." Once, when he had been spending many days with his friends over the bottle, he excused himself at his return to court by saying, "That he had been hindered by a defluxion." "So I heard," said Antigonus, "but whether was the defluxion from Thasus or from Chios?" Another time, being informed that he was indisposed, he went to see him; and, when he came to the door, he met one of his favourites going out. He went in, however, and sitting down by him, took hold of his hand. Demetrius said his fever had now left him. "I know it," said Antigonus, "for I met it this moment at the door." With such mildness he treated his son's faults, out of regard to his excellent performances. It is the custom of the Scythians, in the midst of their carousals, to strike the strings of their bows, to recal, as it were, their courage, which is melting away in pleasure: but Demetrius one while gave himself entirely up to pleasure, and another while to business; he did not intermix them. His military talents, therefore, did not suffer by his attentions of a gayer kind.

Nay, he seemed to show greater abilities in his preparations for war, than in the use of them. He was not content unless he had stores that were more than sufficient. There was something peculiarly great in the construction of his ships and engines, and he took an unwearied pleasure in the inventing of new ones: for he was ingenious in the speculative part of mechanics; and he did not, like other princes, apply his taste and knowledge of those arts to the purposes of diversion, or to pursuits of no utility, such as playing on the flute, painting, or turning.

Æropus, king of Macedon, spent his hours of leisure in making little tables and lamps. Attalus*, surnamed Philometer†, amused

* Plutarch does not do that honour to Attalus which he deserves, when he mentions his employments as unworthy of a prince. He made many experiments in natural philosophy, and wrote a treatise on agriculture. Other kings, particularly Hiero and Archelaus, did the same.

† This is a mistake in Plutarch. Philometer was another prince, who made agriculture his amusement.

himself with planting poisonous herbs, not only henbane and hellebore, but hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium*. These he cultivated in the royal gardens, and, besides gathering them at their proper seasons, made it his business to know the qualities of their juices and fruit. And the kings of Parthia took a pride in forging and sharpening heads for arrows. But the mechanics of Demetrius were of a princely kind; there was always something great in the fabric. Together with a spirit of curiosity, and love of the arts, there appeared in all his works a grandeur of design, and dignity of invention, so that they were not only worthy of the genius and wealth, but of the hand of a king. His friends were astonished at their greatness, and his very enemies were pleased with their beauty. Nor is this description of him at all exaggerated. His enemies used to stand upon the shore looking with admiration upon his galleys of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars, as they sailed along; and his engines, called *helepoles*, were a pleasing spectacle to the very towns which he besieged. This is evident from facts. Lysimachus, who of all the princes of his time was the bitterest enemy to Demetrius, when he came to compel him to raise the siege of Soli in Cilicia, desired he would show him his engines of war, and his manner of navigating the galleys; and he was so struck with the sight that he immediately retired. And the Rhodians, after they had stood a long siege, and at last compromised the affair, requested him to leave some of his engines, as monuments both of his power and their valour.

His war with the Rhodians was occasioned by their alliance with Ptolemy; and in the course of it he brought the largest of his *helepoles* up to their walls. Its base was square; each of its sides at the bottom forty-eight cubits wide; and it was sixty-six cubits high. The sides of the several divisions gradually lessened, so that the top was much narrower than the bottom. The inside was divided into several storys or rooms, one above another. The front, which was turned towards the enemy, had a window in each story, through which missive weapons of various kinds were thrown: for it was filled with men who practised every method of fighting. It neither shook nor veered the least in its motion, but rolled on in a steady upright position; and as it moved with a horrible noise, it at once pleased and terrified the spectators†.

He had two coats of mail brought from Cyprus‡, for his use in

* *Dorycnium* was a common poisonous plant, which was so called from the points of spears being tinged with its juices.

† Diodorus Siculus says this machine had nine storys; and that it rolled on four large wheels, each of which was sixteen feet high.

‡ Pliny says that the Cyprian adamant was impregnable. Cyprus was famous for the

this war, each of which weighed forty *minæ*. Zoilus, the maker, to show the excellency of their temper, ordered a dart to be shot at one of them from an engine at the distance of twenty-six paces; and it stood so firm, that there was no more mark upon it than what might be made with such a style as is used in writing. This he took for himself, and gave the other to Alcimus the Epirot, a man of the greatest bravery and strength of any in his army. The Epirot's whole suit of armour weighed two talents, whereas that of others weighed no more than one. He fell in the siege of Rhodes, in an action near the theatre.

As the Rhodians defended themselves with great spirit, Demetrius was not able to do any thing considerable. There was one thing in their conduct which he particularly resented, and for that reason he persisted in the siege. They had taken the vessel in which were letters from his wife Phila, together with some robes and pieces of tapestry, and they sent it, as it was, to Ptolemy. In which they were far from imitating the politeness of the Athenians, who, when they were at war with Philip, happening to take his couriers, read all the other letters, but sent him that of Olympias with the seal entire.

But Demetrius, though much incensed, did not retaliate upon the Rhodians, though he soon had an opportunity. Protogenes of Caunus was at that time painting for them the history of Jalysus*, and had almost finished it, when Demetrius seized it in one of the suburbs. The Rhodians sent a herald to entreat him to spare the work, and not suffer it to be destroyed. Upon which he said, "He would rather burn the pictures of his father, than hurt so laborious a piece of art." For Protogenes is said to have been seven years in finishing it. Apelles tells us, that when he first saw it, he was so much astonished

metal of which armour was made even in the time of the Trojan war; and Agamemnon had a cuirass sent him from Cyniras king of Cyprus.—*Hom.* Il. xi.

* We have not met with the particular subject of this famous painting. Jalysus was one of the fabulous heroes, the son of Ochimus, and grandson of Apollo; and there is a town in Rhodes called Jalysus, which probably had its name from him. It was in this picture that Protogenes, when he had long laboured in vain to paint the foam of a dog, happily hit it off, by throwing the brush in anger at the dog's mouth. Ælian, as well as Plutarch, says that he was seven years in finishing it Pliny tells us, that he gave it four coats of colours, that when one was effaced by time, another might supply its place. He tells us, too, that while Protogenes was at work, he was visited by Demetrius, and when the latter asked him, how he could prosecute his work with so much calmness under the rage of war, he answered, "That though Demetrius was at war with Rhodes, he did not suppose he was at war with the arts." He is said to have lived on lupines during the time he was employed on this painting, that his judgment might not be clouded by luxurious diet. The picture was brought to Rome by Cassius, and placed in the Temple of Peace, where it remained till the time of Commodus; when, together with the temple, it was consumed by fire.

that he could not speak; and, at last, when he recovered himself, he said, "A masterpiece of labour! A wonderful performance! But it wants those graces which raise the fame of my paintings to the skies." This piece was afterwards carried to Rome, and, being added to the number of those collected there, was destroyed by fire. The Rhodians now began to grow weary of the war. Demetrius too wanted only a pretence to put an end to it, and he found one. The Athenians came and reconciled them, on this condition, that the Rhodians should assist Antigonus and Demetrius, as allies, in all their wars, except those with Ptolemy.

At the same time the Athenians called him to their succour against Cassander, who was besieging their city: in consequence of which, he sailed thither with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships, and a numerous body of land-forces. With these he not only drove Cassander out of Attica, but followed him to Thermopylæ, and entirely defeated him there. Heraclæa then voluntarily submitted, and he received into his army six thousand Macedonians, who came over to him. In his return he restored liberty to the Greeks within the straits of Thermopylæ, took the Bœotians into his alliance, and made himself master of Cenchræ. He likewise reduced Phyle and Panactus, the bulwarks of Attica, which had been garrisoned by Cassander, and put them in the hands of the Athenians again. The Athenians, though they had lavished honours on him before in the most extravagant manner, yet contrived on this occasion to appear new in their flattery. They gave orders that he should lodge in the back part of the *Parthenon;* which accordingly he did, and Minerva was said to have received him as her guest: a guest not very fit to come under her roof, or suitable to her virgin purity.

In one of their expeditions, his brother Philip took up his quarters in a house where there were three young women. His father, Antigonus, said nothing to Philip; but called the quarter-master, and said to him in his presence, "Why do not you remove my son out of this lodging, where he is so much straitened for room?" And Demetrius, who ought to have reverenced Minerva, if on no other account, yet as his eldest sister (for so he affected to call her) behaved in such a manner to persons of both sexes who were above the condition of slaves, and the citadel was so polluted with his debaucheries, that it appeared to be kept sacred in some degree, when he indulged himself only with such prostitutes as Chrysis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra.

Some things we choose to pass over out of regard to the character of the city of Athens; but the virtue and chastity of Democles ought not to be left under the veil of silence. Democles was very young,

and his beauty was no secret to Demetrius. Indeed, his surname unhappily declared it, for he was called Democles *the Handsome*. Demetrius, through his emissaries, left nothing unattempted to gain him by great offers, or to intimidate him by threats; but neither could prevail. He left the wrestling-ring, and all public exercises, and made use only of a private bath. Demetrius watched his opportunity, and surprised him there alone. The boy, seeing nobody near to assist him, and the impossibility of resisting with any effect, took off the cover of the cauldron, and jumped into the boiling water. It is true he came to an unworthy end, but his sentiments were worthy of his country, and of his personal merit.

Very different were those of Cleænetus the son of Cleomedon. That youth having procured his father the remission of a fine of fifty talents, brought letters from Demetrius to the people, signifying his pleasure in that respect: by which he not only dishonoured himself, but brought great trouble upon the city. The people took off the fine, but at the same time they made a decree, that no citizen should for the future bring any letter from Demetrius. Yet when they found that Demetrius was disobliged at it, and expressed his resentment in strong terms, they not only repealed the act, but punished the persons who proposed and supported it, some with death, and some with banishment. They likewise passed a new edict, importing, "That the people of Athens had resolved, that whatsoever thing Demetrius might command should be accounted holy in respect of the gods, and just in respect of men." Some person of better principle, on this occasion, happening to say, that Stratocles was mad in proposing such decrees, Democharés the Leuconian answered, "He would be mad, if he were not mad." Stratocles found his advantage in his servility; and for this saying, Democharés was prosecuted and banished the city. To such meannesses were the Athenians brought, when the garrison seemed to be removed out of their city, and they pretended to be a free people!

Demetrius afterwards passed into Peloponnesus, where he found no resistance, for all his enemies fled before him, or surrendered their cities. He therefore reduced with ease that part of the country called *Acte*, and all Arcadia, except Mantinea. Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth, he set free from their garrisons, by giving the commanding officers a hundred talents to evacuate them. About that time the feasts of Juno came on at Argos, and Demetrius presided in the games and other exhibitions. During these solemnities, he married Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus. He told the Sicyonians that they lived out of their city, and showing them a more advantageous situation, persuaded them to

build one where the town now stands. Along with the situation he likewise changed the name, calling the town Demetrias, instead of Sicyon.

The states being assembled at the Isthmus, and a prodigious number of people attending, he was proclaimed general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had been before; and, in the elation of power and success, he thought himself a much greater man. Alexander robbed no other prince of his title, nor did he ever declare himself king of kings, though he raised many both to the style and authority of kings: but Demetrius thought no man worthy of that title except his father and himself. He even ridiculed those who made use of it, and it was with pleasure he heard the sycophants at his table drinking king Demetrius, Seleucus commander of the elephants, Ptolemy admiral, Lysimachus treasurer, and Agathocles, the Sicilian, governor of the islands. The rest of them only laughed at such extravagant instances of vanity. Lysimachus alone was angry, because Demetrius seemed to think him no better than a eunuch; for the princes of the east had generally eunuchs for their treasurers. Lysimachus, indeed, was the most violent enemy that he had; and now taking an opportunity to disparage him on account of his passion for Lamia, he said, "This was the first time he had seen a whore act in a tragedy*." Demetrius said in answer, "My whore is an honester woman than his Penelope."

When he was preparing to return to Athens, he wrote to the republic, that on his arrival he intended to be initiated, and to be immediately admitted, not only to the less mysteries, but even to those called intuitive. This was unlawful and unprecedented; for the less mysteries were celebrated in February†, and the greater in September‡; and none were admitted to the intuitive till a year at least after they had attended the greater mysteries§. When the letters were read, Pythodorus the torch-bearer was the only person who ventured to oppose his demand, and his opposition was entirely ineffectual. Stratocles procured a decree that the month of *Munychion* should be called and reputed the month of *Anthesterion*, to give Demetrius an opportunity for his first initiation, which was to be performed in the ward of Agra. After which, Munychion was changed again into

* The modern stage needs not be put to the blush by this assertion in favour of the ancient; the reason of it was, that there were no women actors. Men in female dresses performed their parts.

† Anthesterion. ‡ Boëdromion.

§ Plutarch in this place seems to make a difference between the intuitive and the greater mysteries, though they are commonly understood to be the same. Casaubon and Meursius think the text corrupt; but the manner in which they would restore it does not render it less perplexed.

Boëdromion. By these means Demetrius was admitted to the greater mysteries, and to immediate inspection. Hence those strokes of satire upon Stratocles from the poet Philippides—"The man who can contract the whole year into one month:" and with respect to Demetrius's being lodged in the *Parthenon*—"The man who turns the temples into inns, and brings prostitutes into the company of the virgin goddess."

But amongst the many abuses and enormities committed in their city, no one seems to have given the Athenians greater uneasiness than this: he ordered them to raise two hundred and fifty talents in a very short time, and the sum was exacted with the greatest rigour. When the money was brought in, and he saw it all together, he ordered it to be given to Lamia and his other mistresses to buy soap. Thus the disgrace hurt them more than the loss, and the application more than the impost. Some, however, say, that it was not to the Athenians he behaved in this manner, but to the people of Thessaly. Besides this disagreeable tax, Lamia extorted money from many persons, on her own authority, to enable her to provide an entertainment for the king; and the expense of that supper was so remarkable, that Lynceus the Samian took pains to give a description of it. For the same reason, a comic poet of those times, with equal wit and truth, called Lamia an *Helepolis*. And Democharès the Solian called Demetrius *Muthos*, that is, *Fable*, because he too had his *Lamia**.

The great interest that Lamia had with Demetrius in consequence of his passion for her, excited a spirit of envy and aversion to her, not only in the breasts of his wives, but of his friends. Demetrius having sent ambassadors to Lysimachus, on some occasion or other, that prince amused himself one day with showing them the deep wounds he had received from a lion's claws in his arms and thighs, and gave them an account of his being shut up with that wild beast, by Alexander the Great, and of the battle he had with it†. Upon which they laughed and said, "The king, our master, too, bears on his neck the marks of a dreadful wild beast called a Lamia." Indeed, it was strange that he should at first have so great an objection against the disparity of years between him and Phila, and afterwards fall into such a lasting captivity to Lamia, though she had passed

* Fabulous history mentions a queen of Lybia, who, out of rage for the loss of her own children, ordered those of other women to be brought to her, and devoured them. From whence she was called *Lamia*, from the Phœnician word *Lahama*, to devour. Upon this account, Diodorus tells us, that *Lamia* became a bugbear to children. And this satisfies M. Dacier with regard to the explanation of this passage in Plutarch.

† Justin and Pausanias mention this, but Q. Curtius doubts the truth of it; and he probably is in the right.

her prime at their first acquaintance. One evening when Lamia had been playing on the flute at supper, Demetrius asked Demo, surnamed *Mania**, what she thought of her? "I think her an old woman, Sir," said Demo. Another time, when there was an extraordinary dessert on the table, he said to her, "You see what fine things Lamia sends me."—"My mother will send you finer," answered Demo, "if you will but lie with her."

We shall mention only one story more of Lamia, which relates to her censure of the celebrated judgment of Bocchoris. In Egypt there was a young man extremely desirous of the favours of a courtesan named Thonis, but she set too high a price upon them.—Afterwards he fancied that he enjoyed her in a dream, and his desire was satisfied. Thonis upon this commenced an action against him for the money; and Bocchoris, having heard both parties, ordered the man to tell the gold that she demanded into a bason, and shake it about before her, that she might enjoy the sight of it: "For fancy," said he, "is no more than the shadow of truth." Lamia did not think this a just sentence; "because the woman's desire of the gold was not removed by the appearance of it; whereas the dream cured the passion of her lover."

The change in the fortunes and actions of the subject of our narrative now turns the comic scene into tragedy. All the other kings having united their forces against Antigonus, Demetrius left Greece in order to join him, and was greatly animated to find his father preparing for war with a spirit above his years. Had Antigonus abated a little of his pretensions, and restrained his ambition to govern the world, he might have kept the pre-eminence among the successors of Alexander, not only for himself, but for his son after him; but being naturally arrogant, imperious, and no less insolent in his expressions than in his actions, he exasperated many young and powerful princes against him. He boasted, that "he could break the present league, and disperse the united armies with as much ease as a boy does a flock of birds, by throwing a stone, or making a slight noise."

He had an army of more than seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants. The enemy's infantry consisted of sixty-four thousand men, their cavalry of ten thousand five hundred; they had four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots. When the two armies were in sight, there was a visible change in the mind of Antigonus, but rather with respect to his hopes than his resolution. In other engagements his spirits used to be high, his port lofty, his voice loud, and his expressions vaunt-

* In English, Miss Madcap.

ing; insomuch that he would sometimes, in the heat of the action, let fall some jocular expression, to show his unconcern, and his contempt of his adversary: but at this time he was observed for the most part to be thoughtful and silent; and one day he presented his son to the army, and recommended him as his successor. What appeared still more extraordinary, was, that he took him aside into his tent, and discoursed with him there; for he never used to communicate his intentions to him in private, or to consult him in the least, but to rely entirely on his own judgment, and to give orders for the execution of what he had resolved on by himself. It is reported that Demetrius, when very young, once asked him when they should decamp? and that he answered angrily, "Are you afraid that you only shall not hear the trumpet?"

On this occasion, it is true, their spirits were depressed by ill omens. Demetrius dreamed that Alexander came to him in a magnificent suit of armour, and asked him what was to be the word in the ensuing battle? Demetrius answered, *Jupiter and Victory!* upon which Alexander said, "I go then to your adversaries, for they are ready to receive me." When the army was put in order of battle, Antigonus stumbled as he went out of his tent, and falling on his face, received a considerable hurt. After he had recovered himself, he stretched out his hands towards heaven, and prayed either for victory, or that he might die before he was sensible that the day was lost.

When the battle was begun, Demetrius, at the head of his best cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and fought with so much bravery, that he put the enemy to flight; but by a vain and unseasonable ambition to go upon the pursuit, he lost the victory: for he went so far, that he could not get back to join his infantry, the enemy's elephants having taken up the intermediate space.—Seleucus, now seeing his adversary's foot deprived of their horse, did not attack them, but rode about them as if he was going every moment to charge; intending by this manœuvre both to terrify them, and to give them opportunity to change sides. The event answered his expectation. Great part separated from the main body, and voluntarily came over to him; the rest were put to the rout. When great numbers were bearing down upon Antigonus, one of those that were about him said, "They are coming against you, Sir." He answered, "What other object can they have? But Demetrius will come to my assistance." In this hope he continued to the last, still looking about for his son, till he fell under a shower of darts. His servants and his very friends forsook him; only Thorax of Larissa remained by the dead body.

The battle being thus decided, the kings who were victorious dismembered the kingdom of Antigonus and Demetrius, like some great body, and each took a limb; thus adding to their own dominions the provinces which those two princes were possessed of before. Demetrius fled with five thousand foot, and four thousand horse: and as he reached Ephesus in a short time, and was in want of money, it was expected that he would not spare the temple. However, he not only spared it himself*, but fearing that his soldiers might be tempted to violate it, he immediately left the place, and embarked for Greece. His principal dependence was upon the Athenians; for with them he had left his ships, his money, and his wife Deidamia; and in this distress he thought he could have no safer asylum than their affection. He therefore pursued his voyage with all possible expedition; but ambassadors from Athens met him near the Cyclades, and entreated him not to think of going thither, because the people had declared, by an edict, that they would receive no king into their city. As for Deidamia, they had conducted her to Megara, with a proper retinue, and all the respect due to her rank. This so enraged Demetrius, that he was no longer master of himself; though he had hitherto born his misfortune with sufficient calmness, and discovered no mean or ungenerous sentiment in the great change of his affairs; but to be deceived, beyond all his expectation, by the Athenians; to find by facts that their affection, so great in appearance, was only false and counterfeit! was a thing that cut him to the heart. Indeed, excessive honours are a very indifferent proof of the regard of the people for kings and princes: for all the value of those honours rests in their being freely given; and there can be no certainty of that, because the givers may be under the influence of fear; and fear and love often produce the same public declarations. For the same reason wise princes will not look upon statues, pictures, or divine honours, but rather consider their own actions and behaviour, and in consequence thereof, either believe those honours real, or disregard them as the dictates of necessity. Nothing more frequently happens, than that the people hate their sovereigns the most, at the time that he is receiving the most immoderate honours, the tribute of unwilling minds.

Demetrius, though he severely felt this ill treatment, was not in a condition to revenge it; he therefore, by his envoys, expostulated with the Athenians in moderate terms, and only desired them to send him his galleys, among which there was one of thirteen banks of oars. As soon as he had received them, he steered for the isthmus; but found his affairs there in a very bad situation. The cities ex-

* A striking proof that adversity is the parent of virtue!

pelled his garrisons, and were all revolting to his enemies. Leaving Pyrrhus in Greece, he then sailed to the Chersonesus, and by the ravages he committed in the country, distressed Lysimachus, as well as enriched and secured the fidelity of his own forces, which now began to gather strength, and improve into a respectable army. The other kings paid no regard to Lysimachus, who, at the same time that he was much more formidable in his power than Demetrius, was not in the least more moderate in his conduct.

Soon after this, Seleucus sent proposals of marriage to Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius by Phila. He had, indeed, already a son named Antiochus, by Apama, a Persian lady; but he thought that his dominions were sufficient for more heirs, and that he stood in need of this new alliance, because he saw Lysimachus marrying one of Ptolemy's daughters himself, and taking the other for his son Agathocles. A connexion with Seleucus was a happy and unexpected turn of fortune for Demetrius.

He took his daughter, and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. In the course of the voyage, he was several times under a necessity of making land, and he touched in particular upon the coast of Cilicia, which had been given to Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, as his share after the defeat of Antigonus. Plistarchus, thinking himself injured by the descent which Demetrius made upon his country, went immediately to Cassander, to complain of Seleucus for having reconciled himself to the common enemy, without the concurrence of the other kings. Demetrius, being informed of his departure, left the sea, and marched up to Quinda; where, finding twelve hundred talents, the remains of his father's treasures, he carried them off, embarked again without interruption, and set sail with the utmost expedition, his wife Phila having joined him by the way.

Seleucus met him at Orossus. Their interview was conducted in a sincere and princely manner, without any marks of design or suspicion. Seleucus invited Demetrius first to his pavilion, and then Demetrius entertained him in his galley of thirteen banks of oars. They conversed at their ease, and passed the time together without guards or arms, till Seleucus took Stratonice, and carried her with great pomp to Antioch.

Demetrius seized the province of Cilicia, and sent Phila to her brother Cassander, to answer the accusations brought against him by Plistarchus. Meantime Deidamia came to him from Greece, but she had not spent any long time with him before she sickened and died; and Demetrius having accommodated matters with Ptolemy through Seleucus, it was agreed that he should marry Ptolemais, the daughter of that prince.

Hitherto Seleucus had behaved with honour and propriety; but afterwards he demanded that Demetrius should surrender Cilicia to him for a sum of money, and on his refusal to do that, angrily insisted on having Tyre and Sidon. This behaviour appeared unjustifiable and cruel. When he already commanded Asia from the Indies to the Syrian sea, how sordid was it to quarrel for two cities, with a prince who was his father-in-law, and who laboured under so painful a reverse of fortune! A strong proof how true the maxim of Plato is, *That the man who would be truly happy should not study to enlarge his estate, but to contract his desires:* for he who does not restrain his avarice must for ever be poor.

However, Demetrius, far from being intimidated, said, "Though I had lost a thousand battles as great as that of Ipsus, nothing should bring me to buy the alliance of Seleucus;" and upon this principle, he garrisoned these cities in the strongest manner. About this time having intelligence that Athens was divided into factions, and that Lachares, taking advantage of these, had seized the government, he expected to take the city with ease, if he appeared suddenly before it. Accordingly he set out with a considerable fleet, and crossed the sea without danger; but on the coast of Attica he met with a storm, in which he lost many ships, and great numbers of his men. He escaped, however, himself, and began hostilities against Athens, though with no great vigour. As his operations answered no end, he sent his lieutenants to collect another fleet, and in the mean time entered Poloponnesus, and laid siege to Messene. In one of the assaults he was in great danger; for a dart, which came from an engine, pierced through his jaw, and entered his mouth: but he recovered, and reduced some cities that had revolted. After this he invaded Attica again, took Eleusis and Rhamnus, and ravaged the country. Happening to take a ship loaded with wheat, which was bound for Athens, he hanged both the merchant and the pilot. This alarmed other merchants so much, that they forbore attempting any thing of that kind, so that a famine ensued; and, together with the want of bread-corn, the people were in want of every thing else. A bushel* of salt was sold for forty *drachmas*, and a peck† of wheat for three hundred. A fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, which Ptolemy sent to their relief, appeared before Ægina; but the encouragement it afforded them was of short continuance. A great reinforcement of ships came to Demetrius from Peloponnesus and Cyprus, so that he had not in all fewer than three hundred. Ptolemy's fleet, therefore,

* Medimnus.

† Modius. These measures were something more, but we give only the round quantity. See the table.

weighed anchor and steered off. The tyrant Lachares at the same time made his escape privately, and abandoned the city.

The Athenians, though they had made a decree that no man, under pain of death, should mention peace or reconciliation with Demetrius, now opened the gates nearest him, and sent ambassadors to his camp; not that they expected any favour from him, but they were forced to take that step by the extremity of famine. In the course of it many dreadful things happened, and this is related among the rest: A father and his son were sitting in the same room, in the last despair, when a dead mouse happening to fall from the roof of the house, they both started up and fought for it. Epicurus the philosopher is said at that time to have supported his friends and disciples with beans, which he shared with them, and counted out to them daily.

In such a miserable condition was the city when Demetrius entered it. He ordered all the Athenians to assemble in the theatre, which he surrounded with his troops; and having planted his guards on each side the stage, he came down through the passage by which the tragedians enter. The fears of the people on his appearance increased, but they were entirely dissipated when he began to speak; for neither the accent of his voice was loud, nor his expressions severe. He complained of them in soft and easy terms, and taking them again into favour, made them a present of a hundred thousand measures of wheat*, and re-established such an administration as was most agreeable for them.

The orator Dromoclides observed the variety of acclamations amongst the people, and that in the joy of their hearts, they endeavoured to outdo the encomiums of those that spoke from the *rostrum*. He therefore proposed a decree, that the Piræus and the fort of Munychia should be delivered up to king Demetrius. After this bill was passed, Demetrius, on his own authority, put a garrison in the Museum, lest, if there should be another defection amongst the people, it might keep them from other enterprises.

The Athenians thus reduced, Demetrius immediately formed a design upon Lacedæmon. King Archidamus met him at Mantinea, where Demetrius defeated him in a pitched battle; and, after he had put him to flight, he entered Laconia. There was another action almost in sight of Sparta, in which he killed two hundred of the enemy, and made five hundred prisoners; so that he seemed almost master of a town which hitherto had never been taken. But surely Fortune never displayed such sudden and extraordinary vicissitudes in the life of any other prince; in no other scene of things did she

* Medimni.

so often change from low to high, from a glorious to an abject condition, or again repair the ruins she had made. Hence he is said, in his greatest adversity, to have addressed her in the words of Æschylus—

> Thou gav'st me life and honour, and thy hand
> Now strikes me to the heart.

When his affairs seemed to be in so promising a train for power and empire, news was brought that Lysimachus, in the first place, had taken the cities he had in Asia, that Ptolemy had dispossessed him of all Cyprus, except the city of Salamis, in which he had left his children and his mother, and that this town was now actually besieged. Fortune, however, like the woman in Archilochus,

> Whose right hand offer'd water, while the left
> Bore hostile fire.....

Though she drew him from Lacedæmon by these alarming tidings, yet she soon raised him a new scene of light and hope. She availed herself of these circumstances:

After the death of Cassander, his eldest son Philip had but a short reign over the Macedonians, for he died soon after his father. The two remaining brothers were perpetually at variance: one of them, named Antipater, having killed his mother Thessalonica, Alexander, the other brother, called in the Greek princes to his assistance, Pyrrhus from Epirus, and Demetrius from Peloponnesus. Pyrrhus arrived first, and seized a considerable part of Macedonia, which he kept for his reward, and by that means became a formidable neighbour to Alexander. Demetrius no sooner received the letters, than he marched his forces thither likewise; and the young prince was still more afraid of him on account of his great name and dignity. He met him, however, at Dium, and received him in the most respectful manner, but told him at the same time that his affairs did not now require his presence. Hence mutual jealousies arose, and Demetrius, as he was going to sup with Alexander, upon his invitation, was informed that there was a design against his life, which was to be put in execution in the midst of the entertainment. Demetrius was not in the least disconcerted; he only slackened his pace, and gave orders to his generals to keep the troops under arms; after which he took his guards and the officers of his household, who were much more numerous than those of Alexander, and commanded them to enter the banqueting-room with him, and to remain there till he rose from table. Alexander's people, intimidated by his train, durst not attack Demetrius; and he, for his part, pretending that he was not disposed to drink that evening, soon withdrew. Next day he prepared to decamp; and alleging that he was called off by some new emergency, desired Alexander to excuse him if he left him soon this time; and

assured him that at some other opportunity he would make a longer stay. Alexander rejoiced that he was going away voluntarily, and without any hostile intentions, and accompanied him as far as Thessaly. When they came to Larissa, they renewed their invitations, but both with malignity in their hearts. In consequence of these polite manœuvres, Alexander fell into the snare of Demetrius. He would not go with a guard, lest he should teach the other to do the same. He therefore suffered that which he was preparing for his enemy, and which he only deferred for the surer and more convenient execution. He went to sup with Demetrius; and as his host rose up in the midst of the feast, Alexander was terrified, and rose up with him. Demetrius, when he was at the door, said no more to his guards than this, "Kill the man that follows me," and then went out. Upon which they cut Alexander in pieces, and his friends who attempted to assist him. One of these is reported to have said, as he was dying, "Demetrius is but one day beforehand with us."

The night was, as might be expected, full of terror and confusion. In the morning, the Macedonians were greatly disturbed with the apprehension that Demetrius would fall upon them with all his forces; but when, instead of an appearance of hostilities, he sent a message desiring to speak with them, and vindicate what was done, they recovered their spirits, and resolved to receive him with civility. When he came, he found it unnecessary to make long speeches. They hated Antipater, for the murder of his mother, and as they had no better prince at hand, they declared Demetrius king, and conducted him into Macedonia. The Macedonians who were at home proved not averse to the change; for they always remembered with horror Cassander's base behaviour to Alexander the Great; and if they had any regard left for the moderation of old Antipater, it turned all in favour of Demetrius, who had married his daughter Phila, and had a son by her to succeed him in the throne, a youth who was already grown up, and at this very time bore arms under his father.

Immediately after this glorious turn of fortune, Demetrius received news that Ptolemy had set his wife and children at liberty, and dismissed them with presents, and other tokens of honour. He was informed, too, that his daughter, who had been married to Seleucus, was now wife to Antiochus, the son of that prince, and declared queen of the barbarous nations in Upper Asia. Antiochus was violently enamoured of the young Stratonice, though she had a son by his father. His condition was extremely unhappy. He made the greatest efforts to conquer his passion, but they were of no avail; at last, considering that his desires were of the most extravagant kind,

that there was no prospect of satisfaction for them, and that the succours of reason entirely failed, he resolved in his despair to rid himself of life, and bring it gradually to a period, by neglecting all care of his person, and abstaining from food; for this purpose he made sickness his pretence. His physician Erasistratus easily discovered that his distemper was love; but it was difficult to conjecture who was the object. In order to find it out, he spent whole days in his chamber; and whenever any beautiful person of either sex entered it, he observed with great attention not only his looks, but every part and motion of the body which corresponds the most with the passions of the soul. When others entered, he was entirely unaffected, but when Stratonice came in, as she often did, either alone, or with Seleucus, he showed all the symptoms described by Sappho, the faultering voice, the burning blush, the languid eye, the sudden sweat, the tumultuous pulse, and at length, the passion overcoming his spirits, a *deliquium* and mortal paleness.

Erasistratus concluded from these tokens that the prince was in love with Stratonice, and perceived that he intended to carry the secret with him to the grave. He saw the difficulty of breaking the matter to Seleucus; yet depending upon the affection which the king had for his son, he ventured one day to tell him, "That the young man's disorder was love, but love for which there was no remedy." The king, quite astonished, said, "How! love for which there is no remedy!" "It is certainly so," answered Erasistratus, "for he is in love with my wife."—"What! Erasistratus!" said the king, "would you, who are my friend, refuse to give up your wife to my son, when you see us in danger of losing our only hope?"—"Nay, would you do such a thing," answered the physician, "though you are his father, if he were in love with Stratonice?"—"O my friend," replied Seleucus, "how happy should I be, if either God or man could remove his affections thither! I would give up my kingdom, so I could but keep Antiochus." He pronounced these words with so much emotion, and such a profusion of tears, that Erasistratus took him by the hand, and said, "Then there is no need of Erasistratus. You, Sir, who are a father, a husband, and a king, will be the best physician too for your family."

Upon this Seleucus summoned the people to meet in full assembly, and told them, "It was his will and pleasure that Antiochus should intermarry with Stratonice, and that they should be declared king and queen of the Upper Provinces. He believed," he said, "that Antiochus, who was such an obedient son, would not oppose his desire; and if the princess should oppose the marriage, as an unprecedented thing, he hoped his friends would persuade her to think

that what was agreeable to the king, and advantageous to the kingdom, was both just and honourable." Such is said to have been the cause of the marriage between Antiochus and Stratonice.

Demetrius was now master of Macedonia and Thessaly; and as he had great part of Peloponnesus too, and the cities of Megara and Athens, on the other side the isthmus, he wanted to reduce the Bœotians, and threatened them with hostilities. At first they proposed to come to an accommodation with him on reasonable conditions; but Cleonymus the Spartan, having thrown himself in the mean time into Thebes with his army, the Bœotians were so much elated, that at the instigation of Pisis the Thespian, who was a leading man among them, they broke off the treaty. Demetrius then drew up his machines to the walls, and laid siege to Thebes; upon which Cleonymus, apprehending the consequence, stole out; and the Thebans were so much intimidated, that they immediately surrendered. Demetrius placed garrisons in their cities, exacted large contributions, and left Hieronymus, the historian, governor of Bœotia. He appeared, however, to make a merciful use of his victory, particularly in the case of Pisis; for, though he took him prisoner, he did not offer him any injury; on the contrary, he treated him with great civility and politeness, and appointed him *polemarch* of Thespia.

Not long after this, Lysimachus being taken prisoner, by Dromichætes, Demetrius marched towards Thrace, with all possible expedition, hoping to find it in a defenceless state: but, while he was gone, the Bœotians revolted again, and he had the mortification to hear on the road that Lysimachus was set at liberty. He therefore immediately turned back in great anger; and finding, on his return, that the Bœotians were already driven out of the field by his son Antigonus, he laid siege again to Thebes. However, as Pyrrhus had overrun all Thessaly, and was advanced as far as Thermopylæ, Demetrius left the conduct of the siege to his son Antigonus, and marched against that warrior.

Pyrrhus immediately retiring, Demetrius placed a guard of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse in Thessaly, and then returned to the siege. His first operation was to bring up his machine called *helepoles;* but he proceeded in it with great labour and by slow degrees, by reason of its size and weight; he could scarce move it two furlongs in two months*. As the Bœotians made a vigorous resistance, and Demetrius often obliged his men to renew the assault, rather out of a spirit of animosity, than the hope of any advantage, young Antigonus was greatly concerned, at seeing such numbers

* A wonderful kind of a motion this for a machine that *ran* upon wheels! about twelve inches in an hour!

fall, and said, "Why, Sir, do we let these brave fellows lose their lives without any necessity?" Demetrius, offended at the liberty he took, made answer, "Why do you trouble yourself about it? Have you any provisions to find for the dead?" To show, however, that he was not prodigal of the lives of his troops only, he took his share in the danger, and received a wound from a lance that pierced through his neck. This gave him excessive pain, yet he continued the siege till he once more made himself master of Thebes. He entered the city with such an air of resentment and severity, that the inhabitants expected to suffer the most dreadful punishments; yet he contented himself with putting thirteen of them to death, and banishing a few more. All the rest he pardoned. Thus Thebes was taken twice within ten years after its being rebuilt.

The Pythian games now approached, and Demetrius on this occasion took a very extraordinary step. As the Ætolians were in possession of the passes to Delphi, he ordered the games to be solemnized at Athens; alleging that they could not pay their homage to Apollo in a more proper place than that where the people considered him as their patron and progenitor.

From thence he returned to Macedonia; but as he was naturally indisposed for a life of quiet and inaction, and observed, besides, that the Macedonians were attentive and obedient to him in time of war, though turbulent and seditious in peace, he undertook an expedition against the Ætolians. After he had ravaged the country, he left Pantauchus there with a respectable army, and with the rest of his forces marched against Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was coming to seek him; but as they happened to take different roads, and missed each other, Demetrius laid waste Epirus, and Pyrrhus falling upon Pantauchus, obliged him to stand on his defence. The two generals met in the action, and both gave and received wounds. Pyrrhus, however, defeated his adversary, killed great numbers of his men, and made five thousand prisoners.

This battle was the principal cause of Demetrius's ruin: for Pyrrhus was not so much hated by the Macedonians for the mischief he had done them, as admired for his personal bravery; and the late battle in particular gained him great honour; insomuch that many of the Macedonians said, "That of all the kings, it was in Pyrrhus only they saw a lively image of Alexander's valour; whereas the other princes, especially Demetrius, imitated him only in a theatrical manner, by affecting a lofty port and majestic air."

Indeed, Demetrius did always appear like a theatrical king; for he not only affected a superfluity of ornament in wearing a double diadem, and a robe of purple interwoven with gold, but he had his shoes

made of cloth of gold, with soles of fine purple. There was a robe a long time in weaving for him, of most sumptuous magnificence: the figure of the world and all the heavenly bodies were to be represented upon it; but it was left unfinished, on account of his change of fortune: nor did any of his successors ever presume to wear it, though Macedon had many pompous kings after him.

This ostentation of dress offended a people who were unaccustomed to such sights; but his luxurious and dissolute manner of life was a more obnoxious circumstance: and what disobliged them most of all, was his difficulty of access; for he either refused to see those who applied to him, or behaved to them in a harsh and haughty manner. Though he favoured the Athenians more than the other Greeks, their ambassadors waited two years at his court for an answer. The Lacedæmonians happening to send only one ambassador to him, he considered it as an affront, and said in great anger, "What! have the Lacedæmonians sent no more than one ambassador?" "No," said the Spartan acutely, in his laconic way, "One ambassador to one king."

One day, when he seemed to come out in a more obliging temper, and to be something less inaccessible, he was presented with several petitions, all which he received, and put them in the skirt of his robe. The people of course followed him with great joy; but no sooner was he come to the bridge over the *Axius*, than he opened his robe, and shook them all into the river. This stung the Macedonians to the heart; when, looking for the protection of a king, they found the insolence of a tyrant. And this treatment appeared harder to such as had seen, or heard from those who had seen, how kind the behaviour of Philip was on such occasions. An old woman was one day very troublesome to him in the street, and begged with great importunity to be heard. He said, "He was not at leisure." "Then," cried the old woman, "you should not be a king." The king was struck with these words; and having considered the thing a moment, he returned to his palace; where, postponing all other affairs, he gave audience for several days to all who chose to apply to him, beginning with the old woman. Indeed, nothing becomes a king so much as the distribution of justice: for "Mars is a tyrant:" as Timotheus expresses it: but Justice, according to Pindar, "is the rightful sovereign of the world." The things which Homer tells us kings receive from Jove, are not machines for taking towns, or ships with brazen beaks, but law and justice*: these they are to guard and to cultivate. And it is not the most warlike, the most violent and sanguinary, but the justest of princes, whom he calls the disciple of Jupiter†. But

* Il. l. i. 231. † Od. xix. 178.

Demetrius was pleased with an appellation quite opposite to that which is given the king of the gods: for Jupiter is called *Policus* and *Poliuchus*, the *patron* and *guardian of cities;* Demetrius is surnamed *Poliorcetes*, the *destroyer of cities.* Thus, in consequence of the union of power and folly, vice is substituted in the place of virtue, and the ideas of glory and injustice are united too.

When Demetrius lay dangerously ill at Pella, he was very near losing Macedonia; for Pyrrhus, by a sudden inroad, penetrated as far as Edessa: but, as soon as he recovered, he repulsed him with ease, and afterwards he came to terms with him: for he was not willing to be hindered, by skirmishing for posts with Pyrrhus, from the pursuit of greater and more arduous enterprises. His scheme was to recover all his father's dominions; and his preparations were suitable to the greatness of the object: for he had raised an army of ninety-eight thousand foot, and near twelve thousand horse; and he was building five hundred galleys in the ports of Piræus, Corinth, Chalcis, and Pella. He went himself to all these places to give directions to the workmen, and assist in the construction. All the world was surprised, not only at the number, but at the greatness of his works: for no man before his time, ever saw a galley of fifteen or sixteen banks of oars. Afterwards, indeed, Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty banks: its length was two hundred and eighty cubits, and its height to the top of the prow forty-eight cubits. Four hundred mariners belonged to it, exclusive of the rowers, who were no fewer than four thousand; and the decks and the several interstices were capable of containing near three thousand soldiers. This, however, was mere matter of curiosity; for it differed very little from an immoveable building, and was calculated more for show than for use, as it could not be put in motion without great difficulty and danger. But the ships of Demetrius had their use as well as beauty; with all their magnificence of construction, they were equally fit for fighting; and though they were admirable for their size, they were still more so for the swiftness of their motion.

Demetrius having provided such an armament for the invasion of Asia as no man ever had before him, except Alexander the Great, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus, united against him. They likewise joined in an application to Pyrrhus, desiring him to fall upon Macedonia; and not to look to himself as bound by the treaty with Demetrius, since that prince had entered into it, not with any regard to the advantage of Pyrrhus, or in order to avoid future hostilities, but merely for his own sake, that he might at present be at liberty to turn his arms against whom he pleased. As Pyrrhus accepted the proposal, Demetrius, while he was preparing for his voyage, found him-

self surrounded with war at home: for, at one instant of time, Ptolemy came with a great fleet to draw Greece off from its present master, Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus, entering it from a nearer quarter, joined in ravaging that country. Demetrius, on this occasion, left his son in Greece, and went himself to the relief of Macedonia. His first operations were intended against Lysimachus, but, as he was upon his march, he received an account that Pyrrhus had taken Berœa; and the news soon spreading among his Macedonians, he could do nothing in an orderly manner: for nothing was to be found in the whole army but lamentations, tears, and expressions of resentment and reproach against their king. They were even ready to march off, under pretence of attending to their domestic affairs, but in fact to join Lysimachus.

In this case Demetrius thought proper to get at the greatest distance he could from Lysimachus, and turn his arms against Pyrrhus. Lysimachus was of their own nation, and many of them knew him in the service of Alexander; whereas Pyrrhus was an entire stranger, and therefore he thought the Macedonians would never give him the preference: but he was sadly mistaken in his conjecture, and he soon found it upon encamping near Pyrrhus. The Macedonians always admired his distinguished valour, and had of old been accustomed to think the best man in the field the most worthy of a crown. Besides, they received daily accounts of the clemency with which he behaved to his prisoners. Indeed, they were inclined to desert to him or any other, so they could but get rid of Demetrius. They therefore began to go off privately and in small parties at first, but afterwards there was nothing but open disorder and mutiny in the camp. At last some of them had the assurance to go to Demetrius, and bid him provide for himself by flight, for "The Macedonians (they told him) were tired of fighting to maintain his luxury." These expressions appeared modest in comparison of the rude behaviour of others. He therefore entered his tent, not like a real king, but a theatrical one, and having quitted his royal robe for a black one, privately withdrew. As multitudes were pillaging his tent, who not only tore it to pieces, but fought for the plunder, Pyrrhus made his appearance; upon which the tumult ceased, and the whole army submitted to him. Lysimachus and he then divided Macedonia between them, which Demetrius had held without disturbance for seven years.

Demetrius, thus fallen from the pinnacle of power, fled to Cassandria, where his wife Phila was. Nothing could equal her sorrow on this occasion: she could not bear to see the unfortunate Demetrius once more a private man and an exile! In her despair therefore, and

detestation of fortune, who was always more constant to him in her visits of adversity than prosperity, she took poison.

Demetrius, however, resolved to gather up the remains of his wreck; for which purpose he repaired to Greece, and collected such of his friends and officers as he found there. Menelaus, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles gives this picture of his own fortune:

I move on Fortune's rapid wheel: my lot
For ever changing like the changeful moon,
That each night varies; hardly now perceived;
And now she shows her bright horn; by degrees
She fills her orb with light; but when she reigns
In all her pride, she then begins once more
To waste her glories, till, dissolv'd and lost,
She sinks again to darkness.....

But this picture is more applicable to Demetrius, in his increase and wane, his splendour and obscurity. His glory seemed now entirely eclipsed and extinguished, and yet it broke out again, and shone with new splendour. Fresh forces came in, and gradually filled up the measure of his hopes. This was the first time he addressed the cities as a private man, and without any of the ensigns of royalty. Somebody seeing him at Thebes in this condition, applied to him, with propriety enough, those verses of Euripides,

To Dirce's fountain, and Ismenus' shore
In mortal form he moves, a god no more.

When he had got into the high road of hope again, and had once more a respectable force and form of royalty about him, he restored the Thebans their ancient government and laws. At the same time the Athenians abandoned his interests, and razing out of their registers the name of Diphilus, who was then priest of the gods protectors, ordered archons to be appointed again, according to ancient custom. They likewise sent for Pyrrhus from Macedonia, because they saw Demetrius grown stronger than they expected. Demetrius, greatly enraged, marched immediately to attack them, and laid strong siege to the city: but Crates the philosopher, a man of great reputation and authority, being sent out to him by the people, partly by his entreaties for the Athenians, and partly by representing to him that his interest lay another way, prevailed on Demetrius to raise the siege. After this, he collected all his ships, embarked his army, which consisted of eleven thousand foot, besides cavalry, and sailed to Asia, in hopes of drawing Caria and Lydia over from Lysimachus. Eurydice, the sister of Phila, received him at Miletus, having brought with her Ptolemais, a daughter she had by Ptolemy, who had formerly been promised him upon the application of Seleucus. Deme-

trius married her with the free consent of Eurydice, and soon after attempted the cities in that quarter; many of them opened their gates to him, and many others he took by force. Among the latter was Sardis. Some of the officers of Lysimachus likewise deserted to him, and brought sufficient appointments of money and troops with them: but as Agathocles, the son of Lysimachus, came against him with a great army, he marched to Phrygia, with an intention to seize Armenia, and then to try Media and the Upper Provinces, which might afford him many places of retreat upon occasion. Agathocles followed him close, and as he found Demetrius superior in all the skirmishes that he ventured upon, he betook himself to cutting off his convoys. This distressed him not a little; and, what was another disagreeable circumstance, his soldiers suspected that he designed to lead them into Armenia and Media.

The famine increased every day, and, by mistaking the fords of the river Lycus, he had a great number of men swept away by the stream. Yet, amidst all their distress, his troops were capable of jesting: one of them wrote upon the door of his tent the beginning of the tragedy of Œdipus, with a small alteration.

> Thou offspring of the blind old king Antigonus,
> Where dost thou lead us*?

Pestilence at last followed the famine, as it commonly happens when people are under a necessity of eating any thing, however unwholesome; so that finding he had lost in all not less than eight thousand men, he turned back with the rest. When he came down to Tarsus, he was desirous of sparing the country, because it belonged to Seleucus, and he did not think proper to give him any pretence to declare against him: but perceiving that it was impossible for his troops to avoid taking something, when they were reduced to such extremities, and that Agathocles had fortified the passes of Mount Taurus, he wrote a letter to Seleucus, containing a long and moving detail of his misfortune, and concluding with strong intreaties that he would take compassion on a prince who was allied to him, and whose sufferings were such as even an enemy might be affected with.

Seleucus was touched with pity, and sent orders to his lieutenants in those parts to supply Demetrius with every thing suitable to the state of a king, and his army with sufficient provisions. But Patrocles, who was a man of understanding, and a faithful friend to Seleucus, went to that prince, and represented to him, "That the expense of furnishing the troops of Demetrius with provisions was a thing of small importance in comparison of suffering Demetrius himself to remain in the country, who was always one of the most violent

* The closeness of the parody is what Plutarch calls the jest.

and enterprising princes in the world, and now was in such desperate circumstances as might put even those of the mildest dispositions on bold and unjust attempts."

Upon these representations, Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius, astonished and terrified at the sudden change in Seleucus, withdrew to the strongest posts he could find upon Mount Taurus, and sent a message to him, begging, "That he might be suffered to make a conquest of some free nations of barbarians, and, by settling amongst them as their king, put a period to his wanderings. If this could not be granted, he hoped Seleucus would at least permit him to winter in that country, and not, by driving him out naked and in want of every thing, expose him in that condition to his enemies."

As all these proposals had a suspicious appearance to Seleucus, he made answer, "That he might, if he pleased, spend two months of the winter in Cataonia, if he sent him his principal friends as hostages." But at the same time he secured the passes into Syria. Demetrius, thus surrounded like a wild beast in the toils, was under a necessity of having recourse to violence. He therefore ravaged the country, and had the advantage of Seleucus whenever he attacked him. Seleucus once beset him with his armed chariots, and yet he broke through them, and put his army to the rout. After this he dislodged the corps that was to defend the heights on the side of Syria, and made himself master of the passages.

Elevated with this success, and finding the courage of his men restored, he prepared to fight a decisive battle with Seleucus. That prince was now in great perplexity: he had rejected the succours offered him by Lysimachus, for want of confidence in his honour, and from an apprehension of his designs; and he was loath to try his strength with Demetrius, because he dreaded his desperate courage, as well as his usual change of fortune, which often raised him from great misery to the summit of power. In the mean time Demetrius was seized with a fit of sickness, which greatly impaired his personal vigour, and entirely ruined his affairs; for part of his men went over to the enemy, and part left their colours, and dispersed. In forty days he recovered with great difficulty, and getting under march with the remains of his army, made a feint of moving towards Cilicia: but afterwards in the night he decamped without sound of trumpet, and, taking the contrary way, crossed Mount Amanus, and ravaged the country on the other side as far as Cyrrhestica.

Seleucus followed, and encamped very near him. Demetrius then put his army in motion in the night, in hopes of surprising him. Seleucus was retired to rest; and in all probability his enemy would have

succeeded, had not some deserters informed him of his danger, just time enough for him to put himself in a posture of defence. Upon this he started up in great consternation, and ordered the trumpets to sound an alarm, and as he put on his sandals, he said to his friends, "What a terrible wild beast are we engaged with!" Demetrius, perceiving by the tumult in the enemy's camp that his scheme was discovered, retired as fast as possible.

At break of day Seleucus offered him battle, when Demetrius ordering one of his officers to take care of one wing, put himself at the head of the other, and made some impression upon the enemy. Meantime Seleucus quitting his horse, and laying aside his helmet, presented himself to Demetrius's hired troops with only his buckler in his hand; exhorting them to come over to him, and to be convinced at last that it was to spare them, not Demetrius, that he had been so long about the war; upon which they all saluted him king, and ranged themselves under his banner.

Demetrius, though of all the changes he had experienced, he thought this the most terrible, yet imagining that he might extricate himself from this distress as well as the rest, fled to the passes of Mount Amanus; and gaining a thick wood, waited there for the night, with a few friends and attendants who followed his fortune. His intention was, if possible, to take the way to Caunus, where he hoped to find his fleet, and from thence to make his escape by sea; but knowing he had not provisions even for that day, he sought for some other expedient. Afterwards one of his friends, named Sosigenes, arrived with four hundred pieces of gold in his purse; with the assistance of which money they hoped to reach the sea. Accordingly, when night came, they attempted to pass the heights; but finding a number of fires lighted there by the enemy, they despaired of succeeding that way, and returned to their former retreat, but neither with their whole company, (for some had gone off), nor with the same spirits. One of them venturing to tell him that he thought it was best for him to surrender himself to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his sword to kill himself; but his friends interposed, and consoling him in the best manner they could, persuaded him to follow his advice; in consequence of which he sent to Seleucus, and yielded himself to his discretion.

Upon this news, Seleucus said to those about him, "It is not the good fortune of Demetrius, but mine, that now saves him, and that adds to other favours this opportunity of testifying my humanity." Then calling the officers of his household, he ordered them to pitch a royal tent, and to provide every thing else for his reception and entertainment in the most magnificent manner. As there happened

to be in the service of Seleucus one Apollonides, who was an old acquaintance of Demetrius, he immediately sent that person to him, that he might be more at ease, and come with the greater confidence, as to a son-in-law and a friend.

On the discovery of this favourable disposition of Seleucus towards him, at a first view, and afterwards, a great number of the courtiers waited on Demetrius, and strove which should pay him the most respect; for it was expected that his interest with Seleucus would soon be the best in the kingdom. But these compliments turned the compassion which his distress had excited, into jealousy, and gave occasion to the envious and malevolent to divert the stream of the king's humanity from him, by alarming him with apprehensions of no insensible change, but of the greatest commotions in his army on the sight of Demetrius.

Apollonides was now come to Demetrius with great satisfaction; and others, who followed to pay their court, brought extraordinary accounts of the kindness of Seleucus; insomuch that Demetrius, though in the first shock of his misfortune he had thought it a great disgrace to surrender himself, was now displeased at his aversion to that step. Such confidence had he in the hopes they held out to him; when Pausanias coming with a party of horse and foot, to the number of a thousand, suddenly surrounded him, and drove away such as he found inclined to favour his cause. After he had thus seized his person, instead of conducting him to the presence of Seleucus, he carried him to the Syrian Chersonesus. There he was kept, indeed, under a strong guard, but Seleucus sent him a sufficient equipage, and supplied him with money, and a table suitable to his rank. He had also places of exercise, and walks worthy of a king; his parks were well stored with game; and such of his friends as had accompanied him in his flight, were permitted to attend him. Seleucus, too, had the complaisance often to send some of his people with kind and encouraging messages, intimating, that as soon as Antiochus and Stratonice should arrive, terms of accommodation would be hit upon, and he would obtain his liberty.

Under this misfortune, Demetrius wrote to his son, and to his officers and friends in Athens and Corinth, desiring them to trust neither his hand writing nor his seal, but to act as if he were dead, and to keep the cities and all his remaining estates, for Antigonus. When the young prince was informed of his father's confinement, he was extremely concerned at it; he put on mourning, and wrote not only to the other kings, but to Seleucus himself, offering, on condition that his father were set free, to cede all the possessions they had left, and deliver himself up as a hostage. Many cities and

princes joined in the request; but Lysimachus was not of the number: on the contrary, he offered Seleucus a large sum of money to induce him to put Demetrius to death. Seleucus, who looked upon him in an indifferent light before, abhorred him as a villain for this proposal, and only waited for the arrival of Antiochus and Stratonice to make them the compliment of restoring Demetrius to his liberty.

Demetrius, who at first supported his misfortune with patience, by custom learned to submit to it with a still better grace. For some time he took the exercises of hunting and running; but he left them by degrees, and sunk into indolence and inactivity. Afterwards he took to drinking and play, and spent most of his time in that kind of dissipation; whether it was to put off the thoughts of his present condition, which he could not bear in his sober hours, and to drown reflection in the bowl; or whether he was sensible at last that this was the sort of life which, though originally the object of his desires, he had idly wandered from, to follow the dictates of an absurd ambition. Perhaps he considered that he had given himself and others infinite trouble, by seeking with fleets and armies that happiness, which he found when he least expected it, in ease, indulgence, and repose: for what other end does the wretched vanity of kings propose to itself in all their wars and dangers, but to quit the paths of virtue and honour for those of luxury and pleasure; the sure consequence of their not knowing what real pleasure and true enjoyment are.

Demetrius, after three years confinement in the Chersonesus, fell into a distemper occasioned by idleness and excess, which carried him off at the age of fifty-four. Seleucus was severely censured, and indeed was much concerned himself, for his unjust suspicions of Demetrius; whereas he should have followed the example of Dromichætes, who, though a Thracian and barbarian, had treated Lysimachus, when his prisoner, with all the generosity that became a king.

There was something of a theatrical pomp even in the funeral of Demetrius: for Antigonus being informed that they were bringing his father's ashes to Greece, went to meet them with his whole fleet; and finding them near the isles of the Ægean sea, he took the urn, which was of solid gold, on board the admiral galley. The cities at which they touched sent crowns to adorn the urn, and persons in mourning to assist at the funeral solemnity.

When the fleet approached Corinth, the urn was seen in a conspicuous position upon the stern of the vessel, adorned with a purple robe and a diadem, and attended by a company of young men well armed. Xenophantus, a most celebrated performer on the flute, sat by the urn, and played a solemn air. The oars kept time with the notes, and accompanied them with a melancholy sound, like that of

mourners in a funeral procession, beating their breasts in concert with the music. But it was the mournful appearance, and the tears of Antigonus, that excited the greatest compassion among the people as they passed. After the Corinthians had bestowed crowns, and all due honours upon the remains, Antigonus carried them to Demetrias, and deposited them there. This was a city called after the deceased, which he had peopled from the little towns about Jolchos.

Demetrius left behind him several children; Antigonus and Stratonice, whom he had by his wife Phila; two sons of the name of Demetrius; one surnamed *The Slender*, by an Illyrian woman; the other was by Ptolemais, and came to be king of Cyrene. By Deidamia he had Alexander, who took up his residence in Egypt; and by his last wife, Eurydice, he is said to have had a son named Corrhæbus. His posterity enjoyed the throne in continued succession down to Perseus*, the last king of Macedon, in whose time the Romans subdued that country. Thus having gone through the Macedonian drama, it is time that we bring the Roman upon the stage.

ANTONY.

THE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who followed the faction of Sylla, and was put to death by Marius†. His father was Antony, surnamed the Cretan, a man of no figure or consequence in the political world‡, but distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality; of which the following little circumstance is a sufficient proof: his fortune was not large, and his wife therefore, very prudently, laid some restraint on his munificent disposition. An acquaintance of his, who was under some pecuniary difficulties, applied to him for assistance: Antony, having no money at command, ordered his boy to bring him a silver bason, full of water, under a pretence of shaving. After the boy was dismissed, he gave the bason to his friend, and bade him make what use of it he thought proper. The disappearance of the bason occasioned no small commotion in the family; and Antony finding his wife prepared

* About one hundred and sixteen years.

† Valerius Maximus says, that Antony the orator was put to death by the joint order of Cinna and Marius: but Cicero mentions Cinna as the immediate cause.—*Cic. Philip.* 1.

‡ Nevertheless he conducted the war in Crete, and from thence was called *Cretensis*.

to take a severe account of his servants, begged her pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name was Julia. She was of the family of the Cæsars, and a woman of distinguished merit and modesty. Under her auspices Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of his father, she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death for engaging in the conspiracy of Cataline. This was the origin of that lasting enmity which subsisted between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed, that his mother Julia was even obliged to beg the body of Cicero's wife for interment: but this is not true, for none of those who suffered on the same occasion, under Cicero, were refused this privilege. Antony was engaging in his person, and was unfortunate enough to fall into the good graces and friendship of Curio, a man who was devoted to every species of licentiousness, and who, to render Antony the more dependent on him, led him into all the excesses of indulging in wine and women, and all the expenses that such indulgences are attended with. Of course he was soon deeply involved in debt, and owed at least two hundred and fifty talents while he was a very young man. Curio was bound for the payment of this money; and his father, being informed of it, banished Antony from his house. Thus dismissed, he attached himself to Clodius, that pestilent and audacious tribune, who threw the state into such dreadful disorder; till, weary of his mad measures, and fearful of his opponents, he passed into Greece, where he employed himself in military exercises, and the study of eloquence. The Asiatic style* was then much in vogue, and Antony fell naturally into it; for it was correspondent with his manners, which were vain, pompous, insolent, and assuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinius, the proconsul, to make a campaign with him in Syria†. This invitation he refused to accept as a private man; but, being appointed to the command of the cavalry, he attended him. His first operation was against Aristobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the first who scaled the wall; and this he did in the highest part. He drove Aristobulus from all his forts; and afterwards, with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Most of the enemy were slain, and Aristobulus and his son were taken prisoners. Upon

* Cicero, in his *Brutus*, mentions two sorts of style called the *Asiatic*. *Unum sententiosum et argutum, sententiis non tam gravibus et severis quam concinnis et venustis. Aliud autem genus est non tam sententiis frequentatum quam verbis voluere, atque incitatum; quale nunc est Asia tota, nec flumine solum orationis, sed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum.*

† Aulus Gabinius was consul in the year of Rome 695; and the year following he went into Syria.

the conclusion of this war, Gabinius was solicited by Ptolemy to carry his arms into Egypt, and restore him to his kingdom*. The reward of this service was to be ten thousand talents. Most of the officers disapproved of the expedition; and Gabinius himself did not readily enter into it, though the money pleaded strongly in its behalf. Antony, however, ambitious of great enterprises, and vain of gratifying a suppliant king, used every means to draw Gabinius into the service, and prevailed. It was the general opinion that the march to Pelusium was more dangerous than the war that was to follow: for they were to pass over a sandy and unwatered country, by the filthy marsh of Serbonis, whose stagnant ooze the Egyptians call the exhalations of Typhon; though it is probably no more than the drainings of the Red sea, which is there separated from the Mediterranean only by a small neck of land.

Antony, being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only seized the straits, but took the large city of Pelusium, and made the garrison prisoners. By this operation he at once opened a secure passage for the army, and a fair prospect of victory for their general. The same love of glory which was so serviceable to his own party, was on this occasion advantageous to the enemy: for when Ptolemy entered Pelusium, in the rage of revenge, he would have put the citizens to death, but Antony resolutely opposed it, and prevented him from executing his horrid purpose. In the several actions where he was concerned, he gave distinguished proofs of his conduct and valour; but especially in that manœuvre where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled those who charged in front to gain a complete victory. For this action he received suitable honours and rewards.

His humane care of the body of Archelaus, who fell in the battle, was taken notice of even by the common men. He had been his intimate friend, and connected with him in the rights of hospitality; and though he was obliged by his duty to oppose him in the field, he no sooner heard that he was fallen, than he ordered search to be made for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct made him respected in Alexandria, and admired by the Romans.

Antony had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline nose; and, upon the whole, the same manly aspect that we see in the pictures and statues of Hercules. There was indeed an ancient tradition that his family was descended from Hercules, by a son of his called Anteon; and it was no wonder if Antony sought to confirm this opinion, by affecting to resemble him in his air and his dress. Thus, when he appeared in public, he

* Dion. l. xxxix.

wore his vest girt on the hips, a large sword, and over all a coarse mantle. That kind of conduct, which would seem disagreeable to others, rendered him the darling of the army. He talked with the soldiers in their own swaggering and ribbald strain, ate and drank with them in public, and would stand to take his victuals at their common table. He was pleasant on the subject of his amours, ready in assisting the intrigues of others, and easy under the raillery to which he was subjected by his own. His liberality to the soldiers, and to his friends, was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power which he was otherwise weakening by a thousand irregularities. One instance of his liberality I must mention: he had ordered two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas (which the Romans call *decies*) to be given to one of his friends. His steward, who was startled at the extravagance of the sum, laid the silver in a heap, that he might see it as he passed.—He saw it, and inquired what it was for. "It is the sum," answered the steward, "that you ordered for a present." Antony perceived his envious design, and to mortify him still more, said coolly, "I really thought the sum would have made a better figure. It is too little: let it be doubled*." This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties. Pompey was with the senate. The people were for bringing Cæsar with his army out of Gaul.—Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides, and joined Cæsar, brought Antony likewise over to his interest. The influence he had obtained by his eloquence, and by that profusion of money in which he was supported by Cæsar, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and afterwards augur. Antony was no sooner in power, than Cæsar found the advantage of his services. In the first place, he opposed the consul Marcellus, whose design was to give Pompey the command of the old legions, and at the same time to empower him to raise new ones. On this occasion he obtained a decree, that the forces then on foot should be sent into Syria, and join Bibulus in carrying on the war against the Parthians; and that none should give in their names to serve under Pompey. On another occasion, when the senate would neither receive Cæsar's letters, nor suffer them to be read, he read them by virtue of his tribunitial authority: and the requests of Cæsar appearing moderate and reasonable, by this means he brought over many to his interest. Two questions were at length put in the senate; one, "Whether Pompey should dismiss his army?" the other, "Whether Cæsar should give up his?" There were but a few votes for the former; a large majority for the

* The same story is told of Alexander.

latter. Then Antony stood up, and put the question, "Whether both Cæsar and Pompey should not dismiss their armies?" This motion was received with great acclamations, and Antony was applauded, and desired to put it to the vote. This being opposed by the consuls, the friends of Cæsar made other proposals, which seemed by no means unreasonable: but they were overruled by Cato*, and Antony commanded by Lentulus the consul to leave the house.—He left them with bitter execrations; and, disguising himself like a servant, accompanied only by Quintus Cassius, he hired a carriage, and went immediately to Cæsar. As soon as they arrived, they exclaimed that nothing was conducted at Rome according to order or law; that even the tribunes were refused the privilege of speaking, and whoever would rise in defence of the right must be expelled, and exposed to personal danger.

Cæsar upon this marched his army into Italy, and hence it was observed by Cicero in his Philippics, that Antony was no less the cause of the civil war in Rome, than Helen had been of the Trojan war†. There is, however, but little truth in this assertion. Cæsar was not so much a slave to the impulse of resentment as to enter on so desperate a measure, if it had not been premeditated: nor would he have carried war into the bowels of his country, merely because he saw Antony and Cassius flying to him in a mean dress, and a hired carriage. At the same time these things might give some colour to the commencement of those hostilities which had been long determined. Cæsar's motive was the same which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus, over the ruins of humam kind, the insatiable lust of empire, the frantic ambition of being the first man upon earth, which he knew he could not be while Pompey was yet alive.

As soon as he was arrived at Rome, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, his first design was to attack his legions in Spain, and having a fleet in readiness, to go afterwards in pursuit of Pompey himself, while, in the mean time Rome was left to the government of Lepidus the prætor, and Italy and the army to the command of Antony the tribune. Antony, by the sociability of his disposition, soon made himself agreeable to the soldiers; for he ate and drank with them, and made them presents to the utmost of his ability. To others his conduct was less acceptable. He was too indolent to attend to the cause of the injured, too violent and too impatient when he was

* Cicero asserts that Antony was the immediate cause of the civil war; but, if he could have laid down his prejudice, he might have discovered a more immediate cause in the impolitic resentment of Cato.

† In the second Philippic. *Ut Helena Trojanis, sic ista huic reipublicæ causa belli; causa pestis atque exitii fuit.*

applied to on business, and infamous for his adulteries. In short, though there was nothing tyrannical in the government of Cæsar, it was rendered odious by the bad conduct of his friends; and as Antony had the greatest share of the power, so he bore the greatest part of the blame. Cæsar, notwithstanding, on his return from Spain, connived at his irregularities; and, indeed, in the military appointment he had given him, he had not judged improperly; for Antony was a brave, skilful, and active general.

Cæsar embarked at Brundusium, sailed over the Ionian sea with a small number of troops, and sent back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinius should put the army on board, and proceed as fast as possible to Macedonia. Gabinius was afraid of the sea, for it was winter, and the passage was dangerous. He therefore marched his forces a long way round by land. Antony, on the other hand, being apprehensive that Cæsar might be surrounded and overcome by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay at anchor in the mouth of the haven of Brundusium. By sending out several small vessels, he encompassed Libo's galleys separately, and obliged them to retire. By this means he found an opportunity to embark about twenty thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; and with these he set sail. The enemy discovered and made up to him; but he escaped by favour of a strong gale from the south, which made the sea so rough that the pursuers could not reach him. The same wind, however, at first drove him upon a rocky shore, on which the sea bore so hard, that there appeared no hope of escaping shipwreck: but after a little it turned to the south-west, and blowing from land to the main sea, Antony sailed in safety, with the satisfaction of seeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet scattered along the coast. The storm had driven their ships upon the rocks, and many of them went to pieces. Antony made his advantage of this disaster; for he took several prisoners and a considerable booty. He likewise made himself master of the town of Lissus; and by the seasonable arrival of his reinforcement, the affairs of Cæsar wore a more promising aspect.

Antony distinguished himself in every battle that was fought. Twice he stopped the army in its flight, brought them back to the charge, and gained the victory; so that, in point of military reputation, he was inferior only to Cæsar. What opinion Cæsar had of his abilities appeared in the last decisive battle of Pharsalia. He led the right wing himself, and gave the left to Antony, as to the ablest of his officers. After this battle, Cæsar being appointed dictator, went in pursuit of Pompey, and sent Antony to Rome in character of general of the horse. This officer is next in power to the dictator, and in his absence he commands alone; for, after the election of a dic-

tator, all other magistrates, the tribunes only excepted, are divested of their authority.

Dolabella, one of the tribunes, a young man who was fond of innovations, proposed a law for abolishing debts, and solicited his friend Antony, who was ever ready to gratify the people, to join him in this measure. On the other hand, Asinius and Trebellius dissuaded him from it. Antony happened, at this time, to suspect a criminal connexion between Dolabella and his wife, whom, on that account, he dismissed, though she was his first cousin, and daughter to Caius Antonius, who had been colleague with Cicero. In consequence of this, he joined Asinius, and opposed Dolabella. The latter had taken possession of the *forum*, with a design to pass his law by force; and Antony being ordered by the senate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed several of his men, and lost some of his own.

By this action he forfeited the favour of the people: but this was not the only thing that rendered him obnoxious; for men of sense and virtue, as Cicero observes, could not but condemn his nocturnal revels, his enormous extravagance, his scandalous lewdness, his sleeping in the day, his walks to carry off the qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. It is said, that after drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias the player, he was summoned in the morning upon business to the *forum*, when, through a little too much repletion, he was unfortunate enough, in the presence of the people, to return part of his evening fare by the way it had entered, and one of his friends received it in his gown. Sergius the player had the greatest interest with him; and Cytheris*, a lady of the same profession, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excursions; and her equipage was by no means inferior to his mother's. The people were offended at the pomp of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; at his erecting tents on the road, by groves and rivers, for the most luxurious dinners; at his chariots drawn by lions; and at his lodging ladies of pleasure, and female musicians, in the houses of modest and sober people. This dissatisfaction at the conduct of Antony could not but be increased by the comparative view of Cæsar. While the latter was supporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himself in all the dissipation of luxury, and, by means of his delegated power, insulting the citizens.

This conduct occasioned a variety of disturbances in Rome, and gave the soldiers an opportunity to abuse and plunder the people. Therefore, when Cæsar returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; and being created consul the third time, he took Lepidus, and not

* Cic. Ep ad Att. l. x. ep. 10.

Antony, for his colleague. Antony purchased Pompey's house; but, when he was required to make the payment, he expressed himself in very angry terms; and this, he tells us, was the reason why he would not go with Cæsar into Africa. His former services he thought insufficiently repaid. Cæsar, however, by his disapprobation of Antony's conduct, seems to have thrown some restraint on his dissolute manner of life. He now took it into his head to marry, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the seditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domestic employments, nor even contented with ruling her husband as a private man. Fulvia's ambition was to govern those that governed, and to command the leaders of armies. It was to Fulvia, therefore, that Cleopatra was obliged for teaching Antony due submission to female authority. He had gone through such a course of discipline as made him perfectly tractable when he came into her hands.

He endeavoured, however, to amuse the violent spirit of Fulvia by many whimsical and pleasant follies. When Cæsar, after his success in Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony, amongst others, went to meet him; but a report prevailing that Cæsar was killed, and that the enemy was marching into Italy, he returned immediately to Rome, and, in the disguise of a slave, went to his house by night, pretending that he had letters from Antony to Fulvia. He was introduced to her with his head muffled up; and, before she received the letter, she asked, with impatience, if Antony were well? He presented the letter to her in silence; and, while she was opening it, he threw his arms round her neck, and kissed her. We mention this as one instance, out of many, of his pleasantries.

When Cæsar returned from Spain, most of the principal citizens went some days journey to meet him; but Antony met with the most distingushed reception, and had the honour to ride with Cæsar in the same chariot. After them came Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, the son of Cæsar's niece, who was afterwards called Augustus Cæsar, and for many years was emperor of Rome. Cæsar, being created consul for the fifth time, chose Antony for his colleague; but as he intended to quit the consulship in favour of Dolabella, he acquainted the senate with his resolution. Antony, notwithstanding, opposed this measure, and loaded Dolabella with the most flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to return the abuse; and Cæsar, offended at their indecent behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again proposed, Antony insisted that the omens from the flight of birds were against the measure*. Thus Cæsar was obliged to give up Dolabella, who was not a little mortified by his disappoint-

* He had this power by virtue of his office as augur.

ment. It appears, however, that Cæsar had as little regard for Dolabella as he had for Antony: for when both were accused of designs against him, he said, contemptuously enough, "It is not these fat sleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and the lean:" by which he meant Brutus and Cassius, who afterwards put him to death. Antony, without intending it, gave them a pretence for that undertaking. When the Romans were celebrating the Lupercalia, Cæsar, in a triumphal habit, sat on the *rostrum* to see the race. On this occasion, many of the young nobility, and the magistracy, anointed with oil, and having white thongs in their hands, run about and strike, as in sport, every one they meet. Antony was of the number; but, regardless of the ceremonies of the institution, he took a garland of laurel, and, wreathing it in a diadem, ran to the *rostrum*, where, being lifted up by his companions, he would have placed it on the head of Cæsar, intimating thereby the conveyance of regal power. Cæsar, however, seemed to decline the offer, and was therefore applauded by the people. Antony persisted in his design; and for some time there was a contest between them; while he that offered the diadem had the applause of his friends, and he that refused it the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is singular enough, while the Romans endured every thing that regal power could impose, they dreaded the name of king as destructive of their liberty. Cæsar was much concerned at this transaction, and, uncovering his neck, he offered his life to any one that would take it. At length the diadem was placed on one of his statues, but the tribunes took it off*; upon which the people followed them home with great acclamations. Afterwards, however, Cæsar showed that he resented this, by turning those tribunes out of office. The enterprise of Brutus and Cassius derived strength and encouragement from these circumstances. To the rest of their friends, whom they had selected for the purpose, they wanted to draw over Antony. Trebonius only objected to him. He informed them that, in their journey to meet Cæsar, he had been generally with him; that he had sounded him on this business by hints, which, though cautious, were intelligible; and that he always expressed his disapprobation, though he never betrayed the secret.—Upon this it was proposed that Antony should fall at the time with Cæsar; but Brutus opposed it. An action undertaken in support of justice and the laws, he very properly thought, should have nothing unjust attending it. Of Antony, however, they were afraid, both in

* Tribuni plebis, Epidius Marcellus, cæsetiusque Flavus coronæ faciem detrahi, hominemque duci in vincula jussissent, dolens seu parum prosperè motam regni mentionem, sive, ut ferebat, ereptam sibi gloriam recusandi, tribunos graviter increpitos potestate privavit.—Suet.

respect of his personal valour and the influence of his office; and it was agreed, that when Cæsar was in the house, and they were on the point of executing their purpose, Antony should be amused without by some pretended discourse of business.

When, in consequence of these measures, Cæsar was slain, Antony absconded in the disguise of a slave; but after he found that the conspirators were assembled in the capitol, and had no further designs of massacre, he invited them to come down, and sent his son to them as a hostage. That night Crassus supped with him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he assembled the senate, when he proposed that an act of amnesty should be passed, and that provinces should be assigned to Brutus and Cassius. The senate confirmed this, and at the same time ratified the acts of Cæsar. Thus Antony acquitted himself in this difficult affair with the highest reputation; and by saving Rome from a civil war, he proved himself a very able and valuable politician. But the intoxication of glory drew him off from these wise and moderate counsels; and, from his influence with the people, he felt that, if Brutus were borne down, he should be the first man in Rome. With this view, when Cæsar's body was exposed in the *forum*, he undertook the customary funeral oration; and when he found the people affected with his encomiums on the deceased, he endeavoured still more to excite their compassion by all that was pitiable or aggravating in the massacre. For this purpose, in the close of his oration, he took the robe from the dead body, and held it up to them, bloody as it was, and pierced through with weapons; nor did he hesitate, at the same time, to call the perpetrators of the deed villains and murderers. This had such an effect upon the people, that they immediately tore up the benches and the tables in the *forum*, to make a pile for the body. After they had duly discharged the funeral rites, they snatched the burning brands from the pile, and went to attack the houses of the conspirators.

Brutus and his party now left the city, and Cæsar's friends joined Antony. Calpurnia, the relict of Cæsar, intrusted him with her treasure, which amounted to four thousand talents. All Cæsar's papers, which contained a particular account of his designs, were likewise delivered up to him. Of these he made a very ingenious use; for, by inserting in them what names he thought proper, he made some of his friends magistrates, and others senators; some he recalled from exile, and others he dismissed from prison, on pretence that all these things were so ordered by Cæsar. The people that were thus favoured, the Romans called *Charonites**; because, to support their

* The slaves who were enfranchised by the last will of their masters were likewise called *Charonites*.

title, they had recourse to the registers of the dead. The power of Antony, in short, was absolute. He was consul himself, his brother Caius was prætor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the state of affairs, when Octavius, who was the son of Cæsar's niece, and appointed his heir by will, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he resided when his uncle was killed. He first visited Antony as the friend of his uncle, and spoke to him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy of seventy-five drachmas left to every Roman citizen. Antony paid little regard to him at first; and told him, it would be madness for an unexperienced young man, without friends, to take upon him so important an office as that of being executor to Cæsar.

Octavius, however, was not thus repulsed. He still insisted on the money; and Antony, on the other hand, did every thing to mortify and affront him. He opposed him in his application for the tribuneship; and when he made use of the golden chair, which had been granted by the senate to his uncle*, he threatened that, unless he desisted to solicit the people, he would commit him to prison. But when Octavius joined Cicero, and the rest of Antony's enemies, and by their means obtained an interest in the senate; when he continued to pay his court to the people, and drew the veteran soldiers from their quarters, Antony thought it was time to accommodate; and for this purpose gave him a meeting in the capitol.

An accommodation took place, but it was soon destroyed; for that night Antony dreamed that his right hand was thunderstruck; and, a few days after he was informed that Octavius had a design on his life. The latter would have justified himself, but was not believed; so that, of course, the breach became as wide as ever. They now went immediately over Italy, and endeavoured to be beforehand with each other in securing, by rewards and promises, the old troops that were in different quarters, and such legions as were still on foot.

Cicero, who had then considerable influence in the city, incensed the people against Antony, and prevailed on the senate to declare him a public enemy; to send the rods and the rest of the prætorial ensigns to young Cæsar, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa, the consuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The two armies engaged near Modena, and Cæsar was present at the battle. Both the consuls were slain; but Antony was defeated. In his flight he was reduced to great extremities, particularly by famine. Distress, however, was to him a school of moral improvement; and Antony, in adversity, was almost a man of virtue. Indeed, it is common for

* The senate had decreed to Cæsar the privilege of using a golden chair, adorned with a crown of gold and precious stones in all the theatres.—*Dion.* l. xliv.

men under misfortunes to have a clear idea of their duty; but a change of conduct is not always the consequence. On such occasions, they too often fall back into their former manners, through the inactivity of reason, and infirmity of mind. But Antony was even a pattern for his soldiers. From all the varieties of luxurious living, he came with readiness to drink a little stinking water, and to feed on the wild fruits and roots of the desert; nay, it is said, that they ate the very bark of the trees, and that, in passing the Alps, they fed on the creatures that had never been accounted human food.

Antony's design was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other side of the Alps; and he had a reasonable prospect of his friendship, from the good offices he had done him with Julius Cæsar. When he came within a small distance of him, he encamped; but, receiving no encouragement, he resolved to hazard all upon a single cast. His hair was uncombed, and his beard, which he had not shaven since his defeat, was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to the camp of Lepidus, and addressed himself to the soldiers. While some were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus, afraid of the consequence, ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might no longer be heard. This, however, contributed to heighten the compassion of the soldiers; so that they sent Lælius and Clodius in the dress of those ladies who hired out their favours to the army, to assure Antony, that if he had resolution enough to attack the camp of Lepidus, he would meet with many who were not only ready to receive him, but, if he should desire it, to kill Lepidus. Antony would not suffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus; but, the day following, at the head of his troops, he crossed the river which lay between the two camps, and had the satisfaction to see Lepidus's soldiers all the while stretching out their hands to him, and making way through the intrenchments.

When he had possessed himself of the camp of Lepidus, he treated him with great humanity. He saluted him by the name of father; and though, in reality, every thing was in his own power, he secured to him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought over Munatius Plancus, who was at the head of a considerable force at no great distance. Thus Antony was once more very powerful, and returned into Italy with seventeen entire legions of foot, and ten thousand horse. Besides these, he left six legions as a garrison in Gaul, under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called *Cotylon**.

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was to restore the

* From a half pint bumper; a Greek measure so called.

liberties of the commonwealth, soon abandoned him, and came to an accommodation with Antony. They met, together with Lepidus, in a small river-island*, where the conference lasted three days. The empire of the world was divided amongst them like a paternal inheritance; and thus they found no difficulty in settling: but whom they should kill, and whom they should spare, it was not so easy to adjust, while each was for saving his respective friends, and putting to death his enemies. At length their resentment against the latter overcame their kindness for the former. Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony; and Antony sacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæsar to Octavius; while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to death his own brother Paulus: though others say, that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them†, though they had required him to put him to death himself. I believe there never was any thing so atrocious, or so execrably savage, as this commerce of murder: for while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the same action murdered at once the friend and the enemy; and the destruction of the former was still more horrible, because it had not even resentment for its apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army desired it might be confirmed by some alliance; and Cæsar, therefore, was to marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As soon as this was determined, they marked down such as they intended to put to death, the number of which amounted to three hundred. When Cicero was slain, Antony ordered his head, and the hand with which he wrote his Philippics, to be cut off; and, when they were presented to him, he laughed, and exulted at the sight. After he was satiated with looking upon them, he ordered them to be placed on the *rostra* in the *forum*. But this insult on the dead was, in fact, an abuse of his own good fortune, and of the power it had placed in his hands‡. When his uncle Lucius Cæsar was pursued by his murderers, he fled for refuge to his sister; and when the pursuers had broken into the house, and were forcing their way into his chamber, she placed herself at the door, and stretching forth her hands, she cried, "You shall not kill Lucius Cæsar till you have first killed me, the mother of your general." By this means she saved her brother.

This triumvirate was very odious to the Romans; but Antony bore the greater blame; for he was not only older than Cæsar, and more

* In the Rhine, not far from Bologna.

† The former English translator ought not to have omitted this, because it somewhat softens, at least, the character of Lepidus, who was certainly the least execrable villain of the three.

‡ Were there any circumstance in Antony's life that could be esteemed an instance of true magnanimity, the total want of that virtue in this case would prove that such a circumstance was merely accidental.

powerful than Lepidus, but, when he was no longer under difficulties, he fell back into the former irregularities of his life. His abandoned and dissolute manners were the more obnoxious to the people by his living in the house of Pompey the Great, a man no less distinguished by his temperance and modesty than by the honour of three triumphs. They were mortified to see those doors shut with insolence against magistrates, generals, and ambassadors, while they were open to players, jugglers, and sottish sycophants, on whom he spent the greatest part of those treasures he had amassed by rapine. Indeed, the triumvirate were by no means scrupulous about the manner in which they procured their wealth. They seized and sold the estates of those who had been proscribed, and, by false accusations, defrauded their widows and orphans: they burdened the people with insupportable impositions; and being informed that large sums of money, the property both of strangers and citizens, were deposited in the hands of the vestals, they took them away by violence. When Cæsar found that Antony's covetousness was as boundless as his prodigality, he demanded a division of the treasure. The army, too, was divided.—Antony and Cæsar went into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius, and the government of Rome was left to Lepidus.

When they had encamped in sight of the enemy, Antony opposite to Cassius, and Cæsar to Brutus, Cæsar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony's efforts were still successful. In the first engagement Cæsar was defeated by Brutus, his camp was taken, and he narrowly escaped by flight; though, in his commentaries, he tells us that, on account of a dream which happened to one of his friends, he had withdrawn before the battle*. Cassius was defeated by Antony; and yet there are those, too, who say, that Antony was not present at the battle, but only joined in the pursuit afterwards. As Cassius knew nothing of the success of Brutus, he was killed, at his own earnest entreaty, by his freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought soon after, in which Brutus was defeated, and, in consequence of that, slew himself. Cæsar happened at that time to be sick, and the honour of this victory likewise of course fell to Antony. As he stood over the body of Brutus, he slightly reproached him for the death of his brother Caius, whom, in revenge for the death of Cicero, Brutus had slain in Macedonia. It appeared, however, that Antony did not impute the death of Caius so much to Brutus as to Hortensius; for he ordered the latter to be slain upon his brother's tomb. He threw his purple robe over the body of Brutus, and ordered one of his freedmen to do the honours of his funeral. When he was afterwards informed that he had not burnt the robe with the body, and that he

* See the life of Brutus.

had retained part of the money which was to be expended on the ceremony, he commanded him to be slain. After this victory Cæsar was conveyed to Rome; and it was expected that his distemper would put an end to his life. Antony, having traversed some of the provinces of Asia for the purpose of raising money, passed with a large army into Greece. Contributions, indeed, were absolutely necessary, when a gratuity of five thousand drachmas had been promised to every private man.

Antony's behaviour was at first very acceptable to the Grecians. He attended the disputes of their logicians, their public diversions, and religious ceremonies. He was mild in the administration of justice, and affected to be called the friend of Greece; but particularly the friend of Athens, to which he made considerable presents. The Megarensians, vying with the Athenians in exhibiting something curious, invited him to see their senate-house; and when they asked him how he liked it, he told them it was *little* and *ruinous*. He took the dimensions of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he had intended to repair it; and indeed he promised as much to the senate.

But when, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he once more passed into Asia; when he had enriched himself with the wealth of the country; when his house was the resort of obsequious kings, and queens contending for his favour by their beauty and munificence; then, whilst Cæsar was harassed with seditions at Rome, Antony once more gave up his soul to luxury, and fell into all the dissipations of his former life. The Anaenores and the Zúthi, the harpers and pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Asiatic drama, who far outdid in buffoonery the poor wretches of Italy; these were the people of the court, the folks that carried all before them. In short, all was riot and disorder; and Asia, in some measure, resembled the city mentioned by Sophocles*, that was at once filled with the perfumes of sacrifices, songs, and groans.

When Antony entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchanals, and men and boys habited like Pan and the Satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be seen through the whole city but ivy crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus.

.... Bacchus! ever kind and free!

And such, indeed, he was to some; but to others he was savage and severe. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them on sycophants and parasites. Many were represented to be dead, who were still living; and commissions were given to his knaves for seizing their estates. He gave his cook the estate of a

* Sophocles Œd. So. 1.

Magnesian citizen for dressing one supper to his taste: but when he laid a double impost on Asia, Hybrias, the agent for the people, told him, with a pleasantry that was agreeable to his humour, that "if he doubled the taxes, he ought to double the seasons too, and supply the people with two summers and two winters." He added, at the same time, with a little more asperity, that "as Asia had already raised two hundred thousand talents, if he had not received it, he should demand it of those who had; but," said he, "if you received it, and yet have it not, we are undone." This touched him sensibly for he was ignorant of many things that were transacted under his authority; not that he was indolent, but unsuspecting. He had simplicity in his nature, without much penetration: but when he found that faults had been committed, he expressed the greatest concern and acknowledgment to the sufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and severe in his punishments; but the excess was rather in the former than in the latter. The insulting raillery of his conversation carried its remedy along with it; for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and gave and took with the same good humour. This, however, had a bad effect on his affairs. He imagined that those who treated him with freedom in conversation would not be insincere in business. He did not perceive that his sycophants were artful in their freedom; that they used it as a kind of poignant sauce to prevent the satiety of flattery; and that, by taking these liberties with him at table, they knew well, that when they complied with his opinions in business, he would not think it the effect of complaisance but a conviction of his superior judgment.

Such was the frail, the flexible Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came in to the completion of his ruin. This awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty passion, and totally extinguished the gleam of remaining virtue. It began in this manner: when he first set out on his expedition against the Parthians, he sent orders to Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia, that she might answer some accusations which had been laid against her of assisting Cassius in the war. Dellius who went on this message, no sooner observed the beauty and address of Cleopatra, than he concluded that such a woman, far from having any thing to apprehend from the resentment of Antony, would certainly have great influence over him. He therefore paid his court to the amiable Egyptian, and solicited her to go, as Homer says, "In her best attire*," into Cilicia; assuring her that she had nothing to fear from Antony, who was the most courtly general in the world.—Induced by his invitation, and in the confidence of that beauty which

* Hom. Il. xiv. l. 162. It is thus that Juno proposes to meet Jupiter, when she has a particular design of inspiring him with love,

had before touched the hearts of Cæsar and young Pompey, she entertained no doubt of the conquest of Antony. When Cæsar and Pompey had her favours, she was young and unexperienced; but she was to meet Antony at an age when beauty, in its full perfection, called in the maturity of the understanding to its aid. Prepared, therefore, with such treasures, ornaments, and presents, as were suitable to the dignity and affluence of her kingdom, but chiefly relying on her personal charms, she set off for Cilicia.

Though she had received many pressing letters of invitation from Antony and his friends, she held him in such contempt, that she by no means took the most expeditious method of travelling. She sailed along the river Cydnus in a most magnificent galley. The stern was covered with gold, the sails were of purple, and the oars were silver. These, in their motion, kept time to the music of flutes, and pipes, and harps. The queen, in the dress and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold, of the most exquisite workmanship; while boys, like painted Cupids, stood fanning her on each side of the sofa. Her maids were of the most distinguished beauty, and habited like the Nereides and the Graces, assisted in the steerage and conduct of the vessel. The fragrance of burning incense was diffused along the shores, which were covered with multitudes of people. Some followed the procession, and such numbers went down from the city to see it, that Antony was at last left alone on the tribunal. A rumour was soon spread, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus, for the benefit of Asia. Antony sent to invite her to supper; but she thought it his duty to wait upon her, and to show his politeness on her arrival, he complied. He was astonished at the magnificence of the preparations, but particularly at that multitude of lights which were raised or let down together, and disposed in such a variety of square and circular figures, that they afforded one of the most pleasing spectacles that has been recorded in history. The day following, Antony invited her to sup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment: but he was soon convinced that he came short of her in both, and was the first to ridicule the meanness and vulgarity of his treat. As she found that Antony's humour savoured more of the camp than of the court, she fell into the same coarse vein, and played upon him without the least reserve: such was the variety of her powers in conversation. Her beauty, it is said, was neither astonishing nor inimitable; but it derived a force from her wit, and her fascinating manner, which was absolutely irresistible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had the same variety of modulation as an instrument of many strings. She spoke most languages; and

there were but few of the foreign ambassadors whom she answered by an interpreter. She gave audience herself to the Ethiopians, the Troglodites, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians.—Nor were these all the languages she understood, though the kings of Egypt, her predecessors, could hardly ever attain to the Egyptian; and some of them forgot even their original Macedonian.

Antony was so wholly engrossed with her charms, that while his wife Fulvia was maintaining his interest at Rome against Cæsar, and the Parthian forces, assembled under the conduct of Labienus in Mesopotamia, were ready to enter Syria, she led her amorous captive in triumph to Alexandria. There the veteran warrior fell into every idle excess of puerile amusement, and offered at *the shrine of luxury*, what Antipho calls the greatest of all sacrifices, *the sacrifice of time*. This mode of life they called *the inimitable*. They visited each other alternately every day; and the profusion of their entertainments is almost incredible. Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time pursuing his studies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias, that being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, he was invited to see the preparations for supper. When he came into the kitchen, besides an infinite variety of other provisions, he observed eight wild boars roasting whole, and expressed his surprise at the number of the company for whom this enormous provision must have been made. The cook laughed, and said that the company did not exceed twelve; but that, as every dish was to be roasted to a single turn, and as Antony was uncertain as to the time when he would sup, particularly if an extraordinary bottle, or an extraordinary vein of conversation, was going round, it was necessary to have a succession of suppers. Philotas added, that being afterwards in the service of Antony's eldest son, by Fulvia, he was admitted to sup with him when he did not sup with his father; and it once happened, that when another physician at table had tired the company with his noise and impertinence, he silenced him with the following sophism: *There are some degrees of a fever in which cold water is good for a man: every man who has a fever has it in some degree; and therefore cold water is good for every man in a fever.* The impertinent was struck dumb with this syllogism; and Antony's son, who laughed at his distress, to reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to a magnificent sideboard of plate, said, "All that, Philotas, is yours." Philotas acknowledged the kind offer; but thought it too much for such a boy to give. And afterwards, when a servant brought the plate to him in a chest, that he might put his seal upon it, he refused, and indeed was afraid to accept it; upon which the servant said, "What are you afraid of? Do not you consider that

this is a present from the son of Antony, who could easily give you its weight in gold? However, I would recommend it to you to take the value of it in money: in this plate there may be some curious pieces of ancient workmanship, that Antony may set a value on."— Such are the anecdotes which my grandfather told me he had from Philotas.

Cleopatra was not limited to Plato's four kinds of flattery*. She had an infinite variety of it. Whether Antony were in the gay or the serious humour, still she had something ready for his amusement. She was with him night and day. She gamed, she drank, she hunted, she reviewed with him. In his night rambles, when he was reconnoitring the doors and windows of the citizens, and throwing out his jests upon them, she attended him in the habit of a servant, which he also on such occasions affected to wear. From these expeditions he frequently returned a sufferer, both in person and character: but though some of the Alexandrians were displeased with this whimsical humour, others enjoyed it, and said, "That Antony presented his comic parts in Alexandria, and reserved the tragic for Rome." To mention all his follies would be too trifling; but his fishing story must not be omitted. He was a-fishing one day with Cleopatra, and had ill-success, which, in the presence of his mistress, he looked upon as a disgrace; he therefore ordered one of the assistants to dive, and put on his hook such as had been taken before. This scheme he put in practice three or four times, and Cleopatra perceived it. She affected, however, to be surprised at his success; expressed her wonder to the people about her; and, the day following, invited them to see fresh proofs of it. When the day following came, the vessel was crowded with people; and as soon as Antony let down his line, she ordered one of her divers immediately to put a salt fish on his hook. When Antony found he had caught his fish, he drew up his line; and this, as may be supposed, occasioned no small mirth amongst the spectators. "Go, general!" said Cleopatra, "leave fishing to us petty princes of Pharos and Canopus; your game is cities, kingdoms, and provinces†."

In the midst of these scenes of festivity and dissipation, Antony received two unfavourable messages, one from Rome, that his wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, after long dissentions between themselves, had joined to oppose Cæsar, but were overpowered, and obliged to fly out of Italy. The other informed him, that Labienus

* Plato, Gorgias.

† This expression of Cleopatra's has something of the same turn with one in Virgil:

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra!
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

and the Parthians had reduced Asia from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia. It was with difficulty that even this roused him from his lethargy: but waking at length, and, literally, waking from a fit of intoxication, he set out against the Parthians, and proceeded as far as Phœnicia. However, upon the receipt of some very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his course towards Italy, with two hundred ships. Such of his friends as had fled from thence he received; and from these he learned that Fulvia had been the principal cause of the disturbances in Rome. Her disposition had a natural tendency to violence and discord; and on this occasion it was abetted by jealousy; for she expected that the disorders of Italy would call Antony from the arms of Cleopatra. That unhappy woman died at Sicyon, in her progress to meet her husband. This event opened an opportunity for a reconciliation with Cæsar: for when Antony came to Italy, and Cæsar expressed no resentment against him, but threw the whole blame on Fulvia, their respective friends interfered, and brought them to an accommodation. The east, within the boundaries of the Ionian sea, was given to Antony; the western provinces to Cæsar; and Lepidus had Africa. When they did not accept of the consulship themselves, they were to dispose of it as they thought proper, in their turns.

After these matters were settled, they thought of means to secure this union, which fortune had set on foot. Cæsar had a sister older than himself, named Octavia, but they had different mothers. The mother of Octavia was Ancaria, Cæsar's mother was Attia. He had a great affection for this sister, for she was a woman of extraordinary merit. She had been already married to Caius Marcellus, but a little before this had buried her husband; and as Antony had lost his wife, there was an opening for a fresh union. His connexion with Cleopatra he did not affect to deny, but he absolutely denied that he was married to her; and in this circumstance, indeed, his prudence prevailed over his love. His marriage with Octavia was universally wished. It was the general hope, that a woman of her beauty and distinguished virtues would acquire such an influence over Antony as might in the end be salutary to the state. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded to solemnize the nuptials at Rome; and the law which permits no widow to marry till the expiration of ten months after the decease of her husband, was dispensed with by the senate.

Sextus, the son of Pompey, who was then in possession of Sicily, had not only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the sea with such a number of piratical vessels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer safe for other ships to

pass. He had been favourable, notwithstanding, to Antony; for he had given a kind reception to his mother and his wife Fulvia, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It was judged proper, therefore, to accommodate matters with him; and for this purpose, a meeting was held at the promontory of Misenum, by the mole that runs into the sea. Pompey was attended by his fleet; Antony and Cæsar by an army of foot. At this interview it was settled, that Pompey should keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that he should clear the sea of pirates, and send a certain quantity of corn to Rome. When these things were determined, they mutually invited each other to supper; but it fell to the lot of Pompey to give the first entertainment. When Antony asked him where they should sup? "There," said he, pointing to the admiral galley of six oars, "that is the only patrimonial mansion-house that is left to Pompey;" and it implied, at the same time, a sarcasm on Antony, who was then in possession of his father's house. However, he entertained them very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory to the ship that rode at anchor. During the entertainment, while the raillery ran briskly on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas came to Pompey and told him secretly, that if he would permit him to cut the cable, he would not only make him master of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, answered, that he should have done it without consulting him.—"We must now let it alone," said he, "for I cannot break my oath of treaty." The compliment of the entertainment was returned by his guests, and he then retired to Sicily.

Antony, after the accommodation, sent Ventidius into Asia, to stop the progress of the Parthians. All matters of public administration were conducted with the greatest harmony between him and Octavius; and in compliment to the latter, he took upon himself the office of high-priest to Cæsar the dictator. But, alas! in their contests at play, Cæsar was generally superior, and Antony was mortified. He had in his house, a fortune-telling gipsey, who was skilled in the calculation of nativities. This man, either to oblige Cleopatra, or following the investigation of truth, told Antony that the star of his fortune, however glorious in itself, was eclipsed and obscured by Cæsar's, and advised him, by all means, to keep at the greatest distance from that young man. "The genius of your life," said he, "is afraid of his: when it is alone, its port is erect and fearless; when his approaches, it is dejected and depressed." Indeed there were many circumstances that seemed to justify the conjurer's doctrine; for in every kind of play, whether they cast lots or cast the die, Antony was still the loser. In their cock-fights, and quail-fights, it

was still Cæsar's cock, and Cæsar's quail. These things co-operating with the conjurer's observations, had such an effect on Antony, that he gave up the management of his domestic affairs to Cæsar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time brought him a daughter, he took with him into Greece. He wintered in Athens, and there he learnt that his affairs in Asia, under Ventidius, were successful; that the Parthians were routed, and that Labienus and Pharnapates, the ablest generals of Orodes, fell in the battle. In honour of this victory, he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition of the gymnastic games, in which he took the master's part himself. The robes and ensigns of the general were laid aside; the rods, the cloke, and the slippers of the Gymnasiarch were assumed, and when the combatants had fought sufficiently, he parted them himself.

When he went to the war, he took with him a crown of the sacred olive; and, by the direction of some oracle or other, a vessel of water filled out of the Clepsydra*. In the mean time Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, made an incursion into Syria, but was routed by Ventidius in Cyrrhestica, and, with the greatest part of his army, fell in the battle. This celebrated victory made ample amends for the defeat of Crassus. The Parthians had now been thrice conquered, and were confined within the bounds of Media and Mesopotamia. Ventidius would not pursue the Parthians any farther, for fear of exciting the envy of Antony; he therefore turned his arms against the revolters, and brought them back to their duty. Amongst these was Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whom he besieged in the city of Samosata. That prince at first offered to pay a thousand talents, and to submit himself to the Roman empire; upon which Ventidius told him that he must send proposals to Antony, for he was then at no great distance; and he had not commissioned Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus, that something at least might be done by himself. But while the siege was thus prolonged, and the people of Samosata despaired of obtaining terms, that despair produced a degree of courage which defeated every effort of the besiegers; and Antony was at last reduced to the disgraceful necessity of accepting three hundred talents.

After he had done some little towards settling the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens, and sent Ventidius to Rome, to enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. He was the only general that ever triumphed over the Parthians. His birth was obscure, but his

* The Clepsydra was a fountain belonging to the citadel at Athens; so called because it was sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty.

connexions with Antony brought him into great appointments; and, by making the best use of them, he confirmed what was said of Antony and Octavius Cæsar, that they were more successful by their lieutenants than when they commanded in person. This observation, with regard to Antony in particular, might be justified by the success of Sossius and Canidius: the former had done great things in Syria; and the latter, whom he left in Armenia, reduced the whole country, and, after defeating the kings of Iberia and Albania, penetrated as far as Mount Caucasus, and spread the terror of Antony's name and power through those barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing some disagreeable reports concerning the designs or the conduct of Cæsar, he sailed for Italy with a fleet of three hundred ships; and being refused the harbour of Brundusium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed on by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and was then pregnant a third time, to send her to her brother; and she was fortunate enough to meet him on her journey, attended by his two friends, Mæcenas and Agrippa. In conference with him, she entreated him to consider the peculiarity of her situation, and not to make the happiest woman in the world the most unfortunate. "The eyes of all," said she, "are necessarily turned on me, who am the wife of Antony, and the sister of Cæsar; and should these chiefs of the empire, misled by hasty counsels, involve the whole in war, whatever may be the event, it will be unhappy for me." Cæsar was softened by the entreaties of his sister, and proceeded with peaceable views to Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general satisfaction to the people. They were pleased to see such an army on the shore, and such a fleet in the harbour, in the mutual disposition for peace, and nothing but compliments and expressions of kindness passing between the generals. Antony first invited Cæsar to sup with him, and, in compliment to Octavia, he accepted the invitation. At length it was agreed that Cæsar should give up to Antony two legions for the Parthian service; and that Antony, in return, should leave a hundred armed galleys with Cæsar. Octavia, moreover, engaged Antony to give up twenty light ships to Cæsar, and procured from her brother a thousand foot for her husband. Matters being thus accommodated, Cæsar went to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving under his protection his wife and his children, both by the present and the former marriage, sailed for Asia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra, which had so long been dormant in his heart, and which better counsels seemed totally to have suppressed, revived again, and took possession of his

soul. The unruly steed, to which Plato* compares certain passions, once more broke loose, and in spite of honour, interest, and prudence, Antony sent Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into Syria.

Upon her arrival, he made her the most magnificent presents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlosyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, that district of Judea which produces the balm, and that part of Arabia Nabathea which lies upon the ocean. These extravagant gifts were disagreeable to the Romans: for though he had often conferred on private persons considerable governments and kingdoms; though he had deprived many princes of their dominions, and beheaded Antigonus of Judea, the first king that ever suffered in such a manner†; yet nothing so much disturbed the Romans as his enormous profusion in favour of that woman. Nor were they less offended at his giving the surnames of the Sun and Moon to the twins he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to give a fair appearance to the most disreputable actions. The greatness of the Roman empire, he said, appeared more in giving than in receiving kingdoms; and that it was proper for persons of high birth and station to extend and secure their nobility, by leaving children and successors born of different princes; that his ancestor Hercules trusted not to the fertility of one woman, as if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon; but, by various connexions with the sex, became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was slain by his son Phraates‡, who took possession of the kingdom, many of the Parthian chiefs fled to Antony; and, among the rest, Moneses, a man of great dignity and power. Antony thinking that Moneses, in his fortune, resembled Themistocles, and comparing his own wealth and magnificence to that of the kings of Persia, gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierampolis, which was before called Bombyce. But when Phraates sent Moneses assurances of his safety, he readily dismissed him. On this occasion he formed a scheme to deceive Phraates. He pretended a disposition for peace, and required only that the Roman standards and ensigns which had been taken at the defeat of Crassus, and such of the

* Plutarch here alludes to that passage in Plato, where he compares the soul to a winged chariot with two horses and a charioteer. One of these horses is mischievous and unruly; the other gentle and tractable.—The charioteer is Reason; the unruly horse denotes the concupiscent, and the tractable horse the irascible part.—*Plato, Phæd.*

† Dion tells us that Antigonus was first tied to a stake and whipped, and that afterwards his throat was cut. Livy says, *Deligati ad palum, virgisque cæsi, et securi percussi.*

‡ The same Phraates that Horace mentions. *Redditum Cyri solio Phraatem.* Lib. iii. Ode 2.

prisoners as still survived, might be restored. He sent Cleopatra into Egypt, after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia, where, as soon as his own troops were joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. He had several princes in alliance with him, but Artavasdes, king of Armenia, was the most powerful; for he furnished six thousand horse and seven thousand foot. At this review there appeared sixty thousand Roman foot and ten thousand horse, who, though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were reckoned as Romans. The number of the allies, including the light-armed and the cavalry, amounted to thirty thousand.

This formidable armament, which struck terror into the Indians beyond Bactria, and alarmed all Asia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly useless. His impatience to return and spend the winter in her arms made him take the field too early in the season, and precipitated all his measures. As a man who is under the power of enchantment can only act as the impulse of the magic directs him, his eye was continually drawn to Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object than to conquer the world. He ought certainly to have wintered in Armenia, that he might give a proper respite and refreshment to his men, after a march of a thousand miles. In the early part of the spring he should have made himself master of Media, before the Parthian troops were drawn out of garrison: but his impatience put him upon the march, and, leaving Armenia on the left, he passed through the province of Atropatene, and laid waste the country. In his haste he left behind him the battering engines, amongst which was a ram eighty feet long, and these followed the camp on three hundred carriages. Had any damage happened to these, it would have been impossible to repair them in this upper part of Asia, where there is no timber of height or strength sufficient for the purpose. However, they were brought after him under the conduct of Statianus; and, in the mean time, he laid siege to the large city of Phraata, the residence of the king of Media's wives and children. Here he perceived his error in leaving the engines behind; for want of which he was obliged to throw up a mount against the wall; and that required considerable time and labour.

In the mean time, Phraates came up with a numerous army; and being informed that Antony had left behind him his machines, he sent a large detachment to intercept them. This party fell upon Statianus, who, with ten thousand of his men, was slain upon the spot. Many were taken prisoners, among whom was king Polemo; and the machines were seized by the enemy and destroyed.

This miscarriage greatly discouraged the army; and Artavasdes, though he had been the promoter of the war, withdrew his forces in-

despair. The Parthians, on the other hand, encouraged by their success, came up with the Romans, while they were employed in the siege, and treated them with the most insolent menaces and contempt. Antony, who knew that despair and timidity would be the consequence of inaction, led out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy-armed, and the whole body of cavalry, on the business of foraging. He was persuaded, at the same time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing them to a battle. After one day's progress, he observed the enemy in motion, and watching an opportunity to fall upon him in his march. Hereupon he put up in his camp the signal for battle; but at the same time struck his tents, as if his intention was not to fight, but to retire. Accordingly he passed the army of the barbarians, which was drawn up in form of a crescent; but he had previously given orders to the horse to charge the enemy, full speed, as soon as their ranks were within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians were struck with astonishment at the order of the Roman army, when they observed them pass at regular intervals without confusion, and brandish their pikes in silence.

When the signal was given for battle, the horse turned short, and fell with loud shouts on the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmness, though they were too close in with them for the use of their bows. But when the infantry came to the charge, their shouts, and the clashing of their arms, so frightened the enemy's horses, that they were no longer manageable; and the Parthians fled without once engaging. Antony pursued them closely, in hopes that this action would in a great measure terminate the war: but when the infantry had followed them fifty furlongs, and the cavalry at least a hundred and fifty, he found that he had not slain above eighty of the enemy, and that thirty only were taken prisoners. Thus the little advantage of their victories, and the heavy loss of their defeats, as in the recent instance of the carriages, was a fresh discouragement to the Romans.

The day following they returned with their baggage to the camp before Phraata. In their march they met with some straggling troops of the enemy, afterwards with greater parties, and at last with the whole body, which, having easily rallied, appeared like a fresh army, and harassed them in such a manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garrison, in the absence of Antony, had made a sally, and those who were left to defend the mount had quitted their post and fled. Antony, at his return, punished the fugitives by decimation; that is, he divided them into tens, and in each division put one

to death, on whom the lot happened to fall. Those that escaped had their allowance in barley instead of wheat.

Both parties now found their difficulties in the war. Antony had the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without a terrible slaughter of his men; and Phraates, who knew the temper of the Parthians, was apprehensive, that if the Romans persisted in carrying on the siege, as soon as the autumnal equinox was past, and the winter set in, he should be deserted by his army, which would not at that time endure the open field. To prevent this he had recourse to stratagem. He ordered his officers not to pursue the Romans too close when they were foraging, but to permit them to carry off provisions. He commanded them, at the same time, to compliment them on their valour, and to express his high opinion of the Roman bravery. They were instructed, likewise, as opportunity might offer, to blame the obstinacy of Antony, which exposed so many brave men to the severities of famine and a winter campaign, who must suffer of course, notwithstanding all the Parthians could do for them, while Phraates sought for nothing more than peace, though he was still defeated in his benevolent intentions.

Antony, on these reports, began to conceive hopes; but he would not offer any terms before he was satisfied whether they came originally from the king. The enemy assured him that such were the sentiments of Phraates; and, being induced to believe them, he sent some of his friends to demand the standards and the prisoners that came into their hands on the defeat of Crassus; for he thought, if he demanded nothing, it might appear that he was pleased with the privilege of retreating. The Parthian answered—That the standards and prisoners could not be restored; but that Antony, if he thought proper, was at liberty to retreat in safety.

After some few days had been spent in making up the baggage, he began his march. On this occasion, though he had the happiest eloquence in addressing his soldiers, and reconciling them to every situation and event, yet, whether it was through shame or sorrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Ænobarbus. Some of them were offended at this as an act of contempt; but the greater part understood the cause, and, pitying their general, paid him still greater attention.

Antony had determined to take his route through a plain and open country; but a certain Mardian, who was well acquainted with the practices of the Parthians, and had approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were lost, advised him to take the mountains on his right, and not to expose his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry.

Phraates, he said, amused him with fair promises, merely to draw him off from the siege; but if he would take him for his guide, he would conduct him by a way that was nearer and better furnished with necessaries. Antony deliberated some time upon this. He would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians after the truce they had agreed to; and yet he could not but approve of a way which was nearer, and which lay through an inhabited country. At last he required the necessary pledges of the Mardian's faith, which he gave in suffering himself to be bound till he should have conducted the army into Armenia. In this condition he led the Romans peaceably along for two days; but on the third, when Antony, expecting nothing less than the Parthians, was marching forward in disorderly security, the Mardian observing the mounds of a river broken down, and the waters let out into the plain where they were to pass, concluded that the Parthians had done this to retard their march, and advised Antony to be on his guard; for the enemy, he said, was at no great distance. Whilst Antony was drawing up his men, and preparing such of them as were armed with darts and slings to make a sally against the enemy, the Parthians came upon him, and by surrounding his army, harassed it on every part. The light-armed Romans, indeed, made an incursion upon them, and, galling them with their missive weapons, obliged them to retreat; but they soon returned to the charge, till a band of the Gaulish cavalry attacked and dispersed them; so that they appeared no more that day.

Antony upon this found what measures he was to take; and, covering both wings and the rear with such troops as were armed with missive weapons, his army marched in the form of a square. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but not to pursue them to any great distance. The Parthians, of course, when in four successive days they could make no considerable impression, and found themselves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiss, and, finding an excuse in the winter season, began to think of a retreat. On the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and valour, requested Antony that he would indulge him with a number of light-armed troops from the rear, together with a few horse from the front; and with these he proposed to perform some considerable exploit. These he obtained, and in repelling the exploits of the Parthians, he did not, like the rest, retreat by degrees towards the body of the army, but maintained his ground, and fought rather on the offensive than on the defensive. When the officers of the rear observed that he was separated from the rest, they sent to recal him; but he did not obey the summons. It is said, however, that Titius the quæstor turned back the standard, and inveighed a-

gainst Gallus for leading so many brave men to destruction. Gallus, on the other hand, returned his reproaches, and commanding those who were about him to stand, he made his retreat alone. Gallus had no sooner made an impression on the enemy's front than he was surrounded. In this distress he sent for assistance; and here the general officers, and Canidius, the favourite of Antony, among the rest, committed a most capital error. Instead of leading the whole army against the Parthians, as soon as one detachment was overpowered, they sent another to its support; and thus, by degrees, they would have sacrificed great part of the troops, had not Antony come hastily from the front with the heavy-armed, and urging on the third legion through the midst of the fugitives, stopped the enemy's pursuit.

In this action no fewer than three thousand were slain, and five thousand brought back wounded to the camp. Amongst the last was Gallus, who had four arrows shot through his body, and soon after died of his wounds. Antony visited all that had suffered on this unhappy occasion, and consoled them with tears of real grief and affection; while the wounded soldiers, embracing the hand of their general, entreated him not to attend to their sufferings, but to his own health and quiet. "While our general is safe, all," said they, "is well." It is certain that there was not in those days a braver or a finer army. The men were tall, stout, and able and willing to endure the greatest toils. Their respect and ready obedience to their general was wonderful.—Not a man in the army, from the first officer to the meanest soldier, but would have preferred the favour of Antony to his own life and safety. In all these respects they were at least equal to the armies of ancient Rome. A variety of causes, as we have observed, concurred to produce this: Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, his candour, his liberality and magnificence, and the familiar pleasantry of his conversation. These were the general causes of the affection he found in his army; and, on this particular occasion, his sympathizing with the wounded, and attending to their wants, made them totally forget their sufferings.

The Parthians, who had before begun to languish in their operations, were so much elevated with this advantage, and held the Romans in such contempt, that they even spent the night by their camp, in hopes of seizing the baggage while they deserted their tents. At break of day, numbers more came up, to the amount, as it is said, of forty thousand horse; for the Parthian king had sent even his body-guard, so confident was he of absolute victory; as to himself, he never was present at any engagement.

Antony, being now to address his soldiers, called for mourning apparel, that his speech might be more affecting; but, as his friends

would not permit this, he appeared in his general's robe. Those that had been victorious he praised, those who had fled he reproached; the former encouraged him by every testimony of their zeal; the latter, offering themselves either to decimation or any other kind of punishment that he might think proper to inflict upon them, entreated him to forego his sorrow and concern. Upon this he raised his hands to heaven, and prayed to the gods, "That if his happier fortune was to be followed by future evil, it might affect only himself, and that his army might be safe and victorious."

The day following, they marched out in better and firmer order; and the Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but to plunder, when they saw their enemy in fresh spirits, and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely disconcerted. However, they fell upon the Romans from the adjacent declivities, and galled them with their arrows as they were marching slowly forward. Against these attacks the light-armed troops were covered by the legionaries, who, placing one knee upon the ground, received the arrows on their shields. The rank that was behind covered that which was before in a regular gradation; so that this curious fortification, which defended them from the arrows of the enemy, resembled the roof of a house.

The Parthians, who thought that the Romans rested on their knees only through weariness and fatigue, threw away their bows, and came to close engagement with their spears. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud shout, cut to pieces those who came first to the attack, and put all the rest to flight. This method of attack and defence being repeated every day, they made but little progress in their march, and were besides distressed for want of provisions; they could not forage without fighting; the corn they could get was but little, and even *that* they had not instruments to grind. The greatest part of them had been left behind; for many of their beasts of burden were dead, and many were employed in carrying the sick and wounded. It is said that a bushel of wheat, Attic measure, was sold for fifty drachmas, and a barley loaf for its weight in silver. Those who sought for roots and pot-herbs found few that they had been accustomed to eat, and in tasting unknown herbs, they met with one that brought on madness and death. He that had eaten of it immediately lost all memory and knowledge; but at the same time would busy himself in turning and moving every stone he met with, as if he was upon some very important pursuit. The camp was full of unhappy men bending to the ground, and thus digging up and removing stones; till at last they were carried off by a bilious vomiting,

when wine*, the only remedy†, was not to be had. Thus, while numbers perished, and the Parthians still continued to harass them, Antony is said frequently to have cried out, "O the ten thousand!" alluding to the army that Xenophon led from Babylon both a longer way‡, and through more numerous conflicts, and yet led in safety.

The Parthians, when they found that they could not break through the Roman ranks, nor throw them into disorder, but were frequently beaten in their attacks, began once more to treat their foragers in a peaceable manner. They showed them their bows unstrung, and informed them that they had given up the pursuit, and were going to depart. A few Medes, they said, might continue the route a day or two longer, but they would give the Romans no trouble, as their only purpose was to protect some of the remoter villages. These professions were accompanied with many kind salutations, insomuch that the Romans conceived fresh hopes and spirits; and, because the way over the mountains was said to be destitute of water, Antony once more was desirous of taking his route through the plains. When he was going to put his scheme in execution, one Mithridates, cousin to that Moneses who had formerly sought his protection, and been presented by him with three cities, came from the enemy's camp, and desired he might be permitted to speak with some person that understood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, a friend of Antony's, went out to him; and after the Parthian had informed him who he was, and attributed his coming to the kindness of Moneses, he asked him whether he did not see at a great distance before him a range of high hills? "Under those hills," said he, "the whole Parthian army lies in ambuscade for you; for at the foot of the mountains there is a spacious plain, and there, when, deluded by their artifices, you have left the way over the heights, they expect to find you. In the mountain-roads, indeed, you have thirst and toil to contend with as usual; but, should Antony take the plains, he must expect the fate of Crassus."

After he had given this information, he departed; and Antony on the occasion assembled a council, and amongst the rest his Mardian guide, who concurred with the directions of the Parthian. The way over the plains, he said, was hardly practicable, were there no enemy

* The ancients held wine to be a principal remedy against vomiting. *Prætorea vomitiones sistit.—Plin. Nat. Hist.* l. xxiii. c. 1.

† It was likewise esteemed good against many kinds of poison. *Merum est contra cicutum, Aconita, et omnia quæ refrigerant, remedium.*

‡ When Plutarch says that Xenophon led his ten thousand a longer way, he must mean to terminate Antony's march with Armenia.

to contend with. The windings were long and tedious, and difficult to be made out. The rugged way over the mountains, on the contrary, had no other difficulty in it than to endure thirst for one day. Antony, therefore, changed his mind, and ordering each man to take water along with him, took the mountain-road by night. As there was not a sufficient number of vessels, some conveyed their water in helmets, and others in bladders.

The Parthians were informed of Antony's motions, and, contrary to custom, pursued him in the night. About sunrise they came up with the rear, weary as it was with toil and watching; for that night they had travelled thirty miles. In this condition they had to contend with an unexpected enemy, and being at once obliged to fight and continue their march, their thirst became still more insupportable. At last the front came up to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but, being salt and acrimonious, it occasioned a pain in the stomach and bowels, that had been heated and inflamed with thirst. The Mardian guide had, indeed, forewarned them of this, but the poor fellows rejecting the information that was brought them, drank eagerly of the stream. Antony, running amongst the ranks, entreated them to forbear but a little. He told them that there was another river at no great distance, the water of which might be drank with safety; and that the way was so extremely rocky and uneven, that it was impossible for the enemy's cavalry to pursue. At the same time he sounded a retreat to call off such as were engaged with the enemy, and gave the signal for pitching their tents, that they might at least have the convenience of shade.

While their tents were fixing, and the Parthians, as usual, retiring from the pursuit, Mithridates came again, and Alexander being sent out to him, he advised that the Romans, after a little rest, should rise and make for the river, because the Parthians did not propose to carry their pursuit beyond it. Alexander reported this to Antony, and Mithridates being presented with as many phials and cups of gold as he could conceal in his garments, once more left the camp. Antony, while it was yet day, struck his tents, and marched unmolested by the enemy. But so dreadful a night as followed he had never passed. Those who were known to be possessed of gold or silver were slain and plundered, and the money that was conveyed in the baggage was made a prey of. Last of all, Antony's baggage was seized, and the richest bowls and tables were cut asuder and divided amongst the plunderers. The greatest terror and distraction ran through the whole army, for it was concluded that the inroads of the enemy had occasioned this flight and confusion. Antony sent for one of his freedmen called Rhamnus, and made him swear that he

would stab him and cut off his head whenever he should command him, that he might neither fall alive into the hands of the enemy, nor be known when dead. While his friends were weeping around him, the Mardian guide gave him some encouragement, by telling him that the river was at hand, as he could perceive by the cool freshness of the air that issued from it; and that, of course, the troubles of his journey would soon be at an end, as the night nearly was. At the same time he was informed that all these disorders had been occasioned by the avarice of the soldiers, and he therefore ordered the signal for encamping, that he might rectify his disordered army*.

It was now day-light, and as soon as the troops were brought to a little order, the Parthians began once more to harass the rear. The signal was therefore given to the light troops to engage, and the heavy-armed received the arrows under a roof of shields as before. The Parthians, however, durst not come any more to close engagement, and, when the front had advanced a little farther, the river was in sight. Antony first drew up the cavalry on the banks to carry over the weak and wounded. The combat was now over, and the thirsty could enjoy their water in quiet. At sight of the river the Parthians unstrung their bows, and, with the highest encomiums on their bravery, bade their enemies pass over in peace. They did so, and, after the necessary refreshments, proceeded on their march, without much confidence in the Parthian praise or professions. Within six days from the last battle they arrived at the river Araxes, which divides Media from Armenia. This river, on account of the depth and strength of its current, seemed difficult to pass, and a rumour, moreover, ran through the army, that the enemy was there in ambuscade, to attack them as they forded it. However, they passed over in safety, and when they set foot in Armenia, with the avidity of mariners when they first come on shore, they kissed the ground in adoration, and embraced each other with a pleasure that could only express itself in tears. The ill consequences of their former extremities, however, discovered themselves even here; for as they now passed through a country of plenty and profusion, their too great indulgences threw them into the dropsy and the cholic. Antony, on reviewing his army, found that he had lost twenty thousand foot and four thou-

* Plutarch does not in this place appear to be sufficiently informed. The cause of this tumult in the army could not be the avarice of the soldiers only, since that might have operated long before, and at a time when they were capable of enjoying money. Their object now was the preservation of life; and it was not wealth, but water, that they wanted. We must look for the cause of this disorder, then, in some other circumstance; and that probably was the report of their general's despair, or possibly of his death; for, otherwise, they would hardly have plundered his baggage. The fidelity and affection they had shown him in all their distresses afford a sufficient argument on this behalf.

sand horse, more than half of which had not died in battle, but by sickness. They had been twenty-seven days in their return from Phraata, and had beaten the Parthians in eighteen engagements; but these victories were by no means complete, because they could not prosecute their advantages by pursuit.

Hence it is evident that Artavasdes deprived Antony of the fruits of his Parthian expedition; for had he been assisted by the sixteen thousand horse which he took with him out of Media, (who were armed like the Parthians, and accustomed to fight with them), after the Romans had beaten them in set battles, this cavalry might have taken up the pursuit, and harassed them in such a manner, that they could not so often have rallied, and returned to the charge. All, therefore, were exciting Antony to revenge himself on Artavasdes; but he followed better counsels, and, in his present weak and indigent condition, he did not think proper to withhold the usual respect and honours he had paid him: but when he came into Armenia on another occasion, after having drawn him to a meeting by fair promises and invitations, he seized and carried him bound to Alexandria, where he led him in triumphal procession. The Romans were offended at this triumph, and at Antony, who had thus transferred the principal honours of their country to Egypt, for the gratification of Cleopatra. These things, however, happened in a later period of Antony's life.

The severity of the winter, and perpetual snows, were so destructive to the troops, that in his march he lost eight thousand men. Accompanied by a small party, he went down to the sea-coast, and in a fort between Berytus and Sidon, called the *White Hair*, he waited for Cleopatra. To divert his impatience on her delay, he had recourse to festivity and intoxication; and he would frequently, over his cups, start up from his seat, and run leaping and dancing to look out for her approach. At length she came, and brought with her a large quantity of money and clothing for the army. Some, however, have asserted that she brought nothing but the clothes, and that Antony supplied the money, though he gave her the credit of it.

There happened at this time a quarrel between Phraates and the king of the Medes, occasioned, as it is said, by the division of the Roman spoils; and the latter was apprehensive of losing his kingdom.—He therefore sent to Antony an offer of his assistance against the Parthians. Antony, who concluded that he had failed of conquering the Parthians only through want of cavalry and bowmen, and would here seem rather to confer than to receive a favour, determined once more to return to Armenia, and, after joining the king of the Medes at the river Araxes, to renew the war.

Octavia, who was still at Rome, now expressed a desire of visiting Antony, and Cæsar gave her his permission, not, according to the general opinion, merely to oblige her, but that the ill treatment and neglect which he concluded she should meet with might give him a pretence for renewing the war. When she arrived at Athens, she received letters from Antony, commanding her to continue there, and acquainting her with his new expedition. These letters mortified her, for she suspected the expedition to be nothing more than a pretence; however, she wrote to him, and desired he would send his commands where she should leave the presents she had brought. These presents consisted of clothing for the army, beasts of burden, money, and gifts for his officers and friends. Besides these, she had brought two thousand picked men, fully equipped and armed, for the general's cohort. Octavia sent this letter by Niger, a friend of Antony's, who did not fail to pay her the compliments she deserved, but represented her to Antony in the most agreeable light.

Cleopatra dreaded her rival. She was apprehensive that if she came to Antony, the respectable gravity of her manners, added to the authority and interest of Cæsar, would carry off her husband. She therefore pretended to be dying for the love of Antony, and, to give a colour to her pretence, she emaciated herself by abstinence. At his approach she taught her eye to express an agreeable surprise, and, when he left her, she put on the look of languishment and dejection. Sometimes she would endeavour to weep, and then, as if she wished to hide the tear from her tender Antony, she affected to wipe it off unseen.

Antony was all this while preparing for his Median expedition, and Cleopatra's creatures and dependants did not fail to reproach his unfeeling heart, which could suffer the woman whose life was wrapped up in his to die for his sake. Octavia's marriage, they said, was a mere political convenience, and it was enough for her that she had the honour of being called his wife. Poor Cleopatra, though queen of a mighty nation, was called nothing more than his mistress; yet even with this, for the sake of his society, she could be content; but of that society whenever she should be deprived, it would deprive her of life. These insinuations so totally unmanned him, that, through fear of Cleopatra's putting an end to her life, he returned to Egypt, and put off the Mede till summer, though at that time the Parthian affairs were said to be in a seditious and disorderly situation. At length, however, he went into Armenia, and after entering into alliance with the Mede, and betrothing one of Cleopatra's sons to a daughter of his who was very young, he returned, that he might attend to the civil war.

When Octavia returned from Athens, Cæsar looked upon the treatment she had met with as a mark of the greatest contempt, and he therefore ordered her to retire and live alone. However, she refused to quit her husband's house, and moreover entreated Cæsar by no means to have recourse to arms merely on her account. It would be infamous, she said, for the two chiefs of the Roman empire to involve the people in a civil war, one for the love of a woman, and the other out of jealousy. By her own conduct she added weight to her expostulations. She kept up the dignity of Antony's house, and took the same care of his children, as well those that he had by Fulvia as her own, that she could possibly have taken had he been present. Antony's friends, who were sent to Rome to solicit honours or transact business, she kindly entertained, and used her best offices with Cæsar to obtain what they requested. Yet even by this conduct she was hurting Antony, contrary to her inclination. His injurious treatment of such a woman excited a general indignation; and the distribution he had made to his children in Alexandria carried with it something so imperious and so disparaging to the Romans, that it increased that indignation not a little. The manner of doing it was extremely obnoxious. He summoned the people to the place of public exercise, and ordering two golden chairs to be placed on a tribunal of silver, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, besides lower seats for the children, he announced her queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Cœlosyria, and nominated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar the dictator, her colleague. The sons she had by him he entitled Kings of Kings; and to Alexander he gave Armenia and Media, together with Parthia, when it should be conquered. To Ptolemy he gave Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time the children made their appearance, Alexander in a Median dress, with the turban and tiara; and Ptolemy in the long cloke and slippers, with a bonnet encircled by a diadem. The latter was dressed like the successors of Alexander, the former like the Median and Armenian kings. When the children saluted their parents, one was attended by Armenian, the other by Macedonian guards. Cleopatra, on this and on other public occasions, wore the sacred robe of Isis*, and affected to give audience to the people in the character and name of the *New Isis*.

Cæsar expatiated on these things in the senate, and by frequent accusations incensed the people against Antony. Antony did not fail to recriminate by his deputies. In the first place he charged Cæsar with wresting Sicily out of the hands of Pompey, and not

* This robe was of all colours, to signify the universality of the goddess's influence. The robe of Osiris was of one colour only.

dividing it with him. His next charge was, that Cæsar had never returned the ships he had borrowed of him: a third, that after reducing his colleague Lepidus to the condition of a private man, he had taken to himself his army, his province, and his tributes: lastly, that he had distributed almost all the lands in Italy among his own soldiers, and had left nothing for his. To these Cæsar made answer, that Lepidus was reduced from an incapacity of sustaining his government; that what he had acquired by war he was ready to divide with Antony, and at the same time he expected to share Armenia with him; that his soldiers had no right to lands in Italy, because Media and Armenia, which by their bravery they had added to the Roman empire, had been allotted to them.

Antony, being informed of these things in Armenia, immediately sent Canidius to the sea coast with sixteen legions. In the mean time he went to Ephesus, attended by Cleopatra. There he assembled his fleet, which consisted of eight hundred ships of burden, whereof Cleopatra furnished two hundred, besides twenty thousand talents, and provisions for the whole army. Antony, by the advice of Domitius and some other friends, ordered Cleopatra to return to Egypt, and there to wait the event of the war; but the queen, apprehensive that a reconciliation might take place through the mediation of Octavia, by means of large bribes drew over Canidius to her interest. She prevailed on him to represent to Antony, that it was unreasonable to refuse so powerful an auxiliary the privilege of being present at the war; that her presence was even necessary to animate and encourage the Egyptians, who made so considerable a part of his naval force; nor was Cleopatra, in point of abilities, inferior to any of the princes his allies, since she had not only been a long time at the head of a considerable kingdom, but, by her intercourse with him, had learnt the administration of the greatest affairs. These remonstrances, as the Fates had decreed every thing for Cæsar, had the desired effect, and they sailed together for Samos, where they indulged in every species of luxury: for at the same time that the kings, governors, states, and provinces between Syria, the Mæotis, Armenia, and Lauria*, were commanded to send their contributions to the war, the whole tribe of players and musicians were ordered to repair to Samos; and while almost the whole world besides was venting its anguish in groans and tears, that island alone was piping and dancing. The several cities sent oxen for sacrifice, and kings contended

* As a mountain of no note, in Attica, does not seem proper to be mentioned with great kingdoms and provinces, it is supposed that we ought to read *Illyria* instead of *Lauria*. Illyria is afterwards mentioned as the boundary of Antony's dominions on that side.

in the magnificence of their presents and entertainments: so that it was natural to say, "What kind of figure will these people make in their triumph, when their very preparations for war are so splendid!"

When these things were over, he gave Priene for the residence of the players and musicians, and sailed for Athens, where he once more renewed the farce of public entertainments. The Athenians had treated Octavia, when she was at Athens, with the highest respect; and Cleopatra, jealous of the honours she had received, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour. The people in return decreed her public honours, and sent a deputation to wait on her with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himself, in character of a citizen of Athens, and he was prolocutor on the occasion.

In the mean time, he sent some of his people to turn Octavia out of his house at Rome. When she left it, it is said she took with her all his children, (except the eldest by Fulvia, who attended him), and deplored the severity of her fate with tears, under the apprehension that she would be looked upon as one of the causes of the civil war. The Romans pitied her sufferings, but still more the folly of Antony, particularly such as had seen Cleopatra; for she was by no means preferable to Octavia, either on account of her youth or beauty.

When Cæsar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, he was afraid of being forced into the war that summer. This would have been very inconvenient for him, as he was in want of almost every thing, and the levies of money occasioned a general dissatisfaction. The whole body of the people were taxed one-fourth of their income, and the sons of freedmen one-eighth. This occasioned the greatest clamour and confusion in Italy, and Antony certainly committed a very great oversight in neglecting the advantage. By his unaccountable delays he gave Cæsar an opportunity both to complete his preparations, and appease the minds of the people. When the money was demanded, they murmured and mutinied; but, after it was once paid, they thought of it no longer.

Titius and Plancus, men of consular dignity, and Antony's principal friends, being ill-used by Cleopatra, on account of their opposing her stay in the army, abandoned him and went over to Cæsar. As they knew the contents of Antony's will, they presently made him acquainted with them. This will was lodged in the hands of the vestals; and when Cæsar demanded it, they refused to send it, adding, that if he was determined to have it, he must come and take it himself. Accordingly he went and took it. First of all he read

it over to himself, and remarked such passages as were most liable to censure. Afterwards he read it in the senate, and this gave a general offence*. It seemed to the greatest part an absurd and unprecedented thing, that a man should suffer in his life, for what he had ordered to be done after his death. Cæsar dwelt particularly on the orders he had given concerning his funeral: for, in case he died at Rome, he had directed his body to be carried in procession through the *forum*, and afterwards conveyed to Alexandria to Cleopatra. Calvisius, a retainer of Cæsar's, also accused him of having given to Cleopatra the Pergamenean library, which consisted of two hundred thousand volumes; and added, that once when they supped in public, Antony rose and trod on Cleopatra's foot†, by way of signal for some rendezvous. He asserted, moreover, that he suffered the Ephesians in his presence to call Cleopatra sovereign; and that when he was presiding at the administration of public affairs, attended by several tetrarchs and kings, he received love-letters from her, enclosed in onyx and crystal, and there perused them. Besides, when Furnius, a man of great dignity, and one of the ablest of the Roman orators, was speaking in public, Cleopatra was carried through the *forum* in a litter; upon which Antony immediately started up, and no longer paying his attention to the cause, accompanied her, leaning on the litter as he walked.

The veracity of Calvisius, in these accusations, was nevertheless suspected. The friends of Antony solicited the people in his behalf, and despatched Geminius, one of their number, to put him on his guard against the abrogation of his power, and his being declared an enemy to the Roman people. Geminius sailed into Greece, and on his arrival, was suspected by Cleopatra, as an agent of Octavius's. On this account he was contemptuously treated, and the lowest seats were assigned him at the public suppers. This, however, he bore for some time with patience, in hopes of obtaining an interview with Antony; but being publicly called upon to declare the cause of his coming, he answered, "That one part of the cause would require to be communicated at a sober hour, but the other part could not be mistaken, whether a man were drunk or sober; for it was clear that all things would go well, if Cleopatra retired into Egypt." Antony was extremely chagrined; and Cleopatra said, "You have done very well, Geminius, to confess without being put to the torture." Ge-

* This was an act of most injurious violence. Nothing could be more sacred than a will deposited in the hands of the vestals.

† The former English translator says, that *Antony took hold of her feet, and handled them.* Whatever idea he might have of Antony's familiarity, he ought not, surely, to have been so familiar with Plutarch.

minius soon after withdrew, and returned to Rome. Many more of Antony's friends were driven off by the creatures of Cleopatra, when they could no longer endure their insolence and scurrility. Amongst the rest were Marcus Silanus, and Delius the historian. The latter informs us, that Cleopatra had a design upon his life, as he was told by Glaucus the physician, because he had once affronted her at supper, by saying, that while Sarmentus was drinking Falernian at Rome, they were obliged to take up with vinegar. Sarmentus was a boy of Cæsar's, one of those creatures whom the Romans call *Deliciæ*.

When Cæsar had made his preparations, it was decreed that war should be declared against Cleopatra, for that Antony could not be said to possess that power which he had already given up to a woman. Cæsar observed, that he was like a man under enchantment, who has no longer any power over himself. It was not he with whom they were going to war, but Mardion the eunuch, and Photinus; Iras, Cleopatra's woman, and Charmion; for these had the principal direction of affairs. Several prodigies are said to have happened previous to this war. Pisaurum, a colony of Antony's on the Adriatic, was swallowed up by an earthquake. Antony's statue in Alba was covered with sweat for many days, which returned though it was frequently wiped off. While he was at Patræ, the temple of Hercules was set on fire by lightning; and at Athens the statue of Bacchus was carried by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia into the theatre. These things concerned Antony the more nearly, as he affected to be a descendant of Hercules, and an imitator of Bacchus, insomuch that he was called the younger Bacchus. The same wind threw down the colossal statues of Eumenes and Attalus, called the Antonii, while the rest were unmoved. And in Cleopatra's royal galley, which was called *Antonias*, a terrible phenomenon appeared: some swallows had built their nests in the stern, and others drove them away, and destroyed their young.

Upon the commencement of the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred armed vessels, magnificently adorned, and furnished with eight or ten banks of oars. He had, moreover, a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The auxiliary kings, who fought under his banners were, Bocchus of Africa, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Adallus of Thrace. Those who did not attend in person, but sent supplies, were Polemo of Pontus, Malchus of Arabia, Herod of Judea, and Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia. Besides these, he had supplies also from the king of the Medes. Cæsar had two hundred and fifty men of war, eighty

thousand foot, and an equal number of horse with the enemy. Antony's dominions lay from the Euphrates and Armenia to the Ionian sea and Illyria: Cæsar's extended from Illyria to the Western Ocean, and from that again to the Tuscan and Sicilian sea. He had likewise all that part of Africa which lies opposite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain, as far as the pillars of Hercules. The rest of that country, from Cyrene to Æthiopia, was in the possession of Antony.

But such a slave was he to the will of a woman, that though much superior at land, to gratify her, he put his whole confidence in the navy, notwithstanding that the ships had not half their complement of men, and the officers were obliged to press and pick up in Greece vagrants, ass-drivers, reapers, and boys. Nor could they make up their numbers even with these, but many of the ships were still almost empty. Cæsar's ships, which were not high-built, or splendidly set off for show, but tight good sailers, well manned and equipped, continued in the harbours of Tarentum and Brundusium. From thence he sent to Antony, desiring he would meet him with his forces, that no time might be lost; offering at the same time to leave the ports and harbours free for his landing, and to withdraw his army a day's journey on horseback, that he might make good his encampment. To this Antony returned a haughty answer, and, though he was the older man, challenged Cæsar to single combat; or, if he should decline this, he might meet him at Pharsalia, and decide it where Cæsar and Pompey had done before. Cæsar prevented this; for while Antony made for Actium, which is now called Nicopolis, he crossed the Ionian sea, and seized on Toryne, a place in Epirus. Antony was distressed on finding this, because he was without his infantry; but Cleopatra made a jest of it, and asked him if it was so very dreadful a thing that Cæsar was got into the *Ladle*?*

Antony, as soon as it was day-light, perceived the enemy making up to him; and fearing that his ill manned vessels would be unable to stand the attack, he armed the rowers, and placed them on the decks to make a show; with the oars suspended on each side of the vessel, he proceeded in this mock form of battle towards Actium. Cæsar was deceived by the stratagem, and retired. The water about Cæsar's camp was both scarce and bad, and Antony had the address to cut off the little that they had.

It was much about this time that, contrary to the inclination of Cleopatra, he acted so generous a part by Domitius. The latter, even when he had a fever upon him, took a small boat, and went over to Cæsar: Antony, though he could not but resent this, sent after him his baggage, his friends, and servants, and Domitius, as if it

* In Greek *Toryne*.

had been for grief that his treachery was discovered, died very soon after*. Amyntas and Deiotarus likewise went over to Cæsar.

Antony's fleet was so very unsuccessful, and so unfit for service, that he was obliged at last to think of his land-forces; and Canidius, who had been retained in the interest of Cleopatra, now changing his mind, thought it necessary that she should be sent away, and that Antony should retire into Thrace or Macedonia, to decide it in the field. These places were thought of the rather, because Dicomes, king of the Getæ, had offered to assist Antony with a large army.—To give up the sea to Cæsar, who, in his Sicilian wars, had acquired so much experience upon it, he said, would be no disgrace; but to give up the advantage which so able a general as himself might make of his land forces, and waste the strength of so many legions in useless draughts for the sea service, would be infinitely absurd. Cleopatra, however, prevailed for the decision by sea, though her motive was not the superior chance of victory, but in case of being vanquished, the better opportunity to escape.

There was a neck of land that lay between Antony's camp and his fleet, along which he used to go frequently from one to the other. Cæsar was informed by a domestic how easy it might be to seize Antony in this passage, and he sent a party to lie in wait for that purpose. They were so near carrying their point, that they seized the person who went before Antony, and had they not been too hasty, he must have fallen into their hands, for it was with the greatest difficulty that he made his escape by flight.

After it was determined to decide the affair by sea, they set fire to all the Egyptian vessels except sixty. The best and largest ships, from three banks of oars to ten, were selected, and these had their proper complement of men, for they were supplied with twenty thousand foot, and two thousand archers. Upon this a veteran warrior, an experienced officer in the infantry, who had often fought under Antony, and whose body was covered with scars, cried, pointing to those scars, "Why will you, general, distrust these honest wounds, and rest your hopes on those villanous wooden bottoms? Let the Egyptians and the Phœnicians skirmish at sea; but give us at least the land; for there it is that we have learnt to conquer or to die."—Antony made no answer, but seemed to encourage him by the motions of his hand and head; though, at the same time, he had no great

* Plutarch seems to be ill-informed about this matter. It is most probable that Domitius, one of the firmest friends of Antony, was delirious when he went over to Cæsar, and that Antony was sensible of this when he sent his attendants after *him*. It is possible, at the same time, that when he returned to himself, the sense of his desertion might occasion his death.

confidence himself; for when the pilots would have left the sails behind, he ordered them to take them all on board, pretending, indeed, that it should be done to pursue the enemy's flight, not to facilitate his own.

On that and the three following days the sea ran too high for an engagement; but on the fifth the weather was fine, and the sea calm. Antony and Poplicola led the right wing, Cœlius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeius commanded the centre. Cæsar had given his left wing to Agrippa, and led the right himself. Antony's land forces were commanded by Canidius, and Cæsar's remained quiet on the shore under the command of Taurus. As to the generals themselves, Antony was rowed about in a light vessel, ordering his men, on account of the weight of their vessels, to keep their ground, and fight as steadily, as if they were at land. He ordered his pilots to stand as firm as if they were at anchor, in that position to receive the attacks of the enemy, and by all means to avoid the disadvantage of the straits. Cæsar, when he left his tent before day to review his fleet, met a man who was driving an ass. Upon asking his name, the man answered, my name is *Eutychus*, and the name of my ass is *Nicon**. The place where he met him was afterwards adorned with trophies of the beaks of ships, and there he placed the statue of the ass and his driver in brass. After having reviewed the whole fleet, and taken his post in the right wing, he attended to the fleet of the enemy, which he was surprised to find steady and motionless, as if it lay at anchor. For some time he was of opinion that it was so, and for that reason he kept back his fleet at the distance of eight furlongs. About noon there was a brisk gale from the sea, and Antony's forces being impatient for the combat, and trusting to the height and bulk of their vessels, which they thought would render them invincible, put the left wing in motion. Cæsar rejoiced at the sight of this, and kept back his right wing, that he might the more effectually draw them out to the open sea, where his light galleys could easily surround the heavy half-manned vessels of the enemy.

The attack was not made with any violence or impetuosity; for Antony's ships were too heavy for that kind of rapid impression which, however, is very necessary for the breach of an enemy's vessel. On the other hand, Cæsar's ships durst neither encounter head to head with Antony's, on account of the superior strength and roughness of their beaks, nor yet attack them on the sides, since, by means of their weight, they could easily have broken their beaks, which were made of large square pieces of timber, fastened to each other with iron cramps. The engagement, therefore, was like a battle at land rather

* Good Fortune and Victory.

than a sea-fight, or, more properly, like the storming of a town; for there were generally three or more ships of Cæsar's about one of Antony's, assaulting it with pikes, javelins, and fire brands, while Antony's men, out of their wooden towers*, threw weapons of various kinds from engines. Agrippa opened his left wing with a design to surround the enemy, and Poplicola, in his endeavour to prevent him, was separated from the main body, which threw it into disorder, while at the same time, it was attacked with great vigour by Arruntius†. When things were in this situation, and nothing decisive was yet effected, Cleopatra's sixty ships on a sudden hoisted their sails, and fairly took to flight through the midst of the combatants; for they were placed in the rear of the large vessels, and by breaking their way through them, they occasioned no small confusion. The enemy saw them, with astonishment, making their way with a fair wind, for the Peloponnesus. Antony, on this occasion, forgot both the general and the man; and as some author has pleasantly observed, *that a lover's soul lives in the body of his mistress*, so, as if he had been absolutely incorporated with her, he suffered her to carry him soul and body away. No sooner did he see her vessel hoisting sail, than, forgetting every other object, forgetting those brave friends that were shedding their blood in his cause, he took a five-oared galley, and, accompanied only by Alexander the Syrian, and Scellius, followed her who was the first cause, and now the accomplisher of his ruin. Her own destruction was certain, and he voluntarily involved himself in her fate.

When she saw him coming, she put up a signal in her vessel, on which he soon went aboard; neither of them could look each other in the face, and Antony sat down at the head of the ship, where he remained in sombre silence, holding his head between his hands.—In the mean time, Cæsar's light ships that were in pursuit of Antony came in sight. Upon this he ordered his pilot to tack about and meet them; but they all declined the engagement, and made off, except Eurycles the Lacedæmonian, who shook his lance at him in a menacing manner, on the deck. Antony, standing at the head of his galley, cried, "Who art thou that thus pursuest Antony?" He answered, I am Eurycles the son of Lachares, and follow the fortunes of Cæsar to revenge my father's death." This Lachares Antony had beheaded for a robbery. Eurycles, however, did not attack Antony's vessel, but fell upon the other admiral-galley (for there were two of that rank) and by the shock turned her round. He took

* His ships are so called on account of their tallness.

† Arruntius must have commanded Cæsar's centre, though that circumstance is not mentioned.

that vessel, and another which contained Antony's most valuable plate and furniture. When Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to the same pensive posture; and continuing thus for three days, during which, either through shame or resentment, he refused to see Cleopatra, he arrived at Tænarus. There the women who attended them first brought them to speak to each other, then to dine together, and not long after, as it may be supposed, to sleep together. At last, several of his transports, and some of his friends who had escaped from the defeat, came up with him, and informed him that his fleet was totally destroyed, but that his land forces were yet unhurt. Hereupon he sent orders to Canidius immediately to march his army through Macedonia into Asia. As for himself, he determined to sail from Tænarus into Africa, and dividing one ship load of treasure amongst his friends, he desired them to provide for their own safety. They refused the treasure, and expressed their sorrow in tears; while Antony, with the kindest and most humane consolations, entreated them to accept it, and dismissed them with letters of recommendation to his agent at Corinth, whom he ordered to give them refuge, till they could be reconciled to Cæsar. This agent was Theophilus, the father of Hipparchus, who had great interest with Antony, but was the first of his freedmen that went over to Cæsar. He afterwards settled at Corinth.

In this posture were the affairs of Antony. After his fleet at Actium had long struggled with Cæsar's, a hard gale, which blew right a-head of the ships, obliged them to give out about four in the afternoon. About five thousand men were slain in the action, and Cæsar, according to his own account, took three hundred ships. Antony's flight was observed by few, and to those who had not seen it, it was at first incredible. They could not possibly believe that a general, who had nineteen legions and twelve thousand horse, a general to whom vicissitude of fortune was nothing new, would so basely desert them. His soldiers had an inexpressible desire to see him, and still expecting that he would appear in some part or other, gave the strongest testimony of their courage and fidelity. Nay, when they were even convinced that he was irrecoverably fled, they continued embodied for seven days, and would not listen to the ambassadors of Cæsar. At last, however, when Canidius, who commanded them, fled from the camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they surrendered to Cæsar.

After this great success, Cæsar sailed for Athens. The cities of Greece he found in extreme poverty; for they had been plundered of their cattle and every thing else before the war. He therefore not only admitted them to favour, but made a distribution amongst them

of the remainder of the corn which had been provided for the war. My great grandfather Nicarchus used to relate, that as the inhabitants of Chæronea had no horses, they were compelled to carry a certain quantity of corn on their shoulders to the sea-coast as far as Anticyra, and were driven by soldiers with stripes like so many beasts of burden. This, however, was done but once; for when the corn was measured the second time, and they were preparing to carry it, news came of Antony's defeat, and this saved the city from further hardships; for the commissaries and soldiers immediately took to flight, and left the poor inhabitants to share the corn amongst themselves.

When Antony arrived in Libya, he sent Cleopatra from Parætonium into Egypt, and retired to a melancholy desert, where he wandered up and down, with only two attendants. One of these was Aristocrates, the Greek rhetorician: the other was Lucilius, concerning whom it has been mentioned in another place, that, to favour the escape of Brutus at the battle of Philippi, he assumed his name, and suffered himself to be taken. Antony saved him, and he was so grateful, that he attended him to the last.

When Antony was informed that he who commanded his troops in Libya was gone over to the enemy, he attempted to lay violent hands on himself; but he was prevented by his friends, who conveyed him to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra engaged in a very bold enterprise.

Between the Red sea and the Egyptian there is an isthmus which divides Asia from Africa, and which, in the narrowest part, is about three hundred furlongs in breadth. Cleopatra had formed a design of drawing her galleys over this part into the Red sea, and purposed with all her wealth and forces to seek some remote country, where she might neither be reduced to slavery, nor involved in war. However, the first galleys that were carried over being burnt by the Arabians of Petra*, and Antony not knowing that his land-forces were dispersed, she gave up this enterprise, and began to fortify the avenues of her kingdom. Antony in the mean time forsook the city and the society of his friends, and retired to a small house which he had built himself near Pharos, on a mound he had cast up in the sea. In this place, sequestered from all commerce with mankind, he affected to live like Timon, because there was a resemblance in their fortunes. He had been deserted by his friends, and their ingratitude had put him out of humour with his own species.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from the comedies of Aristophanes

* Dion tells us, that the vessels which were burnt were not those that were drawn over the isthmus, but some that had been built on that side. Lib. li.

and Plato, in which he is exposed as the hater of mankind. Yet, though he hated mankind in general, he caressed the bold and impudent boy Alcibiades; and being asked the reason of this by Apemantus, who expressed some suprise at it, he answered—It was because he foresaw that he would plague the people of Athens. Apemantus was the only one he admitted to his society, and he was his friend in point of principle. At the feast of sacrifices for the dead, these two dined by themselves, and when Apemantus observed that the feast was excellent, Timon answered, "It would be so, if you were not here." Once in an assembly of the people, he mounted the rostrum, and the novelty of the thing occasioned a universal silence and expectation; at length he said, "People of Athens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, on which many worthy citizens have hanged themselves; and, as I have determined to build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give this public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this tree for the aforesaid purpose may repair to it before it is cut down." He was buried at Halæ, near the sea, and the water surrounded his tomb in such a manner, that he was even then inaccessible to mankind. The following epitaph is inscribed on his monument:

At last I've bid the knaves farewell:
Ask not my name—But go—to hell.

It is said that he wrote this epitaph himself. That which is commonly repeated was written by Callimachus:

My name is Timon: knaves begone!
Curse me, but come not near my stone!

These are some of the many anecdotes we have concerning Timon.

Canidius himself brought Antony news of the defection of his army. Soon after he heard that Herod of Judea was gone over to Cæsar with some legions and cohorts, that several other powers had deserted his interest, and, in short, that he had no foreign assistance to depend upon. None of these things, however, disturbed him; for, at once abandoning his hopes and his cares, he left his Timonian retreat, and returned to Alexandria; where, in the palace of Cleopatra, he once more entertained the citizens with his usual festivity and munificence. He gave the *toga virilis* to Antyllus, his son by Fulvia, and admitted Cleopatra's son by Cæsar into the order of young men. The entertainments on this occasion were infinitely pompous and magnificent, and lasted many days.

Antony and Cleopatra had before established a society called *The Inimitable Livers*, of which they were members; but they now instituted another by no means inferior in splendour or luxury, called *The Companions in Death*. Their friends were admitted into this, and the time passed in mutual treats and diversions. Cleopatra, at

the same time, was making a collection of poisonous drugs, and being desirous to know which was least painful in the operation, she tried them on the capital convicts. Such poisons as were quick in their operation she found to be attended with violent pains and convulsions; such as were milder were slow in their effect: she therefore applied herself to the examination of venomous creatures, and caused different kinds of them to be applied to different persons under her own inspection. These experiments she repeated daily, and at length she found that the bite of the asp was the most eligible kind of death; for it brought on a gradual kind of lethargy, in which the face was covered with a gentle sweat, and the senses sunk easily into stupefaction: and those who were thus affected showed the same uneasiness at being disturbed or awaked that people do in the profoundest natural sleep*.

They both sent ambassadors to Cæsar in Asia. Cleopatra requested Egypt for her children, and Antony only petitioned that he might be permitted to live as a private man in Egypt, or, if that were too much, that he might retire to Athens. Deserted as they were by almost all their friends, and hardly knowing in whom to confide, they were forced to send Euphronius, their children's tutor, on this embassy. Alexis of Laodicea, who, by means of Timogenes, became acquainted with Antony at Rome, a man of great skill in the Greek learning, and one of Cleopatra's chief agents in keeping Antony from Octavia, he had before despatched to Judea to retain Herod in his interest. This man gave up Antony, and, relying on Herod's interest, had the confidence to appear before Cæsar. The interest of Herod, however, did not save him; for he was immediately carried in chains into his own country, and there put to death. Thus Antony had at least the satisfaction of seeing him punished for his perfidy.

Cæsar absolutely rejected Antony's petition; but he answered Cleopatra, that she might expect every favour from him, provided she either took off Antony, or banished him her dominions. At the same time he sent Thyreus† to her, who was one of his freedmen, and whose address was not unlikely to carry his point, particularly as he came from a young conqueror to the court of a vain and ambitious

* Aspis somniculosa.—*Sisen.*

† Dion calls him Thyrsus. Antony and Cleopatra sent other ambassadors to Cæsar with offers of considerable treasures, and, last of all, Antony sent his son Antyllus with large sums of gold. Cæsar, however, with that meanness which made a part of his character, took the gold, but granted none of his requests. Fearing, however, that despair might put Antony upon the resolution of carrying the war into Spain or Gaul, or provoke him to burn the wealth that Cleopatra had been amassing, he sent this Thyreus to Alexandria.

queen, who had still the highest opinion of her personal charms†. As this ambassador was indulged with audiences longer and more frequent than usual, Antony grew jealous, and having first ordered him to be whipped, he sent him back to Cæsar with letters, wherein he informed him, that he had been provoked at the insolence of his freedman at a time when his misfortunes made him but too prone to anger. "However," added he, "you have a freedman of mine, Hipparchus, in your power, and, if it will be any satisfaction to you, use him in the same manner." Cleopatra, that she might make some amends for her indiscretion, behaved to him afterwards with great tenderness and respect. She kept her birth-day in a manner suitable to their unhappy circumstances; but his was celebrated with such magnificence, that many of the guests who came poor returned wealthy.

After Antony's overthrow, Agrippa wrote several letters to Cæsar, to inform him that his presence was necessary at Rome. This put off the war for some time; but as soon as the winter was over, Cæsar marched against Antony by the route of Syria, and sent his lieutenants on the same business into Africa. When Pelusium was taken, it was rumoured that Seleucus had delivered up the place with the connivance or consent of Cleopatra; whereupon the queen, in order to justify herself, gave up the wife and children of Seleucus into the hands of Antony. Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Isis some monuments of extraordinary size and magnificence. To these she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, together with a large quantity of flax, and a number of torches. Cæsar was under some apprehensions about this immense wealth, lest, upon some sudden emergency, she should set fire to the whole. For this reason he was continually sending messengers to her with assurances of gentle and honourable treatment, while in the mean time he hastened to the city with his army.

When he arrived, he encamped near the Hippodrome; upon which Antony made a brisk sally, routed the cavalry, drove them back into their trenches, and returned to the city with the complacency of a conqueror. As he was going to the palace, he met Cleopatra, whom, armed as he was, he kissed without ceremony, and at the same time he recommended to her favour a brave soldier, who had distinguished himself in the engagement. She presented the soldier with a cuirass and helmet of gold, which he took, and the same night went over to

† Dion says, that Thyreus was instructed to make use of the softest address, and to insinuate that Cæsar was captivated with her beauty. The object of this measure was to prevail on her to take off Antony, while she was flattered with the prospect of obtaining the conqueror.

Cæsar. After this, Antony challenged Cæsar to fight him in single combat, but Cæsar only answered, that *Antony might think of many other ways to end his life.* Antony, therefore, concluding that he could not die more honourably than in battle, determined to attack Cæsar at the same time both by sea and land. The night preceding the execution of this design, he ordered the servants at supper to render him their best services that evening, and fill the wine round plentifully, for the day following they might belong to another master, whilst he lay extended on the ground, no longer of consequence either to them or to himself. His friends were affected, and wept to hear him talk thus, which, when he perceived, he encouraged them by assurances that his expectations of a glorious victory were at least equal to those of an honourable death. At the dead of night, when universal silence reigned through the city, a silence that was deepened by the awful thought of the ensuing day, on a sudden was heard the sound of musical instruments, and a noise which resembled the exclamations of Bacchanals. This tumultuous procession seemed to pass through the whole city, and to go out at the gate which led to the enemy's camp. Those who reflected on this prodigy concluded that Bacchus, the god whom Antony affected to imitate, had then forsaken him.

As soon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and posted them on a rising ground, from whence he saw his fleet advance towards the enemy. There he stood waiting for the event; but as soon as the two fleets met, they hailed each other with their oars in a very friendly manner (Antony's fleet making the first advances), and sailed together peaceably towards the city. This was no sooner done, than the cavalry deserted him in the same manner, and surrendered to Cæsar. His infantry were routed; and as he retired to the city, he exclaimed that Cleopatra had betrayed him to those with whom he was fighting only for her sake.

The unhappy queen, dreading the effects of his anger, fled to her monument, and having secured it as much as possible with bars and bolts, she gave orders that Antony should be informed she was dead. Believing the information to be true, he cried, "Antony, why dost thou delay? What is life to thee, when it is taken from her for whom alone thou couldst wish to live?" He then went to his chamber, and opening his coat of mail, he said, "I am not distressed, Cleopatra, that thou art gone before me, for I shall soon be with thee; but I grieve to think that I, who have been so distinguished a general, should be inferior in magnanimity to a woman." He was then attended by a faithful servant, whose name was *Eros.* He had engaged this servant to kill him whenever he should think it necessary, and he now

demanded that service. Eros drew his sword, as if he designed to kill him, but, suddenly turning about, he slew himself, and fell at his master's feet. "This, Eros, was greatly done," said Antony; "thy heart would not permit thee to kill thy master, but thou hast taught him what to do by thy example." He then plunged his sword into his bowels, and threw himself on a couch that stood by. The wound, however, was not so deep as to cause immediate death; and the blood stopping as he lay on the couch, he came to himself, and entreated those who stood by to put him out of his pain. They all fled, nevertheless, and left him to his cries and torments, till Diomedes, secretary to Cleopatra, came with her request, that he would come to her in the monument. When Antony found that she was still living, it gave him fresh spirits, and he ordered his servants to take him up. Accordingly they carried him in their arms to the door of the monument. Cleopatra would not suffer the door to be opened, but a cord being let down from a window, Antony was fastened to it, and she, with her two women, all that were admitted into the monument, drew him up. Nothing, as they who were present observed, could possibly be more affecting than that spectacle; Antony, covered with blood, and in the agonies of death, hoisted up by the rope, and stretching out his hands to Cleopatra, while he was suspended for a considerable time in the air! For it was with the greatest difficulty they drew him up, though Cleopatra herself exerted all her strength, straining every nerve, and distorting every feature with the violence of the effort; while those who stood below endeavoured to animate and encourage her, and seemed to partake in all the toil and all the emotions that she felt. When she had drawn him up, and laid him on a bed, as she stood over him, she rent her clothes, beat and wounded her breast, and, wiping the blood from his disfigured countenance, she called him her lord, her emperor, her husband! Her whole soul was absorbed in his misfortunes; and she seemed totally to have forgot that she had any miseries of her own. Antony endeavoured to sooth her as well as he was able, and called for wine, either because he was thirsty, or because he thought it might sooner put him out of his pain. When he had drank, he advised her to consult her own affairs and her safety, so far as might be consistent with honour, and to place her confidence in Proculeius, rather than in the other friends of Cæsar. "As to himself," he said, "that she ought rather to rejoice in the remembrance of his past happiness, than to bewail his present misfortunes, since in his life he had been illustrious, and was not inglorious in his death. He had conquered like a Roman, and it was only by a Roman that he was conquered." A little before he expired, Proculeius arrived from Cæsar: for, after

Antony had stabbed himself, and was conveyed to Cleopatra, Dercetæus, one of his guards, privately carried off his bloody sword, and showed it to Cæsar. When Cæsar beheld this token of Antony's death, he retired to the inner part of his tent, and shed some tears in remembrance of a man who had been his relation, his colleague in government, and his associate in so many battles and important affairs*. He then called his friends together, and read the letters which had passed between him and Antony, wherein it appeared, that though Cæsar had still written in a rational and equitable manner, the answers of Antony were insolent and contemptuous. After this, he despatched Proculeius with orders to take Cleopatra alive, if it were possible; for he was extremely solicitous to save the treasures in the monument, which would so greatly add to the glory of his triumph. However, she refused to admit him into the monument, and would only speak to him through the bolted gate. The substance of this conference was, that Cleopatra made a requisition of the kingdom for her children, while Proculeius, on the other hand, encouraged her to trust every thing to Cæsar.

After he had reconnoitred the place, he sent an account of it to Cæsar; upon which Gallus was despatched to confer with Cleopatra, The thing was thus concerted: Gallus went up to the gate of the monument, and drew Cleopatra into conversation, while in the mean time Proculeius applied a ladder to the window where the women had taken in Antony; and having got in with two servants, he immediadely made for the place where Cleopatra was in conference with Gallus. One of her women discovered him, and immediately screamed aloud, "Wretched Cleopatra, you are taken alive!" She turned about, and, seeing Proculeius, the same instant attempted to stab herself; for to this intent she always carried a dagger about with her. Proculeius, however, prevented her, and expostulating with her as he held her in his arms, he entreated her not to be so injurious to herself or to Cæsar; that she would not deprive so humane a prince of the glory of his clemency, or expose him, by her distrust, to the imputation of treachery or cruelty. At the same time he took the dagger from her, and shook her clothes, lest she should have poison concealed about her. Cæsar also sent his freedman Epaphroditus with orders to treat her with the greatest politeness, but by all means to bring her alive.

* This retirement of Cæsar was certainly an affectation of concern. The death of Antony had been an invariable object with him. He was too cowardly to think himself safe while he lived; and to expose his weakness by reading his letters the moment he was informed of his death, was certainly no proof that he felt even then any tenderness for his memory.

Cæsar entered Alexandria conversing with Arius the philosopher; and, that he might do him honour before the people, he led him by the hand. When he entered the Gymnasium, he ascended a tribunal which had been erected for him, and gave assurances to the citizens, who prostrated themselves before him, that the city should not be hurt. He told them he had different motives for this. In the first place it was built by Alexander; in the next place he admired it for its beauty and magnitude; and, lastly, he would spare it, were it but for the sake of his friend Arius, who was born there. Cæsar gave him the high honour of this appellation, and pardoned many at his request. Amongst these was Philostratus, one of the most acute and eloquent sophists of his time. This man, without any right, pretended to be a follower of the academics; and Cæsar, from a bad opinion of his morals, rejected his petition; upon which the sophist followed Arius up and down in a mourning cloke, with a long white beard, crying constantly,

"The wise, if really such, will save the wise."

Cæsar heard and pardoned him, not so much out of favour, as to save Arius from the impertinence and envy he might incur on his account.

Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony by Fulvia, was betrayed by his tutor Theodorus, and put to death. While the soldiers were beheading him, the tutor stole a jewel of considerable value, which he wore about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle. When he was charged with it, he denied the fact; but the jewel was found upon him, and he was crucified. Cæsar appointed a guard over Cleopatra's children and their governors, and allowed them an honourable support. Cæsario, the reputed son of Cæsar the dictator, had been sent by his mother, with a considerable sum of money, through Æthiopia into India. But Rhodon, his governor, a man of the same principles with Theodorus, persuading him that Cæsar would certainly make him king of Egypt, prevailed on him to turn back. While Cæsar was deliberating how he should dispose of him, Arius is said to have observed, that there ought not, by any means, to be too many Cæsars.—However, soon after the death of Cleopatra, he was slain.

Many considerable princes begged the body of Antony, that they might have the honour of giving it burial; but Cæsar would not take it from Cleopatra, who interred it with her own hands, and performed the funeral rites with great magnificence; for she was allowed to expend what she thought proper on the occasion. The excess of her affliction, and the inflammation of her breast, which was wounded by the blows she had given it in her anguish, threw her into a fever. She was pleased to find an excuse in this for abstaining from food, and hoped, by this means, to die without interruption. The physi-

cian, in whom she placed her principal confidence, was Olympus; and according to his short account of these transactions, she made use of his advice in the accomplishment of her design. Cæsar, however, suspected it; and that he might prevail on her to take the necessary food and physic, he threatened to treat her children with severity. This had the desired effect, and her resolution was overborn*.

A few days after, Cæsar himself made her a visit of condolence and consolation. She was then in an undress, and lying negligently on a couch; but when the conqueror entered the apartment, though she had nothing on but a single bed-gown, she arose and threw herself at his feet. Her face was out of figure, her hair in disorder, her voice trembling, her eyes sunk, and her bosom bore the marks of the injuries she had done it. In short, her person gave you the image of her mind; yet, in this deplorable condition, there were some remains of that grace, that spirit and vivacity, which had so peculiarly animated her former charms, and still some gleams of her native elegance might be seen to wander over her melancholy countenance†.

When Cæsar had replaced her on the couch, and seated himself by her, she endeavoured to justify the part she took against him in the war, alleging the necessity she was under, and her fear of Antony. But when she found that these apologies had no weight with Cæsar, she had recourse to prayers and entreaties, as if she had been really desirous of life; and, at the same time, she put into his hands an inventory of her treasure. Seleucus, one of her treasurers, who was present, accused her of suppressing some articles in the account; upon which she started up from her couch, caught him by the hair, and gave him several blows on the face. Cæsar smiled at this spirited resentment, and endeavoured to pacify her: "But how is it to be borne," said she, "Cæsar, if, while even you honour me with a visit, in my wretched situation, I must be affronted by one of my own servants? Supposing that I have reserved a few trinkets, they were by no means intended as ornaments for my own person in these miserable fortunes, but as little presents for Octavia and Livia, by whose good offices I might hope to find favour with you." Cæsar

* Cleopatra certainly possessed the virtues of fidelity and natural affection in a very eminent degree. She had several opportunities of betraying Antony, could she have been induced to it either by fear or ambition. Her tenderness for her children is always superior to her self-love, and she had a greatness of soul which Cæsar never knew.

† Dion gives a more pompous account of her reception of Cæsar. She received him, he tells us, in a magnificent apartment, lying on a splendid bed, in a mourning habit, which peculiarly became her; that she had several pictures of Julius Cæsar placed near her, and some letters she had received from him in her bosom. The conversation turned on the same subject; and her speech on the occasion is recorded.—*Dion.* l. liv.

was not displeased to hear this, because he flattered himself that she was willing to live. He therefore assured her, that whatever she had reserved, she might dispose of at her pleasure; and that she might, in every respect depend on the most honourable treatment. After this he took his leave, in confidence that he had brought her to his purpose; but she deceived him.

There was in Cæsar's train a young nobleman, whose name was Cornelius Dolabella. He was smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and having engaged to communicate to her every thing that passed, he sent her private notice that Cæsar was about to return into Syria, and that, within three days, she would be sent away with her children. When she was informed of this, she requested of Cæsar permission to make her last oblations to Antony. This being granted, she was conveyed to the place where he was buried; and kneeling at his tomb with her women, she thus addressed the manes of the dead: "It is not long, my Antony, since with these hands I buried thee. Alas! they were then free; but thy Cleopatra is now a prisoner, attended by a guard, lest, in the transports of her grief, she should disfigure this captive body, which is reserved to adorn the triumph over thee. These are the last offerings, the last honour she can pay thee; for she is now to be conveyed to a distant country. Nothing could part us while we lived; but in death we are to be divided. Thou, though a Roman, liest buried in Egypt; and I, an Egyptian, must be interred in Italy, the only favour I shall receive from thy country: yet, if the gods of Rome have power or mercy left, (for surely those of Egypt have forsaken us*), let them not suffer me to be led a living triumph to thy disgrace! No!—hide me, hide me with thee in the grave; for life, since thou hast left it, has been misery to *me*."

Thus the unhappy queen bewailed her misfortunes; and after she had crowned the tomb with flowers, and kissed it, she ordered her bath to be prepared. When she had bathed, she sat down to a magnificent supper; soon after which, a peasant came to the gate with a small basket. The guards inquired what it contained; and the man who brought it, putting by the leaves which lay uppermost, showed them a parcel of figs. As they admired their size and beauty, he smiled, and bade them take some; but they refused, and not suspecting that the basket contained any thing else, it was carried in. After supper Cleopatra sent a letter to Cæsar, and ordering every

* It was the opinion of the ancients that the gods forsook the vanquished. Thus Virgil:

Excessêre omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat.—Æn. ii.

And Tacitus,

Alieni jam imperii deos.

body out of the monument, except her two women, she made fast the door. When Cæsar opened the letter, the plaintive style in which it was written, and the strong request that she might be buried in the same tomb with Antony, made him suspect her design. At first he was for hastening to her himself, but he changed his mind, and despatched others*. Her death, however, was so sudden, that though they who were sent ran the whole way, alarmed the guards with their apprehensions, and immediately broke open the doors, they found her quite dead†, lying on her golden bed, and dressed in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dead at her feet, and Charmion, hardly able to support herself, was adjusting her mistress's diadem. One of Cæsar's messengers said angrily, "Charmion, was this well done?" "Perfectly well," said she, "and worthy a descendant of the kings of Egypt." She had no sooner said this, than she fell down dead.

It is related by some that an asp was brought in amongst the figs, and hid under the leaves; and that Cleopatra had ordered it so, that she might be bit without seeing it; that, however, upon removing the leaves, she perceived it, and said, "This is what I wanted."—Upon which she immediately held out her arm to it. Others say, that the asp was kept in a water vessel, and that she vexed and pricked it with a golden spindle till it seized her arm. Nothing of this, however, could be ascertained; for it was reported likewise that she carried about with her a certain poison in a hollow bodkin that she wore in her hair; yet there was neither any mark of poison on her body, nor was there any serpent found in the monument, though the track of a reptile was said to have been discovered on the sea-sands, opposite to the windows of Cleopatra's apartment. Others, again, have affirmed that she had two small punctures on her arm, apparently occasioned by the sting of the asp; and it is clear that Cæsar gave credit to this; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an asp on the arm‡.

Such are the accounts we have of the death of Cleopatra; and though Cæsar was much disappointed by it, he admired her fortitude, and ordered her to be buried in the tomb of Antony, with all the magnificence due to her quality. Her women, too, were by his orders interred with great funeral pomp. Cleopatra died at the age of

* This is another instance of his personal cowardice.

† Dion says that Cæsar ordered her to be sucked by the *Psylli*, that the poison might be drawn out; but it was too late.

‡ This may be a matter of doubt. There would, of course, be an asp on the diadem of the effigy, because it was peculiar to the kings of Egypt; and this might give rise to the report of an asp being on the arm.

thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years, the fourteen last in conjunction with Antony. Antony was fifty-three, some say fifty-six, when he died. His statues were all demolished, but Cleopatra's remained untouched; for Archibius, a friend of hers, gave Cæsar a thousand talents for their redemption.

Antony left, by his three wives, seven children*, whereof Antyllus, the eldest, only was put to death. Octavia took the rest, and educated them with her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was married to Juba, one of the politest princes of his time; and Octavia made Antony, his son by Fulvia, so considerable with Cæsar, that, after Agrippa, and the sons of Livia, he was generally allowed to hold the first place in his favour. Octavia, by her first husband Marcellus, had two daughters, and a son named Marcellus. One of these daughters she married to Agrippa, and the son married a daughter of Cæsar's. But as he died soon after, and Octavia observing that her brother was at a loss whom he should adopt in his place, she prevailed on him to give his daughter Julia to Agrippa, though her own daughter must necessarily be divorced to make way for her. Cæsar and Agrippa having agreed on this point, she took back her daughter, and married her to Antony. Of the two daughters that Octavia had by Antony, one was married to Domitius Ænobarbus, and the other, Antonia, so much celebrated for her beauty and virtue, married Drusus the son of Livia, and son-in-law to Cæsar. Of this line came Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius was afterwards emperor; and so likewise was Caius the son of Germanicus, who, after a short but infamous reign, was put to death, together with his wife and daughter. Agrippina, who had Lucius Domitius by Ænobarbus, was afterwards married to Claudius Cæsar. He adopted Domitius, whom he named Nero Germanicus. This Nero, who was emperor in our times, put his own mother to death, and, by the madness of his conduct, went near to ruin the Roman empire. He was the fifth in descent from Antony.

DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY COMPARED.

AS Demetrius and Antony both passed through a variety of fortune, we shall consider, in the first place, their respective power and celebrity. These were hereditary to Demetrius; for Antigonus, the most powerful of Alexander's successors, had reduced all Asia during

* By Fulvia he had Antyllus and Antony; by Cleopatra he had Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander; and by Octavia, Antonia *major* and *minor*.

his son's minority. On the other hand, the father of Antony was, indeed, a man of character, but not of a military character; yet, though he had no public influence or reputation to bequeath to his son, that son did not hesitate to aspire to the empire of Cæsar; and, without any title either from consanguinity or alliance, he effectually invested himself with all that he had acquired: at least, by his own peculiar weight, after he had divided the world into two parts, he took the better for himself. By his lieutenants he conquered the Parthians, and drove back the barbarous nations about Caucasus as far as the Caspian sea. Even the less reputable parts of his conduct are so many testimonies of his greatness. The father of Demetrius thought it an honour to marry him to Phila the daughter of Antipater, though there was a disparity in their years; while Antony's connexion with Cleopatra was considered as a degrading circumstance; though Cleopatra, in wealth and magnificence, was superior to all the princes of her time, Arsaces excepted. Thus he had raised himself to such a pitch of grandeur, that the world in general thought him entitled even to more than he wished.

In Demetrius's acquisition of empire there was nothing reprehensible. He extended it only to nations inured to slavery, and desirous of being governed. But the arbitrary power of Antony grew on the execrable policy of a tyrant, who once more reduced to slavery a people that had shaken off the yoke; consequently the greatest of his actions, his conquest of Brutus and Cassius, is darkened with the inglorious motive of wresting its liberty from Rome. Demetrius, during his better fortunes, consulted the liberties of Greece, and removed the garrisons from the cities; while Antony made it his boast that he had destroyed the assertors of his country's freedom in Macedonia.

Antony is praised for his liberality and munificence; in which, however, Demetrius is so far his superior, that he gave more to his enemies than the former did to his friends. Antony was honoured for allowing a magnificent funeral to Brutus; but Demetrius buried every enemy he had slain, and sent back his prisoners to Ptolemy, not only with their own property, but with presents.

Both were insolent in prosperity, and fell with too much ease into luxury and indulgence: but we never find Demetrius neglecting his affairs for his pleasures. In his hours of leisure, indeed, he had his Lamia, whose office it was, like the fairy in the fable, to lull him to sleep, or amuse him in his play. When he went to war, his spear was not bound about with ivy; his helmet did not smell of perfume; he did not come, in the foppery of dress, out of the chambers of the women; the riots of Bacchus and his train were

hushed; and he became, as Euripides says, the *minister of Mars.* In short, he never lost a battle through the indulgence of luxury. This could not be said of Antony. As in the pictures of Hercules we see Omphale stealing his club and his lion's skin, so Cleopatra frequently disarmed Antony, and, while he should have been prosecuting the most necessary expeditions, led him to dancing and dalliance on the shores of Canopus and Taphosiris*. So, likewise, as Paris came from battle to the bosom of Helen, and even from the loss of victory to her bed, Antony threw victory itself out of his hands to follow Cleopatra.

Demetrius being under no prohibition of the laws, but following the examples of Philip and Alexander, Lysimachus and Ptolemy, married several wives, and treated them all with the greatest honour. Antony, though it was a thing unheard of amongst the Romans, had two wives at the same time. Besides, he banished her who was properly his wife, and a citizen, from his house, to indulge a foreigner, with whom he could have no legal connexion. From their marriages, of course, one of them found no inconvenience; the other suffered the greatest evils.

In respect of their amours, Antony was comparatively pardonable and modest. Historians tell us that the Athenians turned the dogs out of the citadel, because they had their procreative intercourse in public: but Demetrius had his courtesans, and dishonoured the matrons of Athens, even in the temple of Minerva. Nay, though cruelty seems to be inconsistent with sensual gratifications, he scrupled not to drive the most beautiful and virtuous youth in the city to the extremity of death, to avoid his brutal designs. In short, Antony, by his amorous indulgences, hurt only himself; Demetrius injured others.

With regard to their behaviour to their parents and relations, that of Demetrius is irreproachable; but Antony sacrificed his uncle to the sword of Cæsar, that he might be empowered in his turn to cut off Cicero—a crime, the latter was, which never could be made pardonable, had Antony been saved, and not sacrificed an uncle by the means! They are both accused of perfidy, in that one of them threw Artabazus into prison, and the other killed Alexander. Antony, however, has some apology in this case, for he had been abandoned and betrayed by Artabazus in Media: but Demetrius was suspected of laying a false accusation against Alexander, and of punishing, not the offender, but the injured.

There is this difference, too, in their military operations, that

* Strabo mentions this as a romantic place near the sea, full of rocks, where the young people went to amuse themselves.—Lib. xvii.

Demetrius gained every victory himself, and many of Antony's laurels were won by his lieutenants.

Both lost their empire by their own fault, but by different means. The former was abandoned by his people; the latter deserted his, even whilst they were fighting for him. The fault of Demetrius was, that by his conduct he lost the affection of his army; the fault of Antony, his desertion and neglect of that affection. Neither of them can be approved in their death, but Demetrius much less than Antony; for he suffered himself to fall into the hands of the enemy, and, with a spirit that was truly bestial, endured an imprisonment of three years for nothing but the low indulgences of appetite.—There was a deplorable weakness, and many disgraceful circumstances attending the death of Antony, but he effected it at last without falling into the enemy's hands.

DION.

AS we learn from Simonides, my dear Senecio, that the Trojans were by no means offended at the Corinthians for joining the confederates in the Grecian war, because the family of Glaucus, their own ally, was originally of Corinth; so neither the Greeks nor the Romans have reason to complain of the academy, which has been equally favourable to both. This will appear from the lives of Brutus and Dion; for as one was the scholar of Plato, and the other educated in his principles, they came, like wrestlers from the same Palæstra, to engage in the greatest conflicts. Both by their conduct, in which there was a great similarity, confirmed that observation of their master, that, "Power and fortune must concur with prudence and justice to effect any thing great in a political capacity." But as Hippomachus the wrestler said, that he could distinguish his scholars at a distance, though they were only carrying meat from the market, so the sentiments of those who have had a polite education must have a similar influence on their manners, and give a peculiar grace and propriety to their conduct.

Accident, however, rather than design, gave a similarity to the lives of these two great men, and both were cut off by an untimely death, before they could carry the purposes which they had pursued with so much labour into execution. The most singular circumstance

attending their death was, that both had a divine warning of it in the appearance of a frightful spectre. There are those, indeed, who say that no man in his senses ever saw a spectre; that these are the delusive visions of women and children, or of men whose intellects are affected by some infirmity of the body, and who believe that their absurd imaginations are of divine inspiration: but if Dion and Brutus, men of firm and philosophic minds, whose understandings were not affected by any constitutional infirmity—if such men could pay so much credit to the appearance of spectres as to give an account of them to their friends, I see no reason why we should depart from the opinion of the ancients, that men had their evil genii, who disturbed them with fears, and distressed their virtue, lest, by a steady and uniform pursuit of it, they should hereafter obtain a happier allotment than themselves*. These things, however, I must refer to another occasion; and in this twelfth book of parallel Lives, of which Dion and Brutus are the subjects, I shall begin with the more ancient.

After Dionysius the elder had seized the government of Sicily, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, a Syracusan: but as the monarchical power was yet but ill established, she had the misfortune to be so much abused in her person by an outrageous faction, that she put an end to her life. When Dionysius was confirmed in his government, he married two wives at the same time: one was Doris, a native of Locris; the other Aristomache, the daughter of Hipparinus, who was a principal person in Syracuse, and colleagued with Dionysius, when he was first appointed general of the Sicilian forces. It is said that he married these wives on the same day. It is not certain which he enjoyed first, but he was impartial in his kindness to them; for both attended him at his table, and alternately partook of his bed. As Doris had the disadvantage of being a foreigner, the Syracusans sought every means of obtaining the preference for their countrywoman; but it was more than equivalent to this disadvantage, that she had the honour of giving Dionysius his eldest son. Aristomache, on the contrary, was a long time barren, though the king was extremely desirous of having children by her, and put to death the mother of Doris, upon a supposition that she prevented her conception by potions.

Dion, the brother of Aristomache, was well received at court, not only on her account, but from the regard which Dionysius had for

* This is perfectly agreeable to the Platonic doctrine of the different orders and dispositions of the *genii*; and as Dion and Brutus were both great enthusiasts in Platonism, *the strength of their faith* brought their spectres before them.

his merit and abilities; and that prince gave his treasurer an order to supply him with whatever money he wanted, but, at the same time, to keep an account of what he received.

But whatever the talents and the virtue of Dion might be originally, it is certain that they received the happiest improvement under the auspices of Plato. Surely the gods, in mercy to mankind, sent that divine philosopher from Italy to Syracuse, that, through the humane influence of his doctrine, the spirit of liberty might once more revive, and the inhabitants of that country be rescued from tyranny*.

Dion soon became the most distinguished of his scholars. To the fertility of his genius, and the excellence of his disposition, Plato himself has given testimony†, and he did the greatest honour to that testimony in his life: for though he had been educated in servile principles under a tyrant; though he had been familiarized to dependence on the one hand, and to the indulgence of pomp and luxury, as the greatest happiness, on the other; yet he was no sooner acquainted with that philosophy which points out the road to virtue, than his whole soul caught the enthusiasm; and, with the simplicity of a young man, who judges of the dispositions of others by his own, he concluded that Plato's lectures would have the same effect on Dionysius; for this reason he solicited, and at length persuaded, the tyrant to hear him. When Plato was admitted, the discourse turned on virtue in general: afterwards they came to fortitude in particular; and Plato made it appear that tyrants have, of all men, the least pretence to that virtue. Justice was the next topic; and when Plato asserted the happiness of the just, and the wretched condition of the unjust, the tyrant was stung, and, being unable to answer his arguments, he expressed his resentment against those who seemed to listen to him with pleasure. At last he was extremely exasperated, and asked the philosopher what business he had in Sicily? Plato answered, "That he came to seek an honest man."—"And so, then," replied the tyrant, "it seems you have lost your labour." Dion was in hopes that his anger would have ended here; but while Plato was hastening to be gone, he conveyed him aboard a galley, in which Pollis, the Lacedæmonian, was returning to Greece. Dionysius urged Pollis either to put Plato to death in his passage, or, at least, to sell him as a slave: "For, according to his own maxim," said he, "this man cannot be unhappy; a just man," he says, "must be happy in a state of slavery, as well as in a state of freedom." Pollis,

* Plato, in his seventh letter, says, "When I explained the principles of philosophy and humanity to Dion, I little thought that I was insensibly opening a way to the subversion of tyranny!"

† Plato, ibid.

therefore, carried him to Ægina, and sold him there*: for the people of that place, being at war with the Athenians, had made a decree, that whatever Athenian was taken on their coast, he should be sold. Dion, notwithstanding, retained his interest with Dionysius, had considerable employments, and was sent ambassador to Carthage. Dionysius had a high esteem for him, and he therefore permitted him to speak his sentiments with freedom. An instance of this we have in the retort he made on the tyrant's ridiculing the government of Gelo. "Gelo," said Dionysius, "is *(Gelos)* the laughing-stock of Sicily." While others admired and applauded his witticism, Dion answered—"You obtained the crown by being trusted on Gelo's account, who reigned with great humanity; but you have reigned in such a manner, that, for your sake, no man will be trusted hereafter. Gelo made monarchy appear the best of governments; but you have convinced us that it is the worst." Dionysius had three children by Doris, and four by Aristomache, whereof two were daughters, Saphrosyne and Arete. The former of these was married to his eldest son Dionysius; the latter to his brother Thearides, and, after his death, to her uncle Dion. In the last illness of Dionysius, Dion would have applied to him in behalf of the children of Aristomache, but the physicians were beforehand with him. They wanted to ingratiate themselves with his successor; and when he asked for a sleeping dose, Timæus tells us, they gave him so effectual a one, that he awaked no more.

When his son Dionysius came to the throne, in the first council that he held, Dion spoke with so much propriety on the present state of affairs, and on the measures which ought to be taken, that the rest appeared to be mere children in understanding. By the freedom of his counsels, he exposed in a strong light the slavish principles of those who, through a timorous disingenuity, advised such measures as they thought would please their prince, rather than such as might advance his interest. But what alarmed them most was the steps he proposed to take with regard to the impending war with Carthage; for he offered either to go in person to Carthage, and settle an honourable peace with the Carthaginians; or, if the king were rather inclined for war, to fit out and maintain fifty galleys at his own expense.

Dionysius was pleased with the magnificence of his spirit, but the courtiers felt that it made them appear little. They agreed that, at all events, Dion was to be crushed, and they spared no calumny that malice could suggest. They represented to the king, that he certainly meant to make himself master by sea, and by that means to obtain the kingdom for his sister's children. There was, moreover, another

* For twenty pounds.

and an obvious cause of their hatred to him, in the reserve of his manners, and the sobriety of his life. They led the young and ill-educated king through every species of debauchery, the shameless panders to his wrong-directed passions. Yet, while folly rioted, tyranny slept: its rage was dissolved in the ardour of youthful indulgences, as iron is softened in the fire; and that lenity which the Sicilians could not expect from the virtue of their prince, they found in his weakness. Thus the reins of that monarchy, which Dionysius vainly called adamantine, fell gradually from the loose and dissolute hand that held them. This young prince, it is said, would continue the scene of intoxication for ninety days without intermission, during which time no sober person was admitted to his court, where all was drunkenness and buffoonery, revelry and riot.

Their enmity to Dion, who had no taste for these enjoyments, was a thing of course; and, as he refused to partake with them in their vices, they resolved to strip him of his virtues. To these they gave the names of such vices as are supposed in some degree to resemble them. His gravity of manners they called pride; his freedom of speech, insolence; his declining to join in their licentiousness, contempt. It is true, there was a natural haughtiness in his deportment, and an asperity that was unsociable and difficult of access; so that it was not to be wondered if he found no ready admission to the ears of a young king already spoiled by flattery. Many even of his own particular friends, who admired the integrity and generosity of his heart, could not but condemn these forbidding manners, which were so ill adapted to social and political intercourse; and Plato himself, when he wrote to him some time after, warned him, as it were by the spirit of prophecy, *To guard against that austerity which is the companion of solitude.* However, the necessity of the times, and the feeble state of the monarchy, rendered it necessary for the king, though contrary to his inclination, to retain him in the highest appointments; and this Dion himself very well knew.

As he was willing to impute the irregularities of Dionysius to ignorance and a bad education, he endeavoured to engage him in a course of liberal studies, and to give him a taste for those sciences which have a tendency to moral improvement. By this means he hoped that he should induce him to think of virtue without disgust, and at length to embrace its precepts with pleasure. The young Dionysius was not naturally the worst of princes; but his father being apprehensive, that if his mind were improved by science and the conversation of wise and virtuous men, he might some time or other think of depriving him of his kingdom, kept him in close confinement, where, through ignorance and want of other employment, he

amused himself with making little chariots, candlesticks, wooden chairs, and tables. His father, indeed, was so suspicious of all mankind, and so wretchedly timorous, that he would not suffer a barber to shave him; but had his hair singed off with a live coal, by one of his own attendants. Neither his brother nor his son were admitted into his chambers in their own clothes, but were first stripped and examined by the sentinels, and after that were obliged to put on such clothes as were provided for them. When his brother Leptines was once describing the situation of a place, he took a spear from one of the guards to trace the plan; upon which Dionysius was extremely offended, and caused the soldier who had given up his spear, to be put to death. He was afraid, he said, of the sense and sagacity of his friends; because he knew they must think it more eligible to govern than to obey. He slew Marsyas, whom he had advanced to a considerable military command, merely because Marsyas dreamed that he killed him; for he concluded that this dream by night was occasioned by some similar suggestion of the day. Yet even this timorous and suspicious wretch was offended at Plato, because he would not allow him to be the most valiant man in the world!

When Dion, as we have before observed, considered that the irregularities of young Dionysius were chiefly owing to his want of education, he exhorted him earnestly to apply himself to study, and by all means to send for Plato, the prince of philosophers, into Sicily. "When he comes," said he, "apply to him without loss of time. Conformed by his precepts to that divine exemplar of beauty and perfection which called the universe from confusion into order, you will at once secure your own happiness, and the happiness of your people. The obedience they now render you through fear, by your justice and moderation you will improve to a principle of filial duty; and of a tyrant you will become a king. Fear and force, and fleets and armies, are not, as your father called them, the adamantine chains of government; but that attention, that affection, that respect, which justice and goodness for ever draw after them. These are the milder, but the stronger bonds of empire. Besides, it is surely a disgrace for a prince, who, in all the circumstances of figure and appearance, is distinguished from the people, not to rise above them at the same time in the superiority of his conversation, and the cultivation of his mind."

As Dion frequently solicited the king on this subject, and occasionally repeated some of Plato's arguments, he conceived at length a violent inclination to hear him discourse. He therefore sent several letters of invitation to him at Athens, which were seconded by the entreaties of Dion. The Pythagorean philosophers in Italy

requested at the same time, that he would undertake the direction of this young prince, whose mind was misguided by power, and reclaim him by the solid counsels of philosophy. Plato, as he owns himself, was ashamed to be a philosopher in theory and not in practice; and flattering himself, that if he could rectify the mind of the prince, he might by the same means remedy the disorders of the kingdom, he yielded to their request.

The enemies of Dion, now fearing an alteration in Dionysius, advised him to recal from exile one Philistus, who was indeed a man of learning*, but employed his talents in defence of the despotic policy; and this man they intended to set in opposition to Plato and his philosophy. Philistus, from the beginning, had been a principal instrument in promoting the monarchical government, and kept the citadel, of which he was governor, a long time for that party. It is said that he had a private commerce with the mother of the elder Dionysius, and that the tyrant himself was not ignorant of it. Be this as it may, Leptines, who had two daughters by a married woman, whom he had debauched, gave one of them in marriage to Philistus; but this being done without consulting Dionysius, he was offended, imprisoned Leptines's mistress, and banished Philistus. The latter fled to his friends at Adria, where, it is probable, he composed the greatest part of his history; for he did not return to Sicily, during the reign of that Dionysius. After his death, as we have observed, Dion's enemies occasioned him to be recalled. His arbitrary principles were suitable for their purpose, and he began to exercise them immediately on his return.

At the same time, calumnies and impeachments against Dion were, as usual, brought to the king. He was accused of holding a private correspondence with Theodoses and Heraclides, for the subversion of the monarchy; and indeed, it is probable that he entertained some hopes, from the arrival of Plato, of lessening the excessive power of Dionysius, or at least of making him moderate and equitable in the use of it. Besides, if he continued obstinate, and were not to be reclaimed, he was determined to depose him, and restore the commonwealth to the Syracusans; for he preferred even the popular form of government to an absolute monarchy, where a well-regulated aristocracy could not be procured.

Such was the state of affairs when Plato came into Sicily. At first he was received with the greatest appearance of kindness, and he was conveyed from the coast in one of the king's most splendid chariots. Even Dionysius himself sacrificed to the gods in acknow-

* He wrote the histories of Egypt, Sicily, and the reign of Dionysius. Cicero calls him the petty Thucydides.—*Pusillus Thucydides.*

ledgement of his safe arrival, and of the honour and happiness they had by that means conferred on his kingdom. The people had the greatest hopes of a speedy reformation. They observed an unusual decorum in the entertainments at court, and a sobriety in the conduct of the courtiers; while the king answered all to whom he gave audience in a very obliging manner. The desire of learning, and the study of philosophy, were become general; and the several apartments of the royal palace were like so many schools of geometricians, full of the dust in which the students describe their mathematical figures. Not long after this, at a solemn sacrifice in the citadel, when the herald prayed, as usual, for the long continuance of the government, Dionysius is said to have cried, "How long will you continue to curse me?" This was an inexpressible mortification to Philistus and his party; if Plato, said they, has already made such a change in the king, his influence in time will be irresistible.

They now no longer made their attacks on Dion separately, or in private. They united in exclaiming against him, that he had fascinated the king with the delusions of eloquence and philosophy, in order to obtain the kingdom for his sister's children. They represented it as a matter of the greatest indignity, that after the whole force of the Athenians had vainly invaded Sicily, and were vanquished and destroyed, without so much as being able to take Syracuse, they should now, by means of one sophist, overturn the empire of Dionysius. It was with indignation they beheld the deluded monarch prevailed on by his insinuations to part with his guard of ten thousand spearmen, to give up a navy of four hundred galleys, to disband an army of ten thousand horse, and many times that number of foot, in order that he might pursue an ideal happiness in the academy, and amuse himself with theorems of geometry, while the substantial enjoyments of wealth and power were left to Dion, and the children of Aristomache.

By means of these suggestions Dion first incurred the suspicion, and soon after the open displeasure of Dionysius. A letter of his was likewise intercepted, and privately carried to the king. It was addressed to the Carthaginian agents, and directed them not to have their audience of the king, concerning the conclusion of the peace, unless he were present, and then every thing should be settled as they wished. Timæus informs us, that after Dionysius had showed this letter to Philistus, and consulted him upon it, he overreached Dion by a pretence of reconciliation, and told him, that he was desirous their good understanding might be renewed. After this, as he was one day walking alone with him, by the wall of the castle, near the sea, he showed him the letter, and accused him of conspiring with

Carthaginians against him. When Dion attempted to speak in his own defence, Dionysius refused to hear him; and having forced him on board a vessel which lay there for the purpose, commanded the sailors to set him ashore in Italy.

When this was publicly known, it was generally condemned as tyrannical and cruel. The court was in distress for the ladies of Dion's family; but the citizens received fresh courage from the event; for they were in hopes that the odium which it would bring upon Dionysius, and the general discontent that his government occasioned, might contribute to bring about a revolution. Dionysius perceived this with some anxiety, and thinking it necessary to pacify the women and the rest of Dion's friends, he told them that he was not gone into exile, but only sent out of the way for a time, that his obstinacy might not draw upon him a heavier punishment. He also allowed his friends two ships, that they might convey to him, in Peloponnesus, as much of his treasure, and as many of his servants, as they should think fit; for Dion was a man of considerable property, and little inferior to the king in wealth or magnificence.—The most valuable part of his effects, together with presents from the ladies, and others of his acquaintance, his friends conveyed to him; and the splendour of his fortune gained him great respect among the Greeks. At the same time they conceived a high idea of the power of the tyrant, when an exile from his kingdom could make uch an appearance.

Dionysius now removed Plato into the citadel, under colour of kindness; but in reality to set a guard upon him, lest he should follow Dion, and proclaim to the world how injuriously he had been treated.

As wild beasts become tame and tractable by use, so the tyrant, by frequent conversation with the philosopher, began at last to conceive an affection for him; yet even that affection had something of the tyrant in it; for he required of Plato, in return, that he should exclusively confine his regard and admiration to him. On condition that he would prefer his friendship to that of Dion, he was willing to give up the whole administration into his hands. This extravagant affection gave Plato no small trouble; for it was accompanied with petulance and jealousy, as the love which subsists between the different sexes has its quarrels and reconciliations. He expressed the strongest desire to become Plato's scholar, and to proceed in the study of philosophy; but he expressed it with reluctance in the presence of those who wanted to divert him from his purpose, and seemed as if he was in pursuit of something he ought to be ashamed of.

As a war broke out about this time, he found it necessary to

dismiss Plato; but he promised him, before his departure, to recal Dion the ensuing summer. However, he did not keep his promise, but made the war he was engaged in his apology, and remitted to him the produce of his estate. At the same time he desired Plato to acquiesce in his apology, assuring him that he would send for Dion on the commencement of the peace; and he entreated, in the mean while, that Dion would be peaceable, and not say or do any thing that might hurt his character among the Greeks. This Plato endeavoured to effect, by keeping Dion in the academy, in pursuit of philosophy.

At Athens, Dion lived with an acquaintance, whose name was Calippus. But a piece of pleasure ground which he purchased, he gave, on his departure, to Speusippus, with whom he had most usually conversed. Speusippus, as Timon, in his poems called *Syllis*, informs us, was a facetious companion, and had a turn for raillery; and Plato was desirous that Dion's severity of manners might be softened by the pleasantry of his conversation. When Plato exhibited a chorus of boys at Athens*, Dion took upon himself the management, and defrayed the expence. Plato was desirous that this munificence might procure him popularity, and, on that account, he readily gave up the honour of conducting the affair himself.

Dion likewise visited other cities, and conversed with the principal statesmen, by whom he was publicly entertained. In his manners there was now no longer any thing pompous or affected; there was nothing that savoured of the dissolute luxury of a tyrant's court; his behaviour was modest, discreet, and manly; and his philosophical discourses were learned and ingenious. This procured him popular favour, and public honours; and the Lacedæmonians, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, though at the very time they had received succours from him against the Thebans, made him free of their city. We are told that Dion accepted an invitation from Ptœodorus the Megarensian, who was a man of considerable power and fortune; and when he found his door crowded with people on business, and that it was difficult to have access to him, he said to his friends, who expressed their dissatisfaction on the occasion, "Why should this affront us? We did this, and more than this, at Syracuse."

Dion's popularity in Greece, soon excited the jealousy of Dionysius, who therefore stopped his remittances, and put his estate in the hands of his own stewards. However, that his reputation might not suffer, through Plato's means, amongst the philosophers, he

* This was a dramatic entertainment, exhibited with great expense and magnificence on the feast of Bacchus.

retained a number of learned men in his court; and being desirous to outshine them all in disputation, he frequently was under a necessity of introducing, without the least propriety, the arguments he had learnt from Plato. He now wished for that philosopher again, and repented that he had so ill availed himself of his instructions. Like a tyrant, therefore, whose desires, however extravagant, are immediately to be complied with, he was violently bent on recalling him. To effect this, he thought of every expedient, and at length prevailed on Archytas, and the rest of the Pythagorean philosophers, to pledge themselves for the performance of his promises, and to persuade him to return to Sicily; for it was Plato that first introduced those philosophers to Dionysius.

On their part, they sent Archidamus to Plato, and Dionysius, at the same time, sent some galleys with several of his friends, to join in their request. The tyrant likewise wrote to him, and told him, in plain terms, that Dion must expect no favour from him, if Plato should not come into Sicily; but, upon his arrival, he might depend on every thing he desired. Dion was also solicited by his sister and wife to prevail with Plato to gratify the tyrant, that he might no longer have an apology for the severity of his treatment. Plato, therefore, as he says himself, set sail the third time for Sicily:

To brave Charybdis' dreadful gulf once more*!

His arrival was not only a satisfaction to Dionysius, but to all Sicily; the inhabitants of which did not fail to implore the gods that Plato might overcome Philistus, and that the tyranny might expire under the influence of his philosophy. Plato was in high favour with the women in particular, and with Dionysius he had such credit as no other person could boast; for he was allowed to come to him without being searched. When Aristippus the Cyrenean observed that the king frequently offered Plato money, and that Plato as constantly refused it, he said, "That Dionysius was liberal without danger of exhausting his treasury; for to those who wanted, and would take money, he was sparing in his offers; but profuse where he knew it would be refused."

After the first civilities were over, Plato took an opportunity to mention Dion, but the tyrant put him off, till at last expostulations and animosities took place. These, however, Dionysius was industrious to conceal, and endeavoured to bring over Plato from the interest of Dion by repeated favours and studied civilities. The philosopher, on the other hand, did not immediately publish his perfidy, but dissembled his resentment. While things were thus circumstanced, Helicon of Cyzicus, one of Plato's followers, foretold

* Odys. l. 12.

an eclipse of the sun; and as it happened according to his prediction, the king, in admiration of his learning, rewarded him with a talent of silver. Upon this Aristippus, jesting among the rest of the philosophers, told them he had something extraordinary likewise to prognosticate. Being entreated to make it known, "I foresee," said he, "that in a short time there will be a quarrel between Dionysius and Plato." Soon after this, Dionysius sold Dion's estate, and converted the money to his own use. Plato was removed from his apartment in the palace-gardens, and placed within the purlieus of the guards, who had long hated, and even sought to kill him, on a supposition that he advised the tyrant to lay down his government, and disband his army.

Archytas, who had engaged for Plato's safety, when he understood his danger, sent a galley to demand him; and the tyrant, to palliate his enmity, previous to his departure, made pompous entertainments. At one of them, however, he could not help saying, "I suppose, Plato, when you return to your companions in the academy, my faults will often be the subject of your conversation." "I hope," answered Plato, "we shall never be so much at a loss for subjects in the academy, as to talk of you." Such are the circumstances which have been mentioned concerning Plato's departure; but they are not perfectly consistent with Plato's own account.

Dion being offended not only with these things, but with some intelligence he had before received concerning his wife, which is alluded to in Plato's letter to Dionysius, openly declared himself his enemy. The affair was this: Plato, on his return to Greece, was desired by Dionysius privately to consult Dion, whether he would be averse to his wife's marrying another man; for there was a report, whether true, or the invention of his enemies, that his matrimonial state was not agreeable to him, and that there was a coolness betwixt him and Arete. After Plato had consulted Dion on the affair, he wrote to Dionysius, and though he spoke in plain terms of other matters, he mentioned this in a manner that could only be intelligible to the king. He told him that he had talked with Dion on the business, and that he would certainly resent it, if any such attempt were made.

While any prospect of an accommodation remained, Dionysius took no further steps in the affair; but when that prospect was gone, and Plato once more had left Sicily in displeasure, he compelled Arete to marry Timocrates; and in this instance he fell short even of the justice and lenity of his father. When Philoxenus, who had married his sister Theste, was declared his enemy, and fled through fear out of Sicily, Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her with be-

ing privy to her husband's escape, without letting him know it. Theste answered, without fear or hesitation, "Do you think me, Dionysius, so bad a wife, or so weak a woman, that if I had known of my husband's flight, I would not have accompanied him, and shared in the worst of his fortunes? Indeed I was ignorant of it. And I assure you, that I should esteem it a higher honour to be called the wife of Philoxenus the exile, than the sister of Dionysius the tyrant." The king, it is said, admired her spirited answer; and the Syracusans honoured her so much, that she retained her princely retinue after the dissolution of the tyranny; and the citizens, by public decree, attended the solemnity of her funeral. This is a digression, but it may have its use.

Dion now thought of nothing but war. Plato, however, was against it, partly on account of the hospitable favours he had received from Dionysius, and partly because of the advanced age of Dion. Speusippus, and the rest of his friends, on the other hand, encouraged him to rescue from slavery his native Sicily, that stretched forth her hands towards him, and would certainly receive him with every expression of joy. Speusippus, when he attended Plato into Sicily, had mixed more with the people, and learnt their sentiments with regard to the government. At first, indeed, they were reserved, and suspected him for an emissary of the tyrant; but by degrees he obtained their confidence. In short, it was the voice, the prayer of the people, that Dion would come, though without either army or navy, to their relief, and lend them only his name and his presence against the tyrant. Dion was encouraged by these representations; and the more effectually to conceal his intentions, he raised what forces he was able by means of his friends. He was assisted in this by many statesmen and philosophers, amongst whom was Endemus the Cyprian, (on occasion of whose death Aristotle wrote his dialogue on the soul), and Timonides the Leucadian. These engaged in his interest Miltas the Thessalian, who was skilled in divination, and had been his fellow-academician. But of all those whom the tyrant had banished, which were no fewer than a thousand, no more than twenty-five gave in their names for the service. The rest, for want of spirit, would not engage in the cause. The general rendezvous was in the island of Zacynthus; and here, when the little army was assembled, it did not amount to eight hundred men*: but they were men who had signalized themselves in the greatest engagements; they were in perfect discipline, and inured to hardship; in courage and conduct they had no superiors in the army: in short, they were such men as were

* Diodorus enlarges with great propriety on the extraordinary spirit and success of this enterprise. Lib. xvi.

likely to serve the cause of Dion, in animating, by their example, those who came to his standard in Sicily.

Yet these men, when they understood that they were to be led against Dionysius, were disheartened, and condemned the rash resentment of Dion, the consequence of which they looked upon as certain ruin. Nor were they less offended with their commanders, and those who had enlisted them, because they had concealed the design of the service. But when Dion, in a public speech, after showing them the feeble state of Dionysius's government, told them that he considered them rather as so many officers whom he carried to head the people of Sicily, already prepared to revolt, than as private men; and when Alcimenes, who, in birth and reputation, was the principal man in Achaia, had concurred in the address of Dion, and joined in the expedition, they then were satisfied.

It was now about midsummer; the Etesian winds* prevailed at sea, and the moon was at the full, when Dion prepared a magnificent sacrifice to Apollo, and marched in procession to the temple, with his men under arms. After the sacrifice, he gave them a feast in the race-ground of the Zacynthians. They were astonished at the quantity of gold and silver plate that was exhibited on this occasion, so far above the ordinary fortunes of a private man; and they concluded that a person of such opulence would not, at a late period of life, expose himself to dangers, without a fair prospect of success, and the certain support of friends. After the usual prayers and libations, the moon was eclipsed. This was nothing strange to Dion, who knew the variations of the ecliptic, and that this defection of the moon's light was caused by the interposition of the earth between her and the sun: but as the soldiers were troubled about it, Miltas, the diviner, took upon him to give it a proper turn, and assured them that it portended the sudden obscurity of something that was at present glorious; that this glorious object could be no other than Dionysius, whose lustre would be extinguished on their arrival in Sicily. This interpretation he communicated in as public a manner as pos-

* These winds blew regularly at a certain season of the year. Strabo sometimes calls them east, and sometimes north winds; but, to convey Dion from Zacynthus to Pachynus, they must have blown from the east. Pliny makes the Etesian winds the same as the north-east wind. *Aquilo in æstate media mutat nomen, et Etesias vocatur.* Hist. Nat. lib. xviii. cap. 34. He tells us when the winds begin: xviii. *Calend. Augusti, Ægypta aquilo occidit matutinò, Etesiarumque Prodromi Flotus incipiunt,* ibid. lib. xviii. c. 28. And when they end: *Decimo Sexto Calend. Octob. Ægypto Spira, quam tenet virgo, exoritur mutatinò, Etesiæque desinunt,* ibid. lib. xviii. cap. 31. Thus it seems that they last about two months. (Pliny, in another place, says forty days, lib. ii. cap. 47.), and the relief of such gales in that season is plainly providential. Aristotle accounts for them from the convexity of the earth.

sible; but from the prodigy of the bees*, a swarm of which settled on the stern of Dion's ship, he intimated to his friends his apprehensions that the great affairs which Dion was then prosecuting, after flourishing awhile, would come to nothing. Dionysius, too, they said, had many prodigies on this occasion. An eagle snatched a javelin from one of his guards, and, after flying aloft with it, dropped it in the sea. The waters of the sea, at the foot of the citadel, were fresh for one whole day, as plainly appeared to every one that tasted them. He had pigs farrowed perfect in all their other parts, but without ears. The diviners interpreted this as an omen of rebellion and revolt; the people, they said, would no longer give ear to the mandates of the tyrant. The freshness of the sea-water imported, that the Syracusans, after their harsh and severe treatment, would enjoy milder and better times. The eagle was the minister of Jove, and the javelin an ensign of power and government: thus the father of the gods had destined the overthrow and abolition of the tyranny. These things we have from Theopompus.

Dion's soldiers were conveyed in two transports. These were accompanied by another smaller vessel, and two more of thirty oars. Besides the arms of those who attended him, he took with him two thousand shields, a large quantity of darts and javelins, and a considerable supply of provisions, that nothing might be wanting in the expedition; for they put off to the main sea, because they did not think it safe to coast it along, being informed that Philistus was stationed off Japygia to watch their motions. Having sailed with a gentle wind about twelve days, on the thirteenth they arrived at Pachynus, a promontory in Sicily. There the pilot advised Dion to land his men immediately; for if they once doubled the cape, they might continue at sea a long time before they could have a gale from the south at that season of the year: but Dion, who was afraid of making a descent too near the enemy, and chose rather to make good his landing in some remoter part of the island, doubled the cape notwithstanding. They had not sailed far before a strong gale from the north, and a high sea, drove them quite off Sicily. At the same time there was a violent storm of thunder and lightning; for it was about the rising of Arcturus; and it was accompanied with such dreadful rains, and the weather was in every respect so tempestuous, that the affrighted sailors knew not where they were, till they found themselves driven by the violence of the storm to Cercina, on the coast of Africa. This craggy island was surrounded with such dangerous rocks, that they narrowly escaped being dashed to pieces: but by

* This superstition prevailed no less amongst the Romans than amongst the Greeks. See the Life of Brutus.

working hard with their poles, they kept clear, with much difficulty, till the storm abated. They were then informed by a vessel, which accidentally came up with them, that they were at the head of what is called the Great Syrtis*. In this horrible situation they were further disheartened by finding themselves becalmed; but, after beating about for some time, a gale sprung up suddenly from the south. On this unexpected change, as the wind increased upon them, they made all their sail, and imploring the assistance of the gods, once more put off to sea in quest of Sicily. After an easy passage of five days, they arrived at Minoa, a small town in Sicily†, belonging to the Carthaginians. Synalus‡, a friend of Dion's, was then governor of the place, and as he knew not that this little fleet belonged to Dion, he attempted to prevent the landing of his men. The soldiers leaped out of the vessels in arms, but killed none that opposed them; for Dion, on account of his friendship with Synalus, had forbidden them. However, they ran in one body with the fugitives into the town, and thus made themselves masters of it. When Dion and the governor met, mutual salutations passed between them, and the former restored him his town unhurt. Synalus, in return, entertained his soldiers, and supplied him with necessaries.

It happened that Dionysius, a little before this, had sailed with eighty ships for Italy, and this absence of his gave them no small encouragement; insomuch, that when Dion invited his men to refresh themselves for some time after their fatigues at sea, they thought of nothing but making a proper use of the present moment, and called upon him, with one voice, to lead them to Syracuse. He therefore left his useless arms and baggage with Synalus, and having engaged him to transmit them to him at a proper opportunity, marched for Syracuse. Two hundred of the Agrigentine cavalry, who inhabited the country about Ecnomus, immediately revolted, and joined him in his march, and these were followed by the inhabitants of Gela.

The news of his arrival soon reaching Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, and was appointed regent in the absence of Dionysius, immediately despatched letters to acquaint him with the event. In the mean while he applied himself to prevent all tumults in the city, for the people were greatly animated on the report of Dion's arrival, though the uncertainty they were under as yet kept them quiet. A singular accident happened to the courier who was despatched with letters for Dionysius: as he was passing through the territory of Rhegium to Caulonia, where the tyrant then was, he met an acquaintance of his returning home with a newly offered sacrifice,

* Not far from Tripoli. † On the south coast.

‡ Diodorus calls him Pyralus.

and having taken a little of the flesh for his own use*, he made the best of his way. At night, however, he found it necessary to take a little rest, and retired to sleep in a wood by the side of the road. A wolf, allured by the smell of the flesh, came up while he was asleep, and carried it off, together with the bag of letters to which it was fastened. When the courier awaked, he sought a long time to no purpose for his despatches, and being determined not to face Dionysius without them, he absconded. Thus it was a considerable time after, and from other hands, that Dionysius was informed of Dion's arrival in Sicily.

Dion, in his march, was joined by the Camarinæans, and many revolters from the territory of Syracuse. The Leontines and Campanians, who, with Timocrates, guarded the Epipolæ, being misled by a report designedly propagated by Dion, that he intended to attack their cities first, quitted their present station, and went to take care of their own concerns. Dion being informed of this, while he lay near Acræ, decamped in the night, and came to the river Anapus, which is at the distance of ten furlongs from the city. There he halted, and sacrificed by the river, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. The diviners informed him that the gods gave a promise of victory, and as he had himself assumed a garland at the sacrifice, all that were present immediately did the same. He was now joined by about five thousand, who were indeed ill furnished with arms; but their courage supplied that deficiency†. When he gave orders to march, *Liberty* was the word, and they rushed forward with the highest acclamations of joy. The most considerable citizens of Syracuse, dressed all in white, met him at the gates. The populace fell with great fury on Dionysius's party; but in particular they seized his spies, a set of wretches hated by gods and men, who went about the city to collect the sentiments of the inhabitants, in order to communicate them to the tyrant. These were the first that suffered, being knocked down wherever they were met. When Timocrates found that he could not join the garrison in the citadel, he fled on horseback out of the city, and spread a general terror and dismay where he passed; magnifying all the while the forces of Dion, that it might not appear a slight effort, against which he was unable to defend the place.

Dion now made his public entry into the town; he was dressed in a magnificent suit of armour, his brother Megacles marching on the

* To carry home part of the victim, and to give part of it to any person that the bearer met, were acts of religion.

† Diodorus says he was soon joined by 20,000, and that, when he reached Syracuse, he had not fewer than 50,000.

right hand, and Calippus the Athenian on the left, with garlands on their heads. He was followed by a hundred foreign soldiers, who were his body-guard; and after these marched the rest of the army in proper order, under the conduct of their respective officers. The Syracusans looked upon this procession as sacred. They considered it as the triumphal entry of Liberty, which would once more establish the popular government, after a suppression of forty-eight years.

When Dion entered at the Menitidian gate, silence was commanded by sound of trumpet, and he ordered freedom to be proclaimed to the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilians, in the name of Dion and Megacles, who came to abolish tyranny. Being desirous to address the people in a speech, he marched up to the Achradina. As he passed through the streets, the people prepared their victims on tables placed before their doors, scattered flowers on his head, and offered up their prayers to him as to their tutelar deity. At the foot of the citadel, under the pentapylæ, there was a lofty sun-dial*, which had been placed there by Dionysius. From the eminence of this building he addressed the citizens, and exhorted them earnestly to assert their liberties. The people, in their turn, nominated Dion and his brother prætors to the city, and at their request appointed them twenty colleagues, half of whom were of those who returned with Dion from exile.

At first it was considered by the soothsayers as a good omen, that Dion, when he addressed the people, had under his feet the stately edifice which Dionysius had erected; but upon reflection, that this edifice on which he had been declared general was a sun-dial, they were apprehensive that his present power and grandeur might be subject to decline.

Dion, in the next place, took the castle of Epipolæ, released the prisoners who were confined there, and invested it with a strong wall. Seven days after this event, Dionysius arrived from Italy, and entered the citadel from the sea. Dion, at the same time, received from Synalus the arms and ammunition he had left with him. These he distributed amongst the citizens as far as they would go; the rest armed themselves as well as they were able; and all expressed the utmost alacrity for the service. Dionysius at first sent agents in a private manner to Dion, to try what terms might be made with him. Dion refused to hear any overtures in private. The Syracusans, he told them, were now a free people, and what they had to offer must be addressed to them in public. Upon this they made specious pro-

* Pherecydes was the first who invented dials to mark the hour of the day, about three hundred years after the time of Homer. But before his time the Phœnicians had contrived a dial in the isle of Scyros, which described the solstices.

posals to the citizens, promised them an abatement of their taxes, and an exemption from serving in the wars, even though those wars should be undertaken by their own approbation. The Syracusans held these proposals in derision; and Dion answered, that it would be in vain for Dionysius to speak of terms without resigning, in the first place, the regal government; and that, if he took this measure, he might depend on all the good offices so near a relation might be inclined to do him, at least in every thing that was just and reasonable. Dionysius seemed to consent to these terms, and again sent his agents to desire that a deputation of the Syracusans would attend him in the citadel, in order to settle articles for the public tranquillity. He assured them that he had such to offer them, as they could not but accept; and that, on the other hand, he was equally willing to come into such as they had to offer him. Dion, therefore, selected a number of the citizens for this deputation; and the general report from the citadel was, that Dionysius would resign his authority in a voluntary manner.

This, however, was no more than a stratagem to amuse the Syracusans. The deputies no sooner arrived than they were imprisoned; and early next morning, after he had plied the mercenaries with wine, he ordered them to sally out and attack the wall which had been built by Dion. This unexpected assault was carried on with great vigour by the barbarians. They broke through the works, and falling with great impetuosity and loud shouts on the Syracusans, soon put them to flight. Dion's foreign troops took the alarm, and hastened to their relief; but the precipitate flight of the citizens disordered their ranks, and rendered it difficult for them to give any effectual assistance. Dion, perceiving that in this tumult his orders could not be heard, instructed them by his example, and charged the thickest of the enemy. The battle, where he fought in person, was fierce and bloody. He was known to the enemy as well as to his own party, and they rushed with the utmost violence to the quarter where he fought. His age, indeed, rendered him unfit for such an engagement, but he maintained the fight with great vigour, and cut in pieces many of the enemy that attacked him. At length he was wounded in the head with a lance; his shield was pierced through in many places, with the darts and spears that were levelled against him; and his armour no longer resisting the blows he received in this close engagement, he fell to the ground. He was immediately carried off by his soldiers, and leaving the command to Timonides, he rode about the city to rally the fugitives. Soon after he brought a detachment of foreign soldiers, which he had left to guard the Achradina, as a fresh reserve against the enemy. This, however, was unneces-

sary. They had placed their whole hopes of retaking the city in their first sally, and finding so powerful a resistance, fatigued with the action, they retreated into the citadel. As soon as they began to fall back, the Greek soldiers bore hard upon them, and pursued them to the walls. Dion lost seventy four men, and a very great number of the enemy fell in this action. The victory was so important that the Syracusans rewarded each of the foreign soldiers with a hundred minæ, and Dion was presented by his army with a crown of gold.

Soon after this, messengers came from Dionysius with letters to Dion, from the women of his family. Besides these, there was one inscribed, "Hipparinus to his father Dion;" for this was the name of Dion's son. Timæus says, indeed, that he was called Aretæus, from his mother Arete; but I think credit is rather to be given to Timonides; who was his friend and fellow-soldier. The rest of the letters, which were read openly before the Syracusans, contained various solicitations and entreaties from the women. The letter which appeared to come from Hipparinus, the people, out of respect to the father, would not have suffered to be opened in public; but Dion insisted that it should be so. It proved to be a letter from Dionysius himself, directed indeed to Dion, but in reality addressed to the people of Syracuse; for though it carried the air of request and apology, it had an obvious tendency to render Dion obnoxious to the citizens. He reminded him of the zeal he had formerly shown for his service; he threatened him through his dearest connexions, his sister, his son, and his wife; and his menaces were followed by the most passionate entreaties and the most abject lamentations. But the most trying part of his address was that where he entreated Dion not to destroy the government, and give that freedom to his inveterate enemies, by means of which they would prosecute him to death, but to retain the regal power himself, for the protection of his family and friends.

This letter did not produce those sentiments in the people which it should naturally have done. Instead of exciting admiration of that noble firmness and magnanimity, which could prefer the public utility to the tenderest private connexions, it occasioned jealousies and fears. The people saw, or thought they saw, that Dion was under an absolute necessity of being favourable to Dionysius. They already began to wish for another general, and it was with peculiar satisfaction they heard of the arrival of Heraclides. This Heraclides, who had been banished by the tyrant, had once a distinguished command in the army, and was a man of considerable military abilities, but irresolute, inconstant, and particularly unsteady when he had a

colleague in command. He had some time before had a difference with Dion in Peloponnesus, and therefore resolved on his own strength to make war on Dionysius. When he arrived at Syracuse, he found the tyrant close besieged, and the Syracusans elated with their success. His first object, therefore, was to court the people, and for this purpose he had all the necessary talents; an insinuating address, and that kind of flattery which is so grateful to the multitude. This business was the more easy to him, as the forbidding gravity of Dion was thought too haughty for a popular state; besides, the Syracusans, already insolent with success, assumed the spirit of a free people, though they had not in reality their freedom. Thus they convened themselves without any summons, and appointed Heraclides their admiral. Indeed, when Dion remonstrated against that proceeding, and showed them, that by thus constituting Heraclides admiral, they superseded the office of general, which they had before conferred on him, with some reluctance they deprived Heraclides of the commission they had given him. When this affair was settled, Dion invited Heraclides to his house, and gently expostulated with him on the impropriety of attending to a punctilio of honour, at a time when the least inattention to the common cause might be the ruin of the whole. He then called an assembly, appointed Heraclides admiral, and prevailed with the citizens to allow him such a guard as they had before granted to himself. Heraclides treated Dion with all the appearance of respect, acknowledged his obligations to him, and seemed attentive to his commands; but in private he corrupted the people, and encouraged a spirit of mutiny and dissatisfaction; so that Dion was involved in continual disturbances and disquiet. If he advised that Dionysius should be permitted to make his retreat in safety, he was censured as designing to favour and protect him; if to avoid those suspicions, he was for continuing the siege, he was accused of protracting the war, that he might the longer retain his command, and keep the citizens in subjection.

There was in the city one Socis, infamous for his insolence and villany, who thought the perfection of liberty was the licentiousness of speech. This fellow openly attacked Dion, and told the people, in public assembly, that they had only changed the inattention of a drunken and dissolute tyrant, for the crafty vigilance of a sober master. Immediately after this he left the assembly, and next day was seen running naked through the streets, as if from somebody that pursued him, with his head and face covered with blood. In this condition he ran into the market-place, and told the people that he had been assaulted by Dion's foreign soldiers; at the same time showing them a wound in his head, which, he said, they had given

him. Dion, upon this, was generally condemned, and accused of silencing the people by sanguinary methods; he came, however, before this irregular and tumultuous assembly in his own vindication, and made it appear that this Socis was brother to one of Dionysius's guards, and that he had been engaged by him to raise a tumult in the city; the only resource the tyrant had now left being that of exciting dissensions among the people. The surgeons, also, who examined the wound, found that it was not occasioned by any violent blow. The wounds made by weapons are generally deepest in the middle; but this was both superficial, and of an equal depth from one end to the other; besides, being discontinuous, it did not appear to be the effect of one incision, but to have been made at different times, probably as he was best able to endure the pain. At the same time there were some who deposed, that having seen Socis running naked and wounded, and being informed by him that he was flying from the pursuit of Dion's foreign soldiers, who had just then wounded him, they hastened to take the pursuers; that, however, they could meet with no such persons, but found a razor lying under a hollow stone, near the place from whence they had observed him come. All these circumstances made strongly against him; but when his own servants gave evidence that he went out of his house alone before day-light with a razor in his hand, Dion's accusers withdrew. The people, by a general vote, condemned Socis to die, and were once more reconciled to Dion.

Nevertheless, their jealousy of his soldiers remained. And as the war was now principally carried on by sea, Philistus being come to the support of Dionysius with a considerable fleet from Japygia, they did not see the necessity of retaining in their service those Greeks who were no seamen, and must depend for protection on the naval force. Their confidence in their own strength was likewise greatly increased by an advantage they had gained at sea against Philistus, whom they used in a very barbarous manner. Ephorus relates, that, after his ship was taken, he slew himself; but Timonides, who attended Dion from the beginning of the war, writing to Speusippus the philosopher, gives the story thus: Philistus's galley having run aground, he was taken prisoner alive, and, after being disarmed and stripped, was exposed naked, though an old man, to every kind of insult. They afterwards cut off his head, and ordered their children to drag his body through the Achradina, and throw it into the quarry. Timæus represents the indignity offered his remains to be still greater. The boys, he says, tied a rope about his lame leg, and so dragged him through the city; the Syracusans, in the mean while, insulting over his carcase, when they saw *him* tied by the leg who had said, *It*

would ill become Dionysius to fly from his throne by the swiftness of his horse, which he ought never to quit till he was dragged from it by the heels. Philistus, however, tells us, that this was not said to Dionysius by himself, but by another. It is plain, at the same time, that Timæus takes every occasion, from Philistus's known adherence to arbitrary power, to load him with the keenest reproaches. Those whom he injured are in some degree excusable, if in their resentment they treated him with indignities after death; but wherefore should his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works, wherefore should they exhibit him, with all the exaggerations of scurrility, in those scenes of distress to which fortune sometimes reduces the best of men? On the other hand Ephorus is no less extravagant in his encomiums on Philistus. He knows well how to throw into shades the foibles of the human character, and to give an air of plausibility to the most indefensible conduct; but, with all his eloquence, with all his art, he cannot rescue Philistus from the imputation of being the most strenuous assertor of arbitrary power, of being the fondest follower and admirer of the luxury, the magnificence, the alliance of tyrants. Upon the whole, he who neither defends the principles of Philistus, nor insults over his misfortunes, will best discharge the duty of a historian.

After the death of Philistus, Dionysius offered to surrender the citadel to Dion, together with the arms, provisions, and soldiers, and an advance of five months pay, on condition that he might be permitted to retire into Italy, and there enjoy the revenues of Gyata, a fruitful track of country in the territory of Syracuse, reaching from the sea to the middle of the country. Dion, refusing to negociate on his own account, referred the ambassadors to the Syracusans; and as they expected that Dionysius would shortly come alive into their hands, they were dismissed without audience. Upon this the tyrant, leaving his eldest son Apollocrites to defend the citadel, embarked with his most valuable treasures, and a few select friends, and, sailing with a fair wind, escaped Heraclides the admiral.

The tyrant's escape greatly exasperated the people against Heraclides; and, in order to appease them, he proposed by Hippo, one of the orators, that there should be an equal division of lands; alleging, that equality was the first foundation of civil liberty, and that poverty and slavery were synonymous terms. At the same time that he supported Hippo in the promotion of this scheme, he encouraged the faction against Dion, who opposed it. At length he prevailed with the people not only to pass this law, but to make a decree, that the pay of the foreign soldiers should be stopped, and new commanders chosen, that they might no longer be subject to the severe discipline of Dion.

Thus, like the patient, who, after a lingering sickness, makes too rash a use of the first returns of health, and rejects the sober and gradual regimen of his physician, the citizens, who had long laboured under the yoke of slavery, took too precipitate steps to freedom, and refused the salutary counsels and conduct of their deliverer.

It was about the midst of summer when the assembly was summoned for the election of new officers; and, for the space of fifteen days, there were the most dreadful thunders, and the most alarming prodigies. The religious fears that these prodigies excited, made these people decline the choosing of officers. When the weather grew more serene, the orators again exhorted them to proceed to the business; but no sooner had they begun, than a draught-ox, which had neither received any provocation from the driver, nor could be terrified by the crowds and noise, to which he had been accustomed, suddenly broke from his yoke, and running furiously into the assembly, drove the people in great disorder before him; from thence, throwing down all that stood in his way, he ran over that part of the city which afterwards fell into the enemy's hands. The Syracusans, however, regardless of these things, elected five-and-twenty officers, among whom was Heraclides. At the same time they privately endeavoured to draw off Dion's men, promising, if they would desert him, to make them citizens of Syracuse: but the soldiers were faithful to their general, and placing him in the middle of a battalion, marched out of the city. They did not, on this occasion, offer any violence to the inhabitants, but they severely reproached them for their baseness and ingratitude. The smallness of their number, and their declining to act offensively, put the citizens on the view of cutting them off before they escaped out of the city; and with this design they fell upon their rear. Dion was here in a great dilemma: he was under the necessity either of fighting against his countrymen, or of suffering himself and his faithful soldiers to be cut in pieces. He therefore entreated the Syracusans to desist: he stretched forth his hands to them, and pointed to the citadel, full of soldiers, who where happy in being spectators of these dissentions amongst their enemies; but the torrent of the populace, agitated and driven forwards by the seditious breath of the orators, was not to be stopped by persuasion. He therefore commanded his men to advance with shouts and clashing of arms, but not to attack them. The Syracusans, upon this, fled immediately through the streets, though no one pursued them; for Dion retreated with his men into the territories of the Leontines.

The very women laughed at the new officers for this cowardly flight; and the latter, to recover their reputation, ordered the citi-

zens to arms, pursued Dion, and came up with him as he was passing a river. A skirmish began between the cavalry: but when they found Dion no longer disposed to bear these indignities with his usual paternal patience; when they observed him drawing up his men for battle, with all the eagerness of strong resentment, they once more turned their backs, and, with the loss of some few men, fled to the city in a more disgraceful, and more cowardly manner than before.

The Leontines received Dion in a very honourable manner, gave money to his soldiers, and made them free of their city. They also sent messengers to Syracuse, with requisitions that his men might have justice done them, and receive their pay. The Syracusans, in return, sent other messengers with impeachments against Dion: but when the matter was debated at Leontium, in full assembly of the allies, they evidently appeared to be in fault. They refused, nevertheless, to stand to the award of this assembly; for the recent recovery of their liberties had made them insolent, and the popular power was without control; their very commanders being no more than servile dependents on the multitude.

About this time Dionysius sent a fleet under Nypsius, the Neapolitan, with provisions and pay for the garrison in the citadel. The Syracusans overcame him, and took four of his ships; but they made an ill use of their success. Destitute of all discipline, they celebrated the victory with the most riotous extravagance, and, at a time when they thought themselves secure of taking the citadel, they lost the city. Nypsius observing their disorder, their night-revels and debauches, in which their commanders, either from inclination, or through fear of offending them, were as deeply engaged as themselves, took advantage of this opportunity, broke through their walls, and exposed the city to the violence and depredation of his soldiers.

The Syracusans at once perceived their folly and their misfortune: but the latter, in their present confusion, was not easy to be redressed. The soldiers made dreadful havoc in the city; they demolished the fortifications, put the men to the sword, and dragged the women and children shrieking to the citadel. The Syracusan officers, being unable to separate the citizens from the enemy, or to draw them up in any order, gave up all for lost. In this situation, while the Achradina itself was in danger of being taken, they naturally turned their thoughts on Dion; but none had the courage to mention a man whom all had injured. In this emergency, a voice was heard from the cavalry of the allies, crying, "Send for Dion and his Peloponnesians from Leontium." His name was no sooner mentioned than the

people shouted for joy. With tears they implored that he might once more be at their head: they remembered his intrepidity in the most trying dangers: they remembered the courage that he showed himself, and the confidence with which he inspired them, when he led them against the enemy. Archonides and Telesides from the auxiliaries, and Hellanicus, with four more from the cavalry, were immediately despatched to Leontium, where, making the best of their way, they arrived in the close of the evening. They instantly threw themselves at the feet of Dion, and related, with tears, the deplorable condition of the Syracusans. The Leontines and Peloponnesians soon gathered about them, conjecturing from their haste, and the manner of their address, that their business had something extraordinary in it.

Dion immediately summoned an assembly, and the people being soon collected, Archonides and Hellanicus briefly related the distress of the Syracusans, entreated the foreign soldiers to forget the injuries they had done them, and once more to assist that unfortunate people, who had already suffered more for their ingratitude than even they whom they had injured would have inflicted upon them. When they had thus spoken, a profound silence ensued; upon which Dion arose, and attempted to speak, but was prevented by his tears. His soldiers, who were greatly affected with their general's sorrow, entreated him to moderate his grief and proceed. After he had recovered himself a little, he spoke to the following purpose: "Peloponnesians and confederates, I have called you together, that you may consult on your respective affairs. My measures are taken: I cannot hesitate what to do when Syracuse is perishing. If I cannot save it, I will at least hasten thither, and fall beneath the ruins of my country.—For you, if you can yet persuade yourselves to assist the most unfortunate and inconsiderate of men, it may be in your power to save from destruction a city which was the work of your own hands*. But if your pity for the Syracusans be sacrificed to your resentment, may the gods reward your fidelity, your kindness to Dion! And remember, that as he would not desert you when you were injured, so neither could he abandon his falling country!"

He had hardly ended, when the soldiers signified their readiness for the service by loud acclamations, and called upon him to march directly to the relief of Syracuse. The messengers embraced them, and entreated the gods to shower their blessings on Dion and the Peloponnesians. When the noise subsided, Dion gave orders that the men should repair to their quarters, and, after the necessary

*. Strabo says that Syracuse was built in the second year of the eleventh Olympiad, by Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, who came from Corinth to Syracuse.

refreshments, assemble in the same place completely armed; for he intended to march that very night.

The soldiers of Dionysius, after ravaging the city during the whole day, retired at night with the loss of a few men, into the citadel.—This small respite once more encouraged the demagogues of the city, who, presuming that the enemy would not repeat their hostilities, dissuaded the people from admitting Dion and his foreign soldiers. They advised them not to give up the honour of saving the city to strangers, but to defend their liberty themselves. Upon this the generals sent other messengers to Dion to countermand his march; while, on the other hand, the cavalry, and many of the principal citizens, sent their requests that he would hasten it. Thus invited by one party, and rejected by another, he came forward but slowly; and at night the faction that opposed him set a guard upon the gates to prevent his entering.

Nypsius now made a fresh sally from the citadel with still greater numbers, and greater fury than before. After totally demolishing the remaining part of the fortification, he fell to ravaging the city. The slaughter was dreadful; men, women, and children, fell indiscriminately by the sword; for the object of the enemy was not so much plunder as destruction. Dionysius despaired of regaining his lost empire, and in his mortal hatred of the Syracusans, he determined to bury it in the ruins of their city. It was resolved, therefore, that, before Dion's succours could arrive, they should destroy it the quickest way, by laying it in ashes. Accordingly they set fire to those parts that were at hand by brands and torches; and to the remoter parts by shooting flaming arrows. The citizens, in the utmost consternation, fled every where before them. Those who, to avoid the fire, had fled from their houses, were put to the sword in the streets; and they who sought for refuge in their houses were again driven out by the flames: many were burnt to death, and many perished beneath the ruins of the houses.

This terrible distress, by universal consent, opened the gates for Dion. After being informed that the enemy had retreated into the citadel, he had made no great haste; but early in the morning some horsemen carried him the news of a fresh assault. These were followed by some even of those who had recently opposed his coming, but who now implored him to fly to their relief. As the conflagration and destruction increased, Heraclides despatched his brother, and after him his uncle Theodotes, to entreat the assistance of Dion; for they were now no longer in a capacity of opposing the enemy: he was wounded himself, and great part of the city was laid in ashes.

When Dion received this news, he was about sixty furlongs from the city. After he had acquainted his soldiers with the dreadful exigency, and exhorted them to behave with resolution, they no longer marched, but ran; and in their way they were met by numbers, who entreated them, if possible, to go still faster. By the eager and vigorous speed of the soldiers, Dion quickly arrived at the city; and, entering by the part called Hecatompedon, he ordered his light troops immediately to charge the enemy, that the Syracusans might take courage at the sight of them. In the mean while he drew up his heavy-armed men, with such of the citizens as had joined him, and divided them into several small bodies, of greater depth than breadth, that he might intimidate the enemy, by attacking them in several quarters at once. He advanced to the engagement at the head of his men, amidst a confused noise of shouts, plaudits, prayers, and vows, which the Syracusans offered up for their deliverer, their tutelary deity; for so they termed him now; and his foreign soldiers they called their brethren and fellow-citizens. At this time, perhaps, there was not one wretch so selfishly fond of life, that he did not hold Dion's safety dearer than his own, or that of all his fellow-citizens—while they saw him advancing first in the front of danger, through blood and fire, and over heaps of the slain.

There was indeed something terrible in the appearance of the enemy, who, animated by rage and despair, had posted themselves in the ruins of the ramparts, so that it was extremely dangerous and difficult to approach them. But the apprehensions of fire discouraged Dion's men the most, and distressed them in their march. They were surrounded by flames that raged on every side; and while they walked over burning ruins, through clouds of ashes and smoke, they were every moment in danger of being buried beneath the fall of half-consumed buildings. In all these difficulties they took infinite pains to keep close together, and maintain their ranks. When they came up to the enemy, a few only could engage at a time, on account of the narrowness and inequality of the ground. They fought, however, with great bravery, and, encouraged by the acclamations of the citizens, at length they routed Nypsius, and most of his men escaped into the citadel, which was near at hand. Such of them as dispersed and could not get in, were pursued and put to the sword. The present deplorable state of the city afforded neither time nor propriety for that joy and those congratulations which usually follow victory; all were busy in saving the remains of the conflagrations; and, though they laboured hard during the whole night, it was with great difficulty that the fire was extinguished.

Not one orator of the popular faction durst any longer remain in

the city. By their flight they at once confessed their guilt, and avoided punishment. Heraclides, however, and Theodotes, surrendered themselves to Dion. They acknowledged their error, and entreated that he would not imitate them in the cruel treatment they had shown him. They forgot not to add, how much it would be for his honour, who was unequalled in other virtues, to restrain his resentments, and, by forgiving the ungrateful, to testify that superiority of spirit for which they had contended with him. His friends, however, advised him by no means to pardon these factious and invidious men, but to give them up to his soldiers, and to rid the commonwealth of the ambition of demagogues, no less destructive than that of tyrants. Dion, on the other hand, endeavoured to mitigate their resentments.—"Other generals," said he, "employ themselves chiefly in military studies; but, by being long conversant in the academy, I have learned to subdue my passions, and to restrain the impulses of enmity and anger. To prove that I have really gained such a victory over myself, it is not sufficient merely to be kind to men of virtue, but to be indulgent and reconcileable to the injurious. If I have excelled Heraclides in military and political abilities, I have resolved not to be inferior to him in justice and clemency; since to have the advantage in those is the first degree of excellence. The honours of conquest are never wholly our own; for though the conqueror may stand unrivalled, fortune will claim her share in his success. Heraclides may be treacherous, invidious, and malicious; but must Dion, therefore, sully his glories by the indulgence of resentment? The laws, indeed, allow the revenge of an injury to be more justifiable than the commission of it; but both proceed originally from the infirmity of human nature. Besides, there is hardly any malignity so inveterate that it may not be overcome by kindness, and softened by repeated favours." Agreeably to these sentiments, Dion pardoned Heraclides, and dismissed him.

His first object was to repair the wall which he had formerly erected around the citadel; and for this purpose he ordered each of the citizens to furnish a palisado, and bring it to the works. When they had done this, he sent them to their repose, and employed his own men the whole night in drawing a line of circumvallation around the citadel, which both the enemy and the citizens were astonished to find completed in the morning.

After the dead were buried, and the prisoners, to the amount of two thousand, ransomed, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides moved, that Dion should be declared commander-in-chief both at sea and land. This motion was approved by the nobility, and the com-

mons were desired to confirm it; but the sailors and artificers opposed it in a tumultuous manner. They were unwilling that Heraclides should lose his command at sea; for though they had no good opinion of his principles, they knew that he would be more indulgent than Dion, and more ready to gratify their inclinations. Dion, therefore, gave up his point, and agreed that Heraclides should continue admiral. But when the equal distribution of lands was moved for, he opposed it, and repealed all the decrees which had formerly passed on that measure; by which means he once more incurred the displeasure of the people. Heraclides again made his advantage of this, and harangued the soldiers and sailors at Messana, accusing Dion of a design to make himself absolute. At the same time he privately corresponded with Dionysius, by means of Pharax, a Spartan. When the nobility got intelligence of this, there was a sedition in the army, and the city was greatly distressed by want of provisions. Dion was now at a loss what measures to pursue; and all his friends condemned him for strengthening the hands of so perverse and invidious a wretch as Heraclides.

Pharax was encamped at Neopolis, in the territory of Agrigentum; and Dion drew out the Syracusans, but not with an intent to engage him till he found a convenient opportunity. This gave Heraclides and his seamen an occasion of exclaiming, that he delayed fighting only that he might the longer continue in command. He was forced to action, therefore, contrary to his inclinations, and was beaten. His loss, indeed, was small; and his defeat was owing more to a misunderstanding in his own army than to the superior courage of the enemy: he therefore resolved to renew the engagement; and, after animating and encouraging his men to redeem their lost credit, he drew them up in form of battle. In the evening, however, he received intelligence that Heraclides was sailing for Syracuse, with an intent to possess himself of the city, and to shut him out. Upon this he made a draught of the bravest and most active of the cavalry, and rode with such expedition, that he reached the city by nine in the morning, after a march of seven hundred furlongs. Heraclides, though he made all the sail he could, was too late; he therefore tacked about, and stood out to sea. While he was undetermined what course to steer, he met Gæsilus the Spartan, who informed him that he was sent to command in chief in Sicily, as Gylippus had done before. Heraclides immediately accepted him, and boasted to his allies that he had found in this Spartan an antidote to the power of Dion. At the same time he sent a herald to Syracuse, ordering the citizens to receive Gæsilus for their general. Dion answered, that

the Syracusans had already a sufficient number of generals; and that, if it were necessary for them to have a Spartan, he was himself a citizen of Sparta.

Gæsilus, having now no hopes of the command, waited upon Dion, and by his mediation reconciled him to Heraclides. This reconciliation was confirmed by the most solemn oaths, and Gæsilus himself was guarantee of the treaty, and undertook to punish Heraclides, in case of any future breach of faith. The Syracusans upon this discharged their navy, as they found no advantages from it equal to the expense of keeping it on foot, and to those inconveniences it brought upon them, by being a continual source of seditions. At the same time they continued the siege, and invested the city with another wall. As the besieged were cut off from further supplies, when provisions failed, the soldiers began to mutiny, so that Apollocrates found himself under a necessity of coming to terms with Dion, and offered to deliver up the citadel to him, with all the arms and stores, on condition that he might have five galleys, and be permitted to retire in safety with his mother and sisters. Dion granted his request, and with these he sailed to Dionysius. He was no sooner under sail, than the whole city of Syracuse assembled to behold the joyful sight. Their hearts were so full of this interesting event, that they even expressed their anger against those who were absent, and could not be witnesses with what glory the sun that day arose upon Syracuse, delivered at last from the chains of slavery. As this flight of Dionysius was one of the most memorable vicissitudes of fortune that is recorded in history, and as no tyranny was ever more effectually established than his, how great must their joy and their self-complacency have been, after they had destroyed it by such inconsiderable means!

When Apollocrates was gone, and Dion went to take possession of the citadel, the women could not wait till he entered, but ran to meet him at the gate. Aristomache came first, leading Dion's son, and Arete followed her in tears, fearful and apprehensive of meeting her husband, after she had been so long in the possession of another. Dion first embraced his sister, then his son; after which Aristomache presented Arete to him, with this address: "Your banishment, Dion, made us all equally miserable. Your return and your success have made us all happy, except her whom I had the misfortune to see, by cruel compulsion, given to another, while you were yet alive. We are now entirely in your disposal;—but how will you determine concerning this unhappy woman?—And how must she salute you?—As her uncle, or as her husband?" Dion was affected by this tender intercession, and wept. He embraced Arete with great affection, put his son into her hands, and desired her to retire to his own house,

where he purposed to reside; for the city he immediately delivered up to the Syracusans.

All things had now succeeded to his wish: but he by no means sought to reap the first advantages of his good fortune. His first object was to gratify his friends, to reward his allies, and to give his fellow-citizens and foreign soldiers proper marks of his favour, in which his munificence even exceeded his abilities. As to himself, he lived in a plain and frugal manner, which, on this occasion in particular, was universally admired; for while the fame of his actions and the reputation of his valour was spread through Sicily and Greece, he seemed rather to live with Plato on the sparing simplicity of the academic life, than among soldiers, who look upon every species of luxury as a compensation for the toils and dangers of war. Though Plato himself wrote to him that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, he seems not to have carried his attentions beyond one particular part of one city, the academy. His judges in that society, he knew, would not so much regard the greatness of his performances, his courage, or his victories, as that temper of mind with which he bore prosperity, and that moderation with which he sustained his happier fortunes. He did not in the least relax the severity of his manners; he kept the same reserve to the people, though condescension was at this time politically necessary; and though Plato, as we have already observed, had expostulated with him on this account, and told him, that *austerity was the companion of solitude.* He had certainly a natural antipathy to complaisance; and he had, moreover, a design by his own example to reform the manners of the Syracusans, which were become vain, dissolute, and immodest. Heraclides once more began to oppose him. Dion sent for him to attend at the council, and he made answer, that he would not attend in any other capacity than as a private citizen at a public assembly. Soon after this he impeached Dion of declining to demolish the citadel, and of preventing the people from opening the tomb of Dionysius, and dragging out the body. He accused him likewise of sending for counsellors and ministers to Corinth, in contempt of his fellow-citizens; and it is true, that he had engaged some Corinthians to assist him in settling his plan of government. His intention was to restrain the unlimited power of the popular administration (which cannot properly be called a government, but, as Plato terms it, a warehouse of governments*), and to establish the constitution on the Lacedæmonian and Cretan plan. This was a mixture of the regal and popular governments, or rather an aristocracy. Dion knew that the Corinthians were governed chiefly by the nobility, and that the

* Repub. l. viii.

influence of the people rather interfered. He foresaw that Heraclides would be no inconsiderable impediment to his scheme. He knew him to be factious, turbulent, and inconstant, and he therefore gave him up to those who advised to kill him, though he had before saved him out of their hands. Accordingly they broke into his house, and murdered him. His death was at first resented by the citizens; but when Dion gave him a magnificent funeral, attended the dead body with his soldiers, and pronounced an oration to the people, their resentment went off. Indeed, they were sensible that the city would never be at peace whilst the competitions of Dion and Heraclides subsisted.

Dion had a friend named Calippus, an Athenian, with whom he first became acquainted, not on account of his literary merit, but, according to Plato, because he happened to be introduced by him to some religious mysteries. He had always attended him in the army, and was in great esteem. He was the first of his friends who marched along with him into Syracuse with a garland on his head, and he had distinguished himself in every action. This man, finding that Dion's chief friends had fallen in the war, that, since the death of Heraclides, the popular party was without a leader, and that he himself stood in great favour with the army, formed an execrable design against the life of his benefactor. His object was certainly the supreme command in Sicily, though some say he was bribed to it with twenty talents. For this purpose, he drew several of the soldiers into a conspiracy against Dion, and his plot was conducted in a most artful manner. He constantly informed Dion of what he heard, or pretended to hear said against him in the army. By this means he obtained such confidence, that he was allowed to converse privately with whom he thought proper, and to speak with the utmost freedom against Dion, that he might discover his secret enemies. Thus, in a short time, he drew about him all the seditious and discontented citizens; and if any one of different principles informed Dion that his integrity had been tried, he gave himself no concern about it, as that point had already been settled with Calippus.

While this conspiracy was on foot, Dion had a monstrous and dreadful apparition. As he was meditating one evening alone in the portico before his house, he heard a sudden noise, and, turning about, perceived (for it was not yet dark) a woman of gigantic size at the end of the portico, in the form of one of the furies, as they are represented on the theatre, sweeping the floor with a broom. In his terror and amazement he sent for some of his friends, and, informing them of this prodigy, desired they would stay with him during the night. His mind was in the utmost disorder, and he was apprehen-

sive, that, if they left him, the spectre would appear again; but he saw it no more. Soon after this, his only son, who was now almost grown up to manhood, upon some childish displeasure, or frivolous affront, threw himself from the top of the house, and was killed upon the spot.

While Dion was in this distress, Calippus was ripening the conspiracy; and, for this purpose, he propagated a report in Syracuse, that Dion, being now childless, had determined to adopt Apollocrates, the son of Dionysius, who was nephew to his wife, and grandson to his sister. The plot, however, was now suspected by Dion, his wife, and sister. Dion, who had stained his honour, and tarnished his glories by the murder of Heraclides, had, as we may suppose, his anxieties on that account; and he would frequently declare, that rather than live not only in fear of his enemies, but in suspicion of his friends, he would die a thousand deaths, and freely open his bosom to the assassin.

When Calippus found the women inquisitive and suspicious, he was afraid of the consequence, and asserted with tears his own integrity, offering to give them any pledge of his fidelity they might desire. They required that he would take the *great oath*, the form of which is as follows: the person who takes it goes down into the temple of the Thesmophori, where, after the performance of some religious ceremonies, he puts on the purple robe of Proserpine, and, holding a flaming torch in his hand, proceeds on the oath. All this Calippus did without hesitation; and to show with what contempt he held the goddess, he appointed the execution of his conspiracy on the day of her festival. Indeed, he could hardly think that even this would enhance his guilt, or render him more obnoxious to the goddess, when he was the very person who had before initiated Dion in her sacred mysteries.

The conspiracy was now supported by numbers; and as Dion was surrounded by his friends in the apartment where he usually entertained them, the conspirators invested the house, some securing the doors, and others the windows. The assassins, who were Zacynthians, came in unarmed, in their ordinary dress. Those who remained without made fast the doors. The Zacynthians then fell upon Dion, and endeavoured to strangle him; but not succeeding in this, they called for a sword. No one, however, durst open the door, for Dion had many friends about him; yet they had, in effect, nothing to fear from these; for each concluded, that by giving up Dion, he should consult his own safety. When they had waited some time, Lycon, a Syracusan, put a short sword through the window into the hands of a Zacynthian, who fell upon Dion, already stunned and

senseless, and cut his throat like a victim at the altar. His sister, and his wife, who was pregnant, they imprisoned. In this unhappy situation she fell in labour, and was delivered of a son, whom they ventured to preserve; for Calippus was too much embroiled by his own affairs to attend to them, and the keepers of the prison were prevailed on to connive at it.

After Dion was cut off, and Calippus had the whole government of Syracuse in his hands, he had the presumption to write to the Athenians, whom, after the gods, he ought of all others to have dreaded, polluted as he was with the murder of his benefactor. But it has been observed, with great truth, of that state, that its good men are the best, and its bad men the worst in the world, as the soil of Attica produces the finest honey and the most fatal poisons. The success of Calippus did not long reproach the indulgence of the gods: he soon received the punishment he deserved; for, in attempting to take Catana, he lost Syracuse; upon which occasion he said, that he had lost a city, and got a cheese-grater*. Afterwards, at the siege of Messana, most of his men were cut off, and, among the rest, the murderers of Dion. As he was refused admission by every city in Sicily, and universally hated and despised, he passed into Italy, and made himself master of Rhegium; but, being no longer able to maintain his soldiers, he was slain by Leptines and Polyperchon, with the very same sword with which Dion had been assassinated; for it was known by the size (being short, like the Spartan swords) and by the curious workmanship. Thus Calippus received the punishment due to his crimes.

When Aristomache and Arete were released out of prison, they were received by Icetes, a Syracusan, a friend of Dion's, who for some time entertained them with hospitality and good faith. Afterwards, however, being prevailed on by the enemies of Dion, he put them on board a vessel, under pretence of sending them to the Peloponnesus, but privately ordered the sailors to kill them in the passage, and throw the bodies overboard. Others say that they and the infant were thrown alive into the sea. This wretch too, paid the forfeit of his villany, for he was put to death by Timoleon; and the Syracusans, to revenge Dion, slew his two daughters; of which I have made more particular mention in the life of Timoleon.

* But the word which signifies a cheese-grater in Greek is not *Catane*, but *Patane*.

MARCUS BRUTUS.

THE great ancestor of Marcus Brutus was that Junius Brutus to whom the ancient Romans erected a statue of brass, and placed it in the capitol amongst their kings. He was represented with a drawn sword in his hand, to signify the spirit and firmness with which he vanquished the Tarquins; but, hard-tempered like the steel of which that sword was composed, and in no degree humanized by education, the same obdurate severity which impelled him against the tyrant, shut up his natural affection from his children, when he found those children conspiring for the support of tyranny. On the contrary, that Brutus whose life we are now writing, had all the advantages that arise from the cultivation of philosophy. To his spirit, which was naturally sedate and mild, he gave vigour and activity by constant application. Upon the whole, he was happily formed to virtue, both by nature and education. Even the partisans of Cæsar ascribed to him every thing that had the appearance of honour or generosity in the conspiracy, and all that was of a contrary complexion they laid to the charge of Cassius, who was, indeed, the friend and relation of Brutus, but by no means resembled him in the simplicity of his manners. It is universally allowed that his mother Servilia was descended from Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Mælius seditiously aspired to the monarchy, went up to him in the *forum* under a pretence of business, and, as Mælius inclined his head to hear what he would say, stabbed him with a dagger which he had concealed for the purpose*. But the partisans of Cæsar would not allow that he was descended from Junius Brutus, whose family, they said, was extinct with his two sons†. Marcus Brutus, according to them, was a plebeian, descended from one Brutus, a steward of mean extraction, and that the family had but lately risen to any dignity in the state. On the contrary, Posidonius the philosopher agrees with those historians who say that Junius Brutus had a third son, who was an infant when his brothers were put to death, and that Marcus Brutus was descended from him. He further tells us, that there were several illustrious persons of that family in his time, with whom he was well acquainted, and who very much resembled the statue of Junius Brutus‡.

* Livy and other historians relate this affair differently. Some of them say confidently that Servilius, who was then general of the horse, put Mælius to death by order of Cincinnatus the dictator.

† Of this number is Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

‡ There were several distinguished persons of this family in the year of Rome 558, some of whom opposed the abrogation of the Oppian law, and were besieged by the Roman women in their houses.—*Livy* l. xxxiv. *Val Max.* l. ix.

Cato the philosopher was brother to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, who greatly admired and imitated the virtues of his uncle, and married his daughter Porcia.

Brutus was acquainted with all the sects of the Greek philosophers, and understood their doctrines; but the Platonists stood highest in his esteem. He had no great opinion either of the new or of the middle academy, but applied himself wholly to the studies of the ancient. Antiochus of Ascalon was therefore his favourite, and he entertained his brother Ariston in his own house; a man who, though inferior to some of the philosophers in learning, was equal to the first of them in modesty, prudence, and gentleness of manners. Empylus, who likewise lived with Brutus, as we find in his own epistles, and in those of his friends, was an orator, and left a short, but well-written narrative of the death of Cæsar, entitled *Brutus*.

Brutus spoke with great ability in Latin, both in the field and at the bar. In Greek he affected the sententious and laconic way.—There are several instances of this in his epistles. Thus, in the beginning of the war, he wrote to the Pergamenians: "I hear you have given money to Dolabella. If you gave it willingly, you must own you injured me; if unwillingly, show it by giving willingly to me." Thus, on another occasion, to the Samians: "Your deliberations are tedious, your actions slow: what, think you, will be the consequence?" Of the Patareans thus: "The Xanthians rejected my kindness, and desperately made their country their grave. The Patareans confided in me, and retained their liberty. It is in your own choice to imitate the prudence of the Patareans, or to suffer the fate of the Xanthians." And such is the style of his most remarkable letters.

While he was yet very young, he accompanied Cato to Cyprus, in the expedition against Ptolemy. After Ptolemy had killed himself, Cato, being detained by business in the isle of Rhodes, sent Caninius to secure the king's treasure: but, suspecting his fidelity, he wrote to Brutus to sail immediately to Cyprus from Pamphylia, where, after a fit of sickness, he staid for the re-establishment of his health. He obeyed the order with reluctance, both out of respect to Caninius, who was superseded with disgrace, and because he thought the employment illiberal, and by no means proper for a young man who was in pursuit of philosophy. Nevertheless, he executed the commission with such diligence, that he had the approbation of Cato; and having turned the effects of Ptolemy into ready money, he brought the greatest part of it to Rome.

When Rome was divided into two factions, and Pompey and Cæsar were in arms against each other, it was generally believed that Brutus

would join Cæsar, because his father had been put to death by Pompey. However, he thought it his duty to sacrifice his resentments to the interest of his country; and judging Pompey's to be the better cause, he joined his party, though before he would not even salute Pompey when he met him, esteeming it a crime to have any conversation with the murderer of his father. He now looked upon him as the head of the commonwealth; and therefore, listing under his banner, he sailed for Sicily, in quality of lieutenant to Sestius, who was governor of the island. There, however, he found no opportunity to distinguish himself; and being informed that Pompey and Cæsar were encamped near each other, and preparing for that battle on which the whole empire depended, he went voluntarily into Macedonia, to have his share in the danger. Pompey, it is said, was so much surprised and pleased with his coming, that he rose to embrace him in the presence of his guards, and treated him with as much respect as if he had been his superior. During the time that he was in camp, those hours that he did not spend with Pompey, he employed in reading and study; and thus he passed the day before the battle of Pharsalia. It was the middle of summer; the heats were intense, the marshy situation of the camp disagreeable, and his tent-bearers were long in coming. Nevertheless, though extremely harassed and fatigued, he did not anoint himself till noon; and then taking a morsel of bread, while others were at rest, or musing on the event of the ensuing day, he employed himself till the evening in writing an epitome of Polybius.

Cæsar, it is said, had so high an esteem for him, that he ordered his officers by all means to save him, if he would surrender himself; and, if he refused, to let him escape with his life. Some have placed this kindness to the account of Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with whom Cæsar had connexions of a tender nature in the early part of his life*. Besides, as this amour was in full blow about the time when Brutus was born, Cæsar had some reason to believe he might be his son. The intrigue was notorious. When the senate was debating on the dangerous conspiracy of Catiline, Cato and Cæsar, who took different sides of the question, happened to sit near each other. In the midst of the business, a note was brought to Cæsar from without, which he read silently to himself Cato hereupon loudly accused Cæsar of receiving letters from the enemies of the

* These connexions were well known. Cæsar made her a present, on a certain occasion, of a pearl which cost him near £50,000. In the civil wars he assigned to her a confiscated estate for a mere trifle; and when the people expressed their surprise at its cheapness, Cicero said humorously, *Quo melius emptam sciatis, Tertia deducta est. Tertia* was a daughter of Servilia's, and *deducta* was a term in the procuring business.

commonwealth; and Cæsar, finding that it had occasioned a disturbance in the senate, delivered the note to Cato as he had received it. Cato, when he found it to be nothing but a lewd letter from his own sister Servilia, threw it back again to Cæsar: "Take it, you sot," said he, and went on with the public business.

After the battle of Pharsalia, when Pompey was fled towards the sea, and Cæsar was storming the camp, Brutus escaped through one of the gates, and fled into a watery marsh, where he hid himself amongst the reeds. From thence he ventured out in the night, and got safe to Larissa.—From Larissa he wrote to Cæsar, who expressed the greatest pleasure on hearing of his safety, sent for him, and entertained him amongst the first of his friends. When no one could give account which way Pompey was fled, Cæsar walked for some time alone with Brutus, to consult his opinion; and finding that it was for Egypt, he rejected the opinions of the rest, and directed his march for that country. Pompey had, indeed, taken the route of Egypt, as Brutus conjectured; but he had already met his fate.

Brutus had so much influence with Cæsar, that he reconciled him to his friend Cassius; and when he spoke in behalf of the king of Africa, though there were many impeachments against him, he obtained for him a great part of his kingdom*. When he first began to speak on this occasion, Cæsar said, "I know not what this young man intends, but whatever it is, he intends it strongly." His mind was steady, and not easily moved by entreaties. His principles were reason, and honour, and virtue; and the ends to which these directed him he prosecuted with so much vigour, that he seldom failed of success. No flattery could induce him to attend to unjust petitions; and though that ductility of mind which may be wrought upon by the impudence of importunity, is by some called good-nature, he considered it as the greatest disgrace. He used to say, that he suspected those who could refuse no favours had not very honestly employed the flower of their youth.

Cæsar, previously to his expedition into Africa, against Cato and Scipio, appointed Brutus to the government of Gallia Cisalpina.—And this was very fortunate for that particular province; for, while the inhabitants of other provinces were oppressed and treated like slaves by the violence and rapacity of their governors, Brutus behaved with so much kindness to the people under his jurisdiction, that they were in some measure indemnified for their former sufferings. Yet he ascribed every thing to the goodness of Cæsar; and it was no

* Plutarch must here be mistaken. It was Deiotarus, and not the king of Africa, that Brutus pleaded for.

small gratification to the latter to find, on his return through Italy, not only Brutus himself, but all the cities under his command, ready to attend his progress, and industrious to do him honour.

As there were several prætorships vacant, it was the general opinion that the chief of them, which is the prætorship of the city, would be conferred either on Brutus or on Cassius. Some say that this competition heightened the variance that had already taken place between Brutus and Cassius; for there was a misunderstanding between them, though Cassius was allied to Brutus by marrying his sister Junia.—Others say, that this competition was a political manœuvre of Cæsar's, who had encouraged it by favouring both their hopes in private. Be this as it may, Brutus had little more than the reputation of his virtue to set against the gallant actions performed by Cassius in the Parthian war. Cæsar weighed the merits of each; and after consulting with his friends, "Cassius," he said, "has the better title to it; notwithstanding, Brutus must have the first prætorship." Another prætorship was therefore given to Cassius; but he was not so much obliged by this as offended by the loss of the first. Brutus had, or at least might have had, equal influence with Cæsar in every thing else: he might have stood the first in authority and interest, but he was drawn off by Cassius's party. Not that he was perfectly reconciled to Cassius since the competition for the prætorial appointments; but he listened to his friends, who were perpetually advising him not to be soothed or cajoled by Cæsar, but to reject the civilities of a tyrant, whose object was not to reward, but to disarm his virtue.—On the other hand, Cæsar had his suspicions, and Brutus his accusers; yet the former thought he had less to fear from his spirit, his authority, and his connexions, than he had to hope from his honesty.—When he was told that Antony and Dolabella had some dangerous conspiracy on foot, "It is not," said he, "the sleek and fat men that I fear, but the pale and the lean;" meaning Brutus and Cassius. Afterwards, when he was advised to beware of Brutus, he laid his hand upon his breast, and said, "Do not you think, then, that Brutus will wait till I have done with this poor body?" as if he thought Brutus the only proper person to succeed him in his immense power. Indeed it is extremely probable that Brutus would have been the first man in Rome, could he have had patience awhile to be the second, and have waited till time had wasted the power of Cæsar, and dimmed the lustre of his great actions. But Cassius, a man of violent passions, and an enemy to Cæsar, rather from personal than political hatred, still urged him against the dictator. It was universally said, that Brutus hated the imperial power, and that Cassius hated the emperor,

Cassius, indeed, pretended that Cæsar had injured him. He complained that the lions which he had procured when he was nominated ædile, and which he had sent to Megara, Cæsar had taken and converted to his own use, having found them there when that city was taken by Calanus. Those lions, it is said, were very fatal to the inhabitants; for as soon as their city was taken, they opened their dens, and unchained them in the streets, that they might stop the irruption of the enemy; but, instead of that, they fell upon the citizens, and tore them in such a manner, that their very enemies were struck with horror. Some say that this was the principal motive with Cassius for conspiring against Cæsar; but they are strangely mistaken. Cassius had a natural aversion to the whole race of tyrants, which he showed even when he was at school with Faustus the son of Sylla. When Faustus was boasting amongst the boys of the unlimited power of his father, Cassius rose and struck him on the face. The friends and tutors of Faustus would have taken it upon themselves to punish the insult; but Pompey prevented it, and, sending for the boys, examined them himself: upon which Cassius said, "Come along, Faustus! repeat, if you dare, before Pompey, the expressions which provoked me, that I may punish you in the same manner." Such was the disposition of Cassius.

But Brutus was animated to this undertaking by the persuasion of his friends, by private intimations, and anonymous letters. Under the statue of his ancestor, who destroyed the Tarquins, was placed a paper with these words: *O that we had a Brutus now! O that Brutus were now alive!* His own tribunal, on which he sat as prætor, was continually filled with such inscriptions as these: *Brutus, thou sleepest! Thou art not a true Brutus!* The sycophants of Cæsar were the occasion of this; for, amongst other invidious distinctions which they paid him, they crowned his statues by night, that the people might salute him king instead of dictator. However, it had a contrary effect, as I have shown more at large in the life of Cæsar.

When Cassius solicited his friends to engage in the conspiracy, they all consented, on condition that Brutus would take the lead. They concluded that it was not strength of hands or resolution that they wanted, but the countenance of a man of reputation to preside at this sacrifice, and to justify the deed. They were sensible, that without him they should neither proceed with spirit, nor escape suspicion when they had effected their purpose. The world, they knew, would conclude, that if the action had been honourable, Brutus would not have refused to engage in it. Cassius, having considered these things, determined to pay Brutus the first visit after the quarrel that

had been between them; and as soon as the compliments of reconciliation were over, he asked him, "Whether he intended to be in the senate on the calends of March; for it was reported," he said, "that Cæsar's friends designed to move that he should be declared king?" Brutus answered, "He should not be there;" and Cassius replied, "But what if they should send for us?" "It would then," said Brutus, "Be my duty not only to speak against it, but to sacrifice my life for the liberties of Rome." Cassius, encouraged by this, proceeded:—"But what Roman will bear to see you die? Do not you know yourself, Brutus? Think you that those inscriptions you found on your tribunal were placed there by weavers and victuallers, and not by the first men in Rome? From other prætors they look for presents, and shows, and gladiators; but from you they expect the abolition of tyranny, as a debt which your family has entailed upon you. They are ready to suffer every thing on your account, if you are really what you ought, and what they expect you to be." After this he embraced Brutus, and being perfectly reconciled, they retired to their respective friends.

In Pompey's party there was one Quintus Ligarius, whom Cæsar had pardoned, though he had born arms against him. This man, less grateful for the pardon he had received than offended with the power which made him stand in need of it, hated Cæsar, but was the intimate friend of Brutus. The latter one day visited him, and finding him not well, said, "O Ligarius! what a time is this to be sick?" Upon which he raised himself on his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, answered, "If Brutus has any design worthy of himself, Ligarius is well." They now tried the inclinations of all they could trust, and took into the conspiracy not only their familiar friends, but such as they knew to be brave, and above the fear of death: for this reason, though they had the greatest regard for Cicero, and the utmost confidence in his principles as a republican, they concealed the conspiracy from him, lest his natural timidity, and the weariness of age, should retard those measures which required the most resolute despatch.

Brutus likewise thought proper to leave his friends Statilius and Favonius, the followers of Cato, out of the conspiracy. He had tried their sentiments under the colour of a philosophical dispute; in which Favonius observed, that the worst absolute government was preferable to a civil war; and Statilius added, that it became no wise man to expose himself to fear and danger on account of the faults and follies of others. But Labeo, who was present, contradicted both. And Brutus, though he was then silent, as if the dispute had been difficult to determine, afterwards communicated the design to Labeo,

who readily concurred in it. It was then agreed to gain over the other Brutus, surnamed Albinus, who, though not distinguished by his personal courage, was of consequence, on account of the great number of gladiators he bred for the public shows, and the entire confidence that Cæsar placed in him. To the solicitations of Cassius and Labeo he made no answer; but when he came privately to Brutus, and found that he was at the head of the conspiracy, he made no scruple of joining them. The name of Brutus drew in many more of the most considerable persons of the state, and though they had entered into no oath of secrecy, they kept the design so close, that notwithstanding the gods themselves denounced the event by a variety of prodigies, no one would give credit to the conspiracy.

Brutus now felt his consequence lie heavy upon him. The safety of some of the greatest men in Rome depended on his conduct, and he could not think of the danger they were to encounter without anxiety. In public, indeed, he suppressed his uneasiness; but at home, and especially by night, he was not the same man. Sometimes he would start from his sleep; at others he was totally immersed in thought: from which, and the like circumstances, it was obvious to his wife that he was revolving in his mind some difficult and dangerous enterprise. Porcia, as we before observed, was the daughter of Cato. She was married to her cousin Brutus very young, though she was a widow, and had a son, named Bibulus, after his father. There is a small tract of his still extant, called *Memoirs of Brutus*.—Porcia added to the affection of a wife, the prudence of a woman who was not unacquainted with philosophy; and she resolved not to inquire into her husband's secrets before she had made the following trial of her own firmness. She ordered all her attendants out of her apartment, and, with a small knife, gave herself a deep wound in the thigh. This occasioned a great effusion of blood, extreme pain, and a fever in consequence of that pain. Brutus was extremely afflicted for her, and as he attended her in the height of her pain, she thus spoke to him: "Brutus, when you married the daughter of Cato, you did not, I presume, consider her merely as a female companion, but as the partner of your fortunes. You, indeed, have given me no reason to repent my marriage; but what proof, either of affection or fidelity, can you receive from me, if I may neither share in your secret griefs, nor in your secret counsels? I am sensible that secrecy is not the characteristic virtue of my sex; but surely our natural weakness may be strengthened by a virtuous education, and by honourable connexions; and Porcia can boast that she is the daughter of Cato and the wife of Brutus. Yet even in these distinctions I placed no absolute confidence, till I tried and found that I was proof against pain."

When she had said this, she showed him her wound, and informed him of her motives; upon which Brutus was so struck with her magnanimity, that, with lifted hands, he entreated the gods to favour his enterprise, and enable him to approve himself worthy of Porcia. He then took every means to cure her wound and restore her health.

A meeting of the senate being appointed, at which Cæsar was expected to attend, *that* was thought a proper time for the execution of their design: for *then* they could not only appear together without suspicion, but as some of the most considerable persons in the commonwealth would be present, they flattered themselves that, as soon as the deed was done, they would join in asserting the common liberty. The place, too, where the senate was to meet, seemed providentially favourable for their purpose. It was a portico adjoining to the theatre; and in the midst of a saloon, furnished with benches, stood a statue of Pompey, which had been erected to him by the commonwealth, when he adorned that part of the city with those buildings. Here the senate was convened on the ides of March; and it seemed as if some god should bring Cæsar to this place to revenge upon him the death of Pompey.

When the day came, Brutus went out, and took with him a dagger, which last circumstance was known only to his wife. The rest met at the house of Cassius, and conducted his son, who was that day to put on the *toga virilis*, to the *forum;* from whence they proceeded to Pompey's portico, and waited for Cæsar. Any one that had been privy to the design of the conspirators would here have been astonished at their calm and consistent firmness. Many of them were prætors, and obliged by their office to hear and determine causes. These they heard with so much calmness, and decided with so much accuracy, that one could not have supposed there had been any thing else upon their minds; and when a certain person appealed from the judgment of Brutus to Cæsar, Brutus, looking round on the assembly, said, *Cæsar neither does nor shall hinder me from acting agreeably to the laws.* Nevertheless, they were disturbed by many accidents. Though the day was far spent, still Cæsar did not come, being detained by his wife and the soothsayers, on account of defects in the sacrifices. In the mean time a person came up to Casca, one of the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, "You concealed the thing from me," said he, "but Brutus has told me all." Casca expressed his surprise; upon which the other said, laughing, "How came you to be so rich of a sudden, as to stand for the ædileship?" So near was the great secret being blown by the ambiguity of this man's discourse! At the same time Popilius Læna, a senator, after saluting Brutus and Cassius in a very obliging manner, said, in a

whisper, "My best wishes are with you:—but make no delay, for it is now no secret." After saying this, he immediately went away, and left them in a great consternation; for they concluded that every thing was discovered. Soon after this a messenger came running from Brutus's house, and told him that his wife was dying. Porcia had been under extreme anxiety, and in great agitations about the event. At every little noise or voice she heard, she started up and ran to the door, like one of the frantic priestesses of Bacchus, inquiring of every one that came from the *forum*, what Brutus was doing. She sent messenger after messenger to make the same inquiries; and being unable any longer to support the agitations of her mind, she at length fainted away. She had not time to retire to her chamber. As she sat in the middle of the house, her spirits failed, her colour changed, and she lost her senses and her speech. Her women shrieked, the neighbours ran to their assistance, and a report was soon spread through the city that Porcia was dead. However, by the care of those that were about her, she recovered in a little time. Brutus was greatly distressed with the news, and not without reason; but his private grief gave way to the public concern; for it was now reported that Cæsar was coming in a litter. The ill omen of his sacrifices had deterred him from entering on business of importance, and he proposed to defer it under a pretence of indisposition. As soon as he came out of the litter, Popilius Læna, who a little before had wished Brutus success, went up, and spoke to him for a considerable time, Cæsar all the while standing, and seeming very attentive. The conspirators, not being able to hear what he said, suspected, from what passed between him and Brutus, that he was now making a discovery of their design. This disconcerted them extremely, and looking upon each other, they agreed, by the silent language of the countenance, that they should not stay to be taken, but despatch themselves. With this intent Cassius and some others were just about to draw their daggers from under their robes, when Brutus observing from the looks and gestures of Læna that he was petitioning, and not accusing, encouraged Cassius by the cheerfulness of his countenance. This was the only way by which he could communicate his sentiments, being surrounded by many who were strangers to the conspiracy. Læna, after a little while, kissed Cæsar's hand, and left him; and it plainly appeared, upon the whole, that he had been speaking about his own affairs.

The senate was already seated, and the conspirators got close about Cæsar's chair, under pretence of preferring a suit to him. Cassius turned his face to Pompey's statue, and invoked it, as if it had been sensible of his prayers. Trebonius kept Antony in conversation

without the court. And now Cæsar entered, and the whole senate rose to salute him. The conspirators crowded around him, and set Tullius Cimber, one of their number to solicit the recal of his brother, who was banished. They all united in the solicitation, took hold of Cæsar's hand, and kissed his head and his breast. He rejected their applications, and, finding that they would not desist, at length rose from his seat in anger. Tullius, upon this, laid hold of his robe, and pulled it from his shoulders. Casca, who stood behind, gave him the first, though but a slight wound with his dagger, near the shoulder. Cæsar caught the handle of the dagger, and said in Latin, "Villain! Casca! What dost thou mean!" Casca, in the Greek, called his brother to his assistance. Cæsar was wounded by numbers almost at the same instant, and looked round him for some way to escape; but when he saw the dagger of Brutus pointed against him, he let go Casca's hand, and, covering his head with his robe, resigned himself to their swords. The conspirators pressed so eagerly to stab him, that they wounded each other. Brutus, in attempting to have his share in the sacrifice, received a wound in his hand, and all of them were covered with blood.

Cæsar thus slain, Brutus stepped forward into the middle of the senate-house, and, proposing to make a speech, desired the senators to stay. They fled, however, with the utmost precipitation, though no one pursued; for the conspirators had no design on any life but Cæsar's; and, that taken away, they invited the rest to liberty. Indeed, all but Brutus were of opinion that Antony should fall with Cæsar. They considered him as an insolent man, who in his principles favoured monarchy, and who had made himself popular in the army. Moreover, besides his natural disposition to despotism, he had at this time the consular power, and was the colleague of Cæsar. Brutus, on the other hand, alleged the injustice of such a measure, and suggested the possibility of Antony's change of principle. He thought it far from being improbable that, after the destruction of Cæsar, a man so passionately fond of glory should be inspired by an emulation to join in restoring the commonwealth. Thus Antony was saved; though, in the general consternation, he fled in the disguise of a plebeian. Brutus and his party betook themselves to the capitol, and showing their bloody hands and naked swords, proclaimed liberty to the people as they passed. At first all was lamentation, distraction, and tumult; but as no further violence was committed, the senators and the people recovered their apprehensions, and went in a body to the conspirators in the capitol. Brutus made a popular speech adapted to the occasion; and this being well received, the conspirators were encouraged to come down into the *forum*. The

rest were undistinguished; but persons of the first quality attended Brutus, conducted him with great honour from the capitol, and placed him in the *rostrum*. At the sight of Brutus, the populace, though disposed to tumult, were struck with reverence, and when he began to speak, they attended with silence. It soon appeared, however, that it was not the action, but the man they respected; for when Cinna spoke, and accused Cæsar, they loaded him with the most opprobrious language, and became so outrageous, that the conspirators thought proper once more to retire into the capitol. Brutus now expected to be besieged, and therefore dismissed the principal people that attended him; because he thought it unreasonable that they who had no concern in the action should be exposed to the danger that followed it. Next day the senate assembled in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero, in their respective speeches, persuaded and prevailed on the people to forget what was past. Accordingly the conspirators were not only pardoned, but it was decreed that the consuls should take into consideration what honours and dignities were proper to be conferred upon them. After this the senate broke up; and Antony having sent his son as an hostage to the capitol, Brutus and his party came down, and mutual compliments passed between them. Cassius was invited to sup with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus, and the rest were entertained by their respective friends.

Early next morning the senate assembled again, and voted thanks to Antony for preventing a civil war, as well as to Brutus and his party for their services to the commonwealth. The latter had also provinces distributed amongst them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Cassius, Asia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and the other Brutus had that part of Gaul which lies upon the Po.

Cæsar's will and his funeral came next in question. Antony proposed that the will should be read in public, and that the funeral should not be private, or without proper magnificence, lest such treatment should exasperate the people. Cassius strongly opposed this; but Brutus agreed to it, and here he fell into a second error. His preservation of so formidable an enemy as Antony was a mistaken thing; but his giving up the management of Cæsar's funeral to him, was an irreparable fault. The publication of the will had an immediate tendency to inspire the people with a passionate regret for the death of Cæsar; for he had left to each Roman citizen seventy-five drachmas, besides the public use of his gardens beyond the Tiber, where now the temple of Fortune stands. When the body was brought into the *forum*, and Antony spoke the usual funeral eulogium, as he perceived the people affected by his speech, he endeavoured still more

to work upon their passions by unfolding the bloody garment of Cæsar, showing them in how many places it was pierced, and pointing out the number of his wounds. This threw every thing into confusion. Some called aloud to kill the murderers; others, as was formerly done in the case of that seditious demagogue Clodius, snatched the benches and tables from the neighbouring shops, and erected a pile for the body of Cæsar, in the midst of consecrated places and surrounding temples. As soon as the pile was in flames, the people, crowding from all parts, snatched the half-burnt brands, and ran round the city to fire the houses of the conspirators; but they were on their guard against such an assault, and prevented the effects.

There was a poet named Cinna, who had no concern in the conspiracy, but was rather a friend of Cæsar's. This man dreamed that Cæsar invited him to supper, and that, when he declined the invitation, he took him by the hand, and constrained him to follow him into a dark and deep place, which he entered with the utmost horror. The agitation of his spirits threw him into a fever, which lasted the remaining part of the night. In the morning, however, when Cæsar was to be interred, he was ashamed of absenting himself from the solemnity; he therefore mingled with the multitude that had just been enraged by the speech of Antony; and being unfortunately mistaken for that Cinna who had before inveighed against Cæsar, he was torn to pieces. This, more than any thing, except Antony's change of conduct, alarmed Brutus and his party. They now thought it necessary to consult their safety, and retired to Antium. Here they sat down, with an intent to return as soon as the popular fury should subside; and for this, considering the inconstancy of the multitude, they concluded that they should not have long to wait. The senate, moreover, was in their interest; and though they did not punish the murderers of Cinna, they caused strict inquiry to be made after those who attempted to burn the houses of the conspirators. Antony, too, became obnoxious to the people; for they suspected him of erecting another kind of monarchy. The return of Brutus was consequently wished for; and as he was to exhibit shows and games in his capacity as prætor, it was expected. Brutus, however, had received intelligence, that several of Cæsar's old soldiers, to whom he had distributed lands and colonies, had stolen by small parties into Rome, and that they lay in wait for him; he therefore did not think proper to come himself; notwithstanding which, the shows that were exhibited on his account were extremely magnificent; for he had bought a considerable number of wild beasts, and ordered that they should all be reserved for that purpose. He went himself as far as Naples to collect a number of comedians; and being informed of

one Canutius, who was much admired upon the stage, he desired his friends to use all their interest to bring him to Rome. Canutius was a Grecian, and Brutus therefore thought that no compulsion should be used. He wrote likewise to Cicero, and begged that he would, by all means, be present at the public shows.

Such was the situation of his affairs, when, on the arrival of Octavius at Rome, things took another turn. He was son to the sister of Cæsar, who had adopted and appointed him his heir. He was pursuing his studies at Apollonia, and in expectation of meeting Cæsar there on his intended expedition against the Parthians, at the time when Cæsar was slain. Upon hearing of this event, he immediately came to Rome, and, to ingratiate himself with the people, assumed the name of Cæsar. By punctually distributing amongst the citizens the money that was left them by his uncle, he soon took the lead of Antony; and, by his liberality to the soldiers, he brought over to his party the greatest number of those who had served under Cæsar. Cicero likewise, who hated Antony, joined his interest. And this was so much resented by Brutus, that, in his letters, he reproached him in the severest terms. "He perceived," he said, "that Cicero was tame enough to bear a tyrant, and was only afraid of the tyrant that hated him;—that his compliments to Octavius were meant to purchase an easy slavery; but our ancestors," said Brutus, "scorned to bear even a gentle master." He added, that, "as to the measures of peace or war, he was undetermined; but, in one thing he was resolved, which was, *never to be a slave!*" He expressed his surprise "that Cicero should prefer an infamous accommodation even to the dangers of civil war; and that the only fruits he expected from destroying the tyranny of Antony should be the establishment of a new tyrant in Octavius." Such was the spirit of his first letters.

The city was now divided into two factions; some joined Cæsar, others remained with Antony, and the army was sold to the highest bidder. Brutus, of course, despaired of any desirable event; and, being resolved to leave Italy, he went by land to Lucania, and came to the maritime town of Elea. Porcia, being to return from thence to Rome, endeavoured, as well as possible, to conceal the sorrow that oppressed her; but notwithstanding her magnanimity, a picture which she found there betrayed her distress. The subject was the parting of Hector and Andromache. He was represented delivering his son Astyanax into her arms, and the eyes of Andromache were fixed upon him. The resemblance that this picture bore to her own distress made her burst into tears the moment she beheld it; and several times she visited the melancholy emblem, to gaze upon it, and weep

before it. On this occasion, Acilius, one of Brutus's friends, repeated that passage in Homer, where Andromache says,

Yet while my Hector still survives, I see
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee.—*Pope.*

To which Brutus replied, with a smile, "But I must not answer Porcia as Hector did Andromache:

..... Hasten to thy tasks at home,
There guide the spindle, and direct the loom.—*Pope.*

"She has not personal strength, indeed, to sustain the toils we undergo; but her spirit is not less active in the cause of her country." This anecdote we have from Bibus, the son of Porcia.

From Elea, Brutus sailed for Athens, where he was received with high applause, and invested with public honours. There he took up his residence with a particular friend, and attended the lectures of Theomnestus the academic, and Cratippus the peripatetic; devoting himself wholly to literary pursuits. Yet, in this unsuspected state, he was privately preparing for war. He despatched Herostratus into Macedonia to gain the principal officers in that province; and he secured, by his kindness, all the young Romans who were students then at Athens. Amongst these was the son of Cicero, on whom he bestowed the highest encomiums; and said, that he could never cease admiring the spirit of that young man, who bore such a mortal hatred to tyrants.

At length he began to act more publicly; and being informed that some of the Roman ships, laden with money, were returning from Asia, under the command of a man of honour, a friend of his, he met him at Carystus, a city of Eubœa. There he had a conference with him, and requested that he would give up the ships. By the bye, it happened to be Brutus's birth-day, on which occasion he gave a splendid entertainment, and while they were drinking *Victory to Brutus*, and *Liberty to Rome*, to encourage the cause, he called for a larger bowl. While he held it in his hand, without any visible relation to the subject they were upon, he pronounced this verse:

My fall was doom'd by Phœbus, and by Fate.

Some historians say that *Apollo* was the word he gave his soldiers in the last battle at Philippi, and of course conclude that this exclamation was a presage of his defeat. Antistius, the commander of the ships, gave him five hundred thousand drachmas of the money he was carrying to Italy. The remains of Pompey's army that were scattered about Thessaly readily joined his standard; and, besides these, he took five hundred horse, whom Cinna was conducting to Dolabella in Asia. He then sailed to Demetrias, and seized a large

quantity of arms which Julius Cæsar had provided for the Parthian war, and which were now to be sent to Antony. Macedonia was delivered up to him by Hortensius the prætor, and all the neighbouring princes readily offered their assistance. When news was received that Caius, the brother of Antony, had marched through Italy to join the forces under Gabinius in Dyrrhachium and Apollonia, Brutus determined to seize them before he arrived, and made a forced march with such troops as were at hand. The way was rugged, and the snows were deep; but he moved with such expedition, that his sutlers were left a long way behind. When he had almost reached Dyrrhachium, he was seized with the disorder called *Bulimia*, or violent hunger, occasioned by cold and fatigue. This disorder affects both men and cattle, after fatigues in the snow. Whether it is, that perspiration being prevented by the extreme cold, the vital heat is confined, and more immediately consumes the aliment; or that a keen and subtle vapour, rising from the melted snow, penetrates the body, and destroys the heat by expelling it through the pores—for the sweatings seem to arise from the heat contending with the cold, which being repelled by the latter, the vapory steam is diffused over the surface of the body. But of this I have treated more largely in another place. Brutus growing very faint, and no provisions being at hand, his servants were forced to go to the gates of the enemy, and beg bread of the centinels. When they were informed of the distress of Brutus, they brought him meat and drink in their own hands; and in return for their humanity, when he had taken the city, he showed kindness both to them and to the rest of the inhabitants.

When Caius arrived in Apollonia, he summoned the soldiers that were quartered near the city to join him; but finding that they were all with Brutus, and suspecting that those in Apollonia favoured the same party, he went to Buthrotus. Brutus, however, found means to destroy three of his cohorts in their march. Caius, after this, attempted to seize some posts near Byllis, but was routed in a set battle by young Cicero, to whom Brutus had given the command of the army on that occasion, and whose conduct he made use of frequently, and with success. Caius was soon after surprised in a marsh, from whence he had no means to escape; and Brutus, finding him in his power, surrounded him with his cavalry, and gave orders that none of his men should be killed; for he expected that they would quickly join him of their own accord. As he expected, it came to pass. They surrendered both themselves and their general; so that Brutus had now a very respectable army. He treated Caius for a long time with all possible respect; nor did he divest him of any ensigns of dignity that he bore, though it is said that he received letters

from several persons at Rome, and particularly from Cicero, advising him to put him to death. At length, however, when he found that he was secretly practising with his officers, and exciting seditions amongst the soldiers, he put him on board a ship, and kept him close prisoner. The soldiers that he had corrupted retired into Apollonia, from whence they sent to Brutus, that, if he would come to them there, they would return to their duty. Brutus answered, "That this was not the custom of the Romans, but that those who had offended should come in person to their general, and solicit his forgiveness." This they did, and were accordingly pardoned.

He was now preparing to go into Asia, when he was informed of a change in affairs at Rome. Young Cæsar, supported by the senate, had got the better of Antony, and driven him out of Italy; but, at the same time, he began to be no less formidable himself; for he solicited the consulship contrary to law, and kept in pay an unnecessary army. Consequently the senate, though they at first supported, were now dissatisfied with his measures. And as they began to cast their eyes on Brutus, and decreed or confirmed several provinces to him, Cæsar was under some apprehensions. He therefore despatched messengers to Antony, and desired that a reconciliation might take place. After this he drew up his army around the city, and carried the consulship, though but a boy, in his twentieth year, as he tells us in his Commentaries. He was no sooner consul than he ordered a judicial process to issue against Brutus and his accomplices, for murdering the first magistrate in Rome, without trial or condemnation. Lucius Cornificius was appointed to accuse Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa accused Cassius: neither of whom appearing, the judges were obliged to pass sentence against them both. It is said, that when the crier, as usual, cited Brutus to appear, the people could not suppress their sighs, and persons of the first distinction heard it in silent dejection. Publius Silicius was observed to burst into tears; and this was the cause why he was afterwards proscribed. The triumviri, Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus, being now reconciled, divided the provinces amongst them, and settled that list of murder, in which two hundred citizens, and Cicero amongst the rest, were proscribed.

When the report of these proceedings was brought into Macedonia, Brutus found himself under a necessity of sending orders to Hortensius to kill Caius, the brother of Antony, in revenge of the death of Cicero, his friend, and Brutus Albinus, his kinsman, who was slain. This was the reason why Antony, when he had taken Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, slew him upon his brother's tomb. Brutus says, that he was more ashamed of the cause of Cicero's death than

grieved at the event; while he saw Rome enslaved more by her own fault than by the fault of her tyrants, and continue a tame spectator of such scenes as ought not to have been heard of without horror.

The army of Brutus was now considerable, and he ordered its route into Asia, while a fleet was preparing in Bithynia and at Cyzicum. As he marched by land, he settled the affairs of the cities, and gave audience to the princes of those countries through which he passed. He sent orders to Cassius, who was in Syria, to give up his intended journey into Egypt, and join him. On this occasion he tells him, that their collecting forces to destroy the tyrants was not to secure an empire to themselves, but to deliver their fellow-citizens; that they should never forget this great object of their undertaking, but, adhering to their first intentions, keep Italy within their eye, and hasten to rescue their country from oppression.

Cassius accordingly set out to join him, and Brutus at the same time making some progress to meet him, their interview was at Smyrna. Till this meeting they had not seen each other since they parted at the Piræus of Athens, when Cassius set out for Syria, and Brutus for Macedonia. The forces they had respectively collected gave them great joy, and made them confident of success. From Italy they had fled, like solitary exiles, without money, without arms, without a ship, a soldier, or a town to fly to: yet now, in so short a time, they found themselves supplied with shipping and money, with an army of horse and foot, and in a condition of contending for the empire of Rome. Cassius was no less respectful to Brutus than Brutus was to him; but the latter would generally wait upon him, as he was the older man, and of a feebler constitution. Cassius was esteemed an able soldier, but of a fiery disposition, and ambitious to command rather by fear than affection; though, at the same time, with his familiar acquaintance, he was easy in his manners, and fond of raillery to excess. Brutus, on account of his virtue, was respected by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by men of principle, and not hated even by his enemies. He was mild in his temper, and had a greatness of mind that was superior to anger, avarice, and the love of pleasure. He was firm and inflexible in his opinions, and zealous in every pursuit where justice or honour were concerned. The people had the highest opinion of his integrity and sincerity in every undertaking, and this naturally inspired them with confidence and affection. Even Pompey the Great had hardly ever so much credit with them; for who ever imagined, that, if he had conquered Cæsar, he would have submitted to the laws, and would not have retained his power under the title of consul or dictator, or some more specious and popular name? Cassius, on the contrary, a man of vio-

lent passions and rapacious avarice, was suspected of exposing himself to toil and danger, rather from a thirst of power, than an attachment to the liberties of his country. The former disturbers of the commonwealth, Cinna, and Marius, and Carbo, evidently set their country as a stake for the winner, and hardly scrupled to own that they fought for empire: but the very enemies of Brutus never charge him with this. Even Antony has been heard to say, that Brutus was the only conspirator who had the sense of honour and justice for his motive, and that the rest were wholly actuated by malice or envy. It is clear, too, from what Brutus himself says, that he finally and principally relied on his own virtue. Thus he writes to Atticus immediately before an engagement: "That his affairs were in the most desirable situation imaginable; for that either he should conquer, and restore liberty to Rome, or die, and be free from slavery; that every thing else was reduced to certainty; and that this only remained a question, Whether they should live or die free men?" He adds, "that Mark Antony was properly punished for his folly, who, when he might have ranked with the Bruti, the Cassii, and Catos, chose rather to be the underling of Octavius; and that if he did not fall in the approaching battle, they would very soon be at variance with each other." In which he seems to have been a true prophet.

Whilst they were at Smyrna, Brutus desired Cassius to let him have part of the vast treasure he had collected, because his own was chiefly expended in equipping a fleet, to gain the superiority at sea: but the friends of Cassius advised him against this, alleging that it would be absurd to give Brutus that money which he had saved with so much frugality, and acquired with so much envy, merely that Brutus might increase his popularity, by distributing it amongst the soldiers. Cassius, however, gave him a third of what he had, and then they parted for their respective commands. Cassius behaved with great severity on the taking of Rhodes; though, when he first entered the city, and was saluted with the title of king and master, he answered, "That he was neither their king nor their master, but the destroyer of him who would have been both." Brutus demanded supplies of men and money from the Lycians; but Naucrates, an orator, persuaded the cities to rebel, and some of the inhabitants posted themselves on the hills, with an intent to oppose the passage of Brutus. Brutus at first despatched a party of horse, which surprised them at dinner, and killed six hundred of them: but afterwards, when he had taken the adjacent towns and villages, he gave up the prisoners without ransom, and hoped to gain them to his party by clemency. Their former sufferings, however, made them reject his humanity, and those that still resisted being driven into

the city of Xanthus, were there besieged. As a river ran close by the town, several attempted to escape by swimming and diving; but they were prevented by nets let down for that purpose, which had little bells at the top, to give notice when any one was taken. The Xanthians afterwards made a sally in the night, and set fire to several of the battering engines; but they were perceived and driven back by the Romans: at the same time the violence of the winds drove the flames on the city, so that several houses near the battlements took fire. Brutus, being apprehensive that the whole city would be destroyed, sent his own soldiers to assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire; but the Lycians were seized with an incredible despair, a kind of frenzy, which can no otherwise be described than by calling it a passionate desire of death. Women and children, freemen and slaves, people of all ages and conditions, strove to repulse the soldiers as they came to their assistance from the walls. With their own hands they collected wood and reeds, and all manner of combustibles, to spread the fire over the city, and encouraged its progress by every means in their power. Thus assisted, the flames flew over the whole with dreadful rapidity; whilst Brutus, extremely shocked at this calamity, rode round the walls, and, stretching forth his hands to the inhabitants, entreated them to spare themselves and their city. Regardless of his entreaties, they sought by every means to put an end to their lives. Men, women, and even children, with hideous cries, leaped into the flames. Some threw themselves headlong from the walls, and others fell upon the swords of their parents, opening their breasts, and begging to be slain.

When the city was in a great measure reduced to ashes, a woman was found who had hanged herself, with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had fired her house. This deplorable object so much affected Brutus, that he wept when he was told of it, and proclaimed a reward to any soldier who could save a Xanthian. It is said that no more than a hundred and fifty were preserved, and those against their will. Thus the Xanthians, as if fate had appointed certain periods for their destruction, after a long course of years, sunk into that deplorable ruin, in which the same rash despair had involved their ancestors in the Persian war; for they, too, burned their city, and destroyed themselves.

After this, when the Patareans likewise made resistance, Brutus was under great anxiety whether he should besiege them; for he was afraid they should follow the desperate measures of the Xanthians. However, having some of their women whom he had taken prisoners, he dismissed them without ransom; and those returning to their husbands and parents, who happened to be people of the first distinction,

so much extolled the justice and moderation of Brutus, that they prevailed on them to submit, and put their city in his hands. The adjacent cities followed their example, and found that his humanity exceeded their hopes. Cassius compelled every Rhodian to give up all the gold and silver in his possession, by which he amassed eight thousand talents; and yet he laid the public under a fine of five hundred talents more; but Brutus took only a hundred and fifty talents of the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, led his army into Ionia.

Brutus, in the course of this expedition, did many acts of justice, and was vigilant in the dispensation of rewards and punishments. An instance of this I shall relate, because both he himself, and every honest Roman was particularly pleased with it. When Pompey the Great, after his overthrow at Pharsalia, fled into Egypt, and landed near Pelusium, the tutors and ministers of young Ptolemy consulted what measures they should take on the occasion. But they were of different opinions: some were for receiving him, others for excluding him out of Egypt. Theodotus, a Chian by birth, and a teacher of rhetoric by profession, who then attended the king in that capacity, was, for want of abler ministers, admitted to the council. This man insisted that both were in the wrong; those who were for receiving, and those who were for expelling Pompey. The best measure they could take, he said, would be to put him to death, and concluded his speech with the proverb, that *dead men do not bite*. The council entered into his opinion; and Pompey the Great, an example of the incredible mutability of fortune, fell a sacrifice to the arguments of a sophist, as that sophist lived afterwards to boast. Not long after, upon Cæsar's arrival in Egypt, some of the murderers received their proper reward, and were put to death; but Theodotus made his escape.—Yet, though for awhile he gained from fortune the poor privilege of a wandering and despicable life, he fell at last into the hands of Brutus, as he was passing through Asia; and, by paying the forfeit of his baseness, became more memorable from his death than from any thing in his life.

About this time Brutus sent for Cassius to Sardis, and went with his friends to meet him. The whole army being drawn up, saluted both the leaders with the title of *Imperator*: but, as it usually happens in great affairs, where many friends and many officers are engaged, mutual complaints and suspicions arose between Brutus and Cassius. To settle these more properly, they retired into an apartment by themselves. Expostulations, debates, and accusations followed, and these were so violent, that they burst into tears. Their friends without were surprised at the loudness and asperity of the

conference; but though they were apprehensive of the consequence, they durst not interfere, because they had been expressly forbidden to enter. Favonius, however, an imitator of Cato, but rather an enthusiast than rational in his philosophy, attempted to enter. The servants in waiting endeavoured to prevent him, but it was not easy to stop the impetuous Favonius. He was violent in his whole conduct, and valued himself less on his dignity as a senator, than on a kind of cynical freedom in saying every thing he pleased; nor was this unentertaining to those who could bear with his impertinence. However, he broke through the door, and entered the apartment, pronouncing, in a theatrical tone, what Nestor says in Homer,

Young men, be rul'd—I'm older than you both.

Cassius laughed; but Brutus thrust him out, telling him, that he pretended to be a *cynic*, but was in reality a *dog*. This, however, put an end to the dispute, and for that time they parted. Cassius gave an entertainment in the evening, to which Brutus invited his friends. When they were seated, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus called aloud to him, telling him he was not invited, and bade him go to the lower end of the table. Favonius, notwithstanding, thrust himself in, and sat down in the middle. On that occasion there was much learning and good humour in the conversation.

The day following, one Lucius Pella, who had been prætor, and employed in offices of trust, being impeached by the Sardians of embezzling the public money, was disgraced and condemned by Brutus. This was very mortifying to Cassius; for, a little before, two of his own friends had been accused of the same crime; but he had absolved them in public, and contenting himself with giving them a private reproof, continued them in office. Of course he charged Brutus with too rigid an exertion of the laws, at a time when lenity was much more politic. Brutus, on the other hand, reminded him of the ides of March, the time when they had killed Cæsar, who was not, personally speaking, the scourge of mankind, but only abetted and supported those that were, with his power. He bade him consider, that if the neglect of justice were in any case to be connived at, it should have been done before; and that they had better have borne with the oppressions of Cæsar's friends, than suffer the malpractices of their own to pass with impunity: "For then," continued he, "we could have been blamed only for cowardice; but now, after all we have undergone, we shall lie under the imputation of injustice." Such were the principles of Brutus.

When they were about to leave Asia, Brutus, it is said, had an extraordinary apparition. Naturally watchful, sparing in his diet, and assiduous in business, he allowed himself but little time for

sleep. In the day he never slept, nor in the night, till all business was over, and the rest being retired, he had nobody to converse with: but at this time, involved as he was in the operations of war, and solicitous for the event, he only slumbered a little after supper, and spent the rest of the night in ordering his most urgent affairs. When these were despatched, he employed himself in reading till the third watch, when the tribunes and centurions came to him for orders. Thus, a little before he left Asia, he was sitting alone in his tent, by a dim light, and at a late hour. The whole army lay in sleep and silence, while the general, wrapt in meditation, thought he perceived something enter his tent: turning towards the door, he saw a horrible and monstrous spectre standing silently by his side. "What art thou?" said he boldly. "Art thou god or man? And what is thy business with me?" The spectre answered, "I am thy evil genius, Brutus! Thou wilt see me at Philippi." To which he calmly replied, "I'll meet thee there." When the apparition was gone, he called his servants, who told him they had neither heard any noise, nor had seen any vision. That night he did not go to rest, but went early in the morning to Cassius, and told him what had happened. Cassius, who was of the school of Epicurus, and used frequently to dispute with Brutus on these subjects, answered him thus: "It is the opinion of our sect, that not every thing we see is real; for matter is evasive, and sense deceitful. Besides, the impressions it receives are, by the quick and subtle influence of imagination, thrown into a variety of forms, many of which have no archetypes in nature; and this the imagination effects as easily as we may make an impression on wax. The mind of man, having in itself the plastic powers, and the component parts, can fashion and vary its objects at pleasure. This is clear from the sudden transition of dreams, in which the imagination can educe from the slightest principles such an amazing variety of forms, and call into exercise all the passions of the soul. The mind is perpetually in motion, and that motion is imagination or thought: but when the body, as in your case, is fatigued with labour, it naturally suspends or perverts the regular functions of the mind. Upon the whole, it is highly improbable that there should be any such beings as demons or spirits; or that, if there were such, they should assume a human shape or voice, or have any power to affect us. At the same time, I own, I could wish there were such beings, that we might not rely on fleets and armies, but find the concurrence of the gods in this our sacred and glorious enterprise." Such were the arguments he made use of to satisfy Brutus.

When the army began to march, two eagles perched on the two first standards, and accompanied them as far as Philippi, being

constantly fed by the soldiers; but the day before the battle they flew away. Brutus had already reduced most of the nations in these parts; nevertheless, he traversed the sea-coast over against Thasus, that if any hostile power remained, he might bring it into subjection.—Norbanus, who was encamped in the straits near Symbolum, they surrounded in such a manner, that they obliged him to quit the place. Indeed, he narrowly escaped losing his whole army, which had certainly been the case, had not Antony come to his relief with such amazing expedition, that Brutus could not believe it to be possible. Cæsar, who had been kept behind by sickness, joined his army about ten days after. Brutus was encamped over against him; Cassius was opposite to Antony. The space between the two armies the Romans call the plains of Philippi. Two armies of Romans, equal in numbers to these, had never before met to engage each other.—Cæsar's was something superior in numbers, but in the splendour of arms and equipage, was far exceeded by that of Brutus; for most of their arms were of gold and silver, which their general had liberally bestowed upon them. Brutus, in other things, had accustomed his officers to frugality; but the riches which his soldiers carried about with them would at once, he thought, add to the spirit of the ambitious, and make the covetous valiant in the defence of those arms, which were their principal wealth.

Cæsar made a lustration of his army within the camp, and gave each private man a little corn, and five drachmas only, for the sacrifice: but Brutus, to show his contempt of the poverty or the avarice of Cæsar, made a public lustration of his army in the field, and not only distributed cattle to each cohort for the sacrifice, but gave fifty drachmas on the occasion to each private man. Of course he was more beloved by his soldiers, and they were more ready to fight for him. It is reported, that during the lustration, an unlucky omen happened to Cassius. The garland he was to wear at the sacrifice was presented to him the wrong side outwards. It is said, too, that at a solemn procession some time before, the person who bore the golden image of victory before Cassius, happened to stumble, and the image fell to the ground. Several birds of prey hovered daily about the camp, and swarms of bees were seen within the trenches: upon which the soothsayers ordered the part where they appeared to be shut up; for Cassius, with all his Epicurean philosophy, began to be superstitious, and the soldiers were extremely disheartened by these omens.

For this reason Cassius was inclined to protract the war, and unwilling to hazard the whole of the event on a present engagement. What made for this measure, too, was, that they were stronger in

money and provisions, but inferior in numbers. Brutus, on the other hand, was, as usual, for an immediate decision, that he might either give liberty to his country, or rescue his fellow-citizens from the toils and expenses of war. He was encouraged likewise by the success his cavalry met with in several skirmishes; and some instances of desertion and mutiny in the camp brought over many of the friends of Cassius to his opinion: but there was one Atellius, who still opposed an immediate decision, and advised to put it off till the next winter. When Brutus asked him what advantages he expected from that, he answered, "If I gain nothing else, I shall at least live so much the longer." Both Cassius and the rest of the officers were displeased with this answer; and it was determined to give battle the day following.

Brutus, that night, expressed great confidence and cheerfulness; and having passed the time of supper in philosophical conversation, he went to rest. Messala says, that Cassius supped in private with some of his most intimate friends; and that, contrary to his usual manner, he was pensive and silent. He adds, that after supper he took him by the hand, and pressing it close, as he commonly did, in token of his friendship, he said, in Greek, "Bear witness, Messala, that I am reduced to the same necessity with Pompey the Great, of hazarding the liberty of my country on one battle. Yet I have confidence in our good fortune, on which we ought still to rely, though the measures we have resolved upon are indiscreet." These, Messala, tells us, were the last words that Cassius spoke before he bade him *farewell;* and that the next day, being his birth-day, he invited Cassius to sup with him.

Next morning, as soon as it was light, the scarlet robe, which was the signal for battle, was hung out in the tents of Brutus and Cassius; and they themselves met on the plain between the two armies. On this occasion Cassius thus addressed himself to Brutus. "May the gods, Brutus, make this day successful, that we may pass the rest of our days together in prosperity: but as the most important of human events are the most uncertain, and as we may never see each other any more, if we are unfortunate on this occasion, tell me what is your resolution concerning flight and death?"

Brutus answered, "In the younger and less experienced part of my life, I was led, upon philosophical principles, to condemn the conduct of Cato in killing himself. I thought it at once impious and unmanly to sink beneath the stroke of fortune, and to refuse the lot that had befallen us. In my present situation, however, I am of a different opinion: so that if Heaven should now be unfavourable to our wishes, I will no longer solicit my hopes or my fortune, but die

contented with it, such as it is. On the ides of March I devoted my life to my country; and since that time I have lived in liberty and glory." At these words Cassius smiled, and embracing Brutus, said, "Let us march, then, against the enemy; for with these resolutions, though we should not conquer, we have nothing to fear."— They then consulted with their friends concerning the order of battle. Brutus desired that he might command the right wing, though the post was thought more proper for Cassius, on account of his experience. Cassius, however, gave it up to him, and placed Messala, with the best of his legions, in the same wing. Brutus immediately drew out his cavalry, which were equipped with great magnificence, and the foot followed close upon them.

Antony's soldiers were at this time employed in making a trench from the marsh where they were encamped, to cut off Cassius's communication with the sea. Cæsar lay still in his tent, confined by sickness. His soldiers were far from expecting that the enemy would come to a pitched battle. They supposed that they were only making excursions to harass the trench-diggers with their light arms; and not perceiving that they were pouring in close upon them, they were astonished at the outcry they heard from the trenches. Brutus, in the mean time, sent tickets to the several officers with the word of battle, and rode through the ranks to encourage his men. There were few who had patience to wait for the word. The greatest part, before it could reach them, fell with loud shouts upon the enemy. This precipitate onset threw the army into confusion, and separated the legions. Messala's legion first got beyond the left wing of Cæsar, and was followed by those that were stationed near him. In their way they did nothing more than throw some of the outmost ranks into disorder, and killed few of the enemy: their great object was to fall upon Cæsar's camp, and they made directly up to it.— Cæsar himself, as he tells us in his Commentaries, had but just before been conveyed out of his tent, in consequence of a vision of his friend Artorius, which commanded that he should be carried out of the camp. This made it believed that he was slain, for the soldiers had pierced his empty litter in many places with darts. Those who were taken in the camp were put to the sword, amongst whom were two thousand Lacedæmonian auxiliaries. Those who attacked Cæsar's legions in front easily put them to the rout, and cut three legions in pieces. After this, borne along with the impetuosity of victory, they rushed into the camp at the same time with the fugitives, and Brutus was in the midst of them. The flank of Brutus's army was now left unguarded by the separation of the right wing, which was gone off too far in the pursuit; and the enemy, perceiving this, endeavoured

to take advantage of it. They accordingly attacked it with great fury, but could make no impression on the main body, which received them with firmness and unshaken resolution. The left wing, however, which was under the command of Cassius, was soon put to the rout; for the men were in great disorder, and knew nothing of what had passed in the right wing. The enemy pursued him into the camp, which they plundered and destroyed, though neither of their generals were present. Antony, it is said, to avoid the fury of the first onset, had retired into the adjoining marsh; and Cæsar, who had been carried sick out of the camp, was no where to be found. Nay, some of the soldiers would have persuaded Brutus that they had killed Cæsar, describing his age and person, and showing him their bloody swords.

The main body of Brutus's army had now made prodigious havoc of the enemy; and Brutus, in his department, was no less absolutely conqueror than Cassius was conquered. The want of knowing this was the ruin of their affairs. Brutus neglected to relieve Cassius, because he knew not that he wanted relief.

When Brutus had destroyed the camp of Cæsar, and was returning from the pursuit, he was surprised that he could neither perceive the tent of Cassius above the rest, as usual, nor any of those that were about it; for they had been demolished by the enemy on their first entering the camp. Some, who were of quicker sight than the rest, told him, that they could perceive a motion of shining helmets and silver targets in the camp of Cassius, and supposed from their numbers and their armour that they could not be those who were left to guard the camp; though at the same time there was not so great an appearance of dead bodies as there must have been after the defeat of so many legions. This gave Brutus the first suspicion of Cassius's misfortune; and leaving a sufficient guard in the enemy's camp, he called off the rest from the pursuit, and led them in order to the relief of Cassius.

The case of that general was this: he was chagrined at first by the irregular conduct of Brutus's soldiers, who began the attack without waiting for the command, and afterwards by their attention to plunder, whereby they neglected to surround and cut off the enemy. Thus dissatisfied, he trifled with his command, and, for want of vigilance, suffered himself to be surrounded by the enemy's right wing; upon which his cavalry quitted their post, and fled towards the sea. The foot likewise began to give way; and though he laboured as much as possible to stop their flight, and snatching an ensign from the hand of one of the fugitives, fixed it at his feet, yet he was hardly able to keep his own prætorian band together; so that at length he

was obliged to retire, with a very small number, to a hill that overlooked the plain. Yet here he could discover nothing; for he was short-sighted, and it was with some difficulty that he could perceive his own camp plundered. His companions, however, saw a large detachment of horse, which Brutus had sent to their relief, making up to them. These Cassius concluded to be the enemy that were in pursuit of him; notwithstanding which, he despatched Titinius to reconnoitre them. When the cavalry of Brutus saw this faithful friend of Cassius approach, they shouted for joy. His acquaintance leaped from their horses to embrace him, and the rest rode round him with clashing of arms, and all the clamorous expressions of gladness. This circumstance had a fatal effect. Cassius took it for granted that Titinius was seized by the enemy, and regretted that, through a weak desire of life, he had suffered his friend to fall into their hands. When he had expressed himself to this effect, he retired into an empty tent, accompanied only by his freedman Pindarus, whom, ever since the defeat of Crassus, he had retained for a particular purpose. In that defeat, he escaped out of the hands of the Parthians; but now, wrapping his robe about his face, he laid bare his neck, and commanded Pindarus to cut off his head. This was done; for his head was found severed from his body; but whether Pindarus did it by his master's command has been suspected, because he never afterwards appeared. It was soon discovered who the cavalry were, and Titinius, crowned with garlands, came to the place where he left Cassius. When the lamentations of his friends informed him of the unhappy fate of his general, he severely reproached himself for the tardiness which had occasioned it, and fell upon his sword.

Brutus, when he was assured of the defeat of Cassius, made all possible haste to his relief; but he knew nothing of his death till he came up to his camp. There he lamented over his body, and called him *the last of Romans;* intimating, that Rome would never produce another man of equal spirit. He ordered his funeral to be celebrated at Thasus, that it might not occasion any disorder in the camp. His dispersed and dejected soldiers he collected and encouraged; and as they had been stripped of every thing by the enemy, he promised them two thousand drachmas a-man. This munificence at once encouraged and surprised them; they attended him at his departure with great acclamations, and complimented him as the only general of the four who had not been beaten. Brutus was confident of victory, and the event justified that confidence; for, with a few legions, he overcame all that opposed him; and if most of his soldiers had not passed the enemy in pursuit of plunder, the battle must have been decisive in his favour. He lost eight thousand men, including

the servants, whom he called *Briges*. Messala says, he supposes the enemy lost more than twice that number; and of course they were more discouraged than Brutus, till Demetrius, a servant of Cassius, went over to Antony in the evening, and carried him his master's robe and sword, which he had taken from the dead body. This so effectually encouraged the enemy, that they were drawn up in form of battle by break of day. Both camps, in the occupation of Brutus, involved him in difficulties. His own, full of prisoners, required a strong guard. At the same time, many of the soldiers of Cassius murmured at their change of master, and the vanquished were naturally envious and jealous of the victors. He therefore thought proper to draw up his army, but not to fight.

All the slaves he had taken prisoners, being found practising with his soldiers, were put to the sword; but most of the freemen and citizens were dismissed; and he told them, at the same time, that they were more truly prisoners in the hands of the enemy than in his: with them, he said, they were slaves indeed; but with him freemen and citizens of Rome. He was obliged, however, to dismiss them privately; for they had implacable enemies amongst his own friends and officers. Amongst the prisoners were Volumnius, a mimic, and Saculio, a buffoon, of whom Brutus took no notice, till they were brought before him, and accused of continuing, even in their captivity, their scurrilous jests and abusive language. Yet still, taken up with more important concerns, he paid no regard to the accusation; but Messala Corvinus was of opinion that they should be publicly whipped, and sent naked to the enemy, as proper associates and convivial companions for such generals. Some were entertained with the idea, and laughed; but Publius Casca, the first that wounded Cæsar, observed, that it was indecent to celebrate the obsequies of Cassius with jesting and laughter. "As for you, Brutus," said he, "it will be seen what esteem you have for the memory of that general, when you have either punished or pardoned those who ridicule and revile him." Brutus resented this expostulation, and said, "Why is this business thrown upon me, Casca? Why do not you do what you think proper?" This answer was considered as an assent to their death: so the poor wretches were carried off and slain.

He now gave the promised rewards to his soldiers; and after gently rebuking them for beginning the assault without waiting for the word of battle, he promised, that if they acquitted themselves to his satisfaction in the next engagement, he would give them up the cities of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to plunder. This is the only circumstance in his life for which no apology can be made: for though Antony and Cæsar afterwards acted with more unbounded cruelty in

rewarding their soldiers; though they deprived most of the ancient inhabitants of Italy of their lands, and gave them to those who had no title to them; yet they acted consistently with their first principle, which was the acquisition of empire and arbitrary power. But Brutus maintained such a reputation for virtue, that he was neither allowed to conquer, nor even to save himself, except on the strictest principles of honour and justice; more particularly since the death of Cassius, to whom, if any act of violence were committed, it was generally imputed. However, as sailors, when their rudder is broken in a storm, substitute some other piece of wood in its place, and though they cannot stear so well as before, do the best they can in their necessity; so Brutus, at the head of so vast an army, and such important affairs, unassisted by any officer that was equal to the charge, was obliged to make use of such advisers as he had; and he generally followed the counsel of those who proposed any thing that might bring Cassius's soldiers to order: for these were extremely untractable; insolent in the camp, for want of their general, though cowardly in the field, from the remembrance of their defeat.

The affairs of Cæsar and Antony were not in a much better condition. Provisions were scarce, and the marshy situation of their camp made them dread the winter. They already began to fear the inconveniences of it; for the autumnal rains had fallen heavy after the battle, and their tents were filled with mire and water, which, from the coldness of the weather, immediately froze. In this situation, they received intelligence of their loss at sea. Their fleet, which was coming from Italy with a large supply of soldiers, was met by that of Brutus, and so totally defeated, that the few who escaped were reduced by famine to eat the sails and tackle of the ships. It was now determined, on Cæsar's side, that they should come to battle before Brutus was made acquainted with his success. It appears that the fight, both by sea and land, was on the same day; but by some accident, rather than the fault of their officers, Brutus knew nothing of his victory till twenty days after. Had he been informed of it, he would never certainly have hazarded a second battle; for he had provisions sufficient for a considerable length of time, and his camp was so advantageously posted, that it was safe both from the injuries of the weather, and incursions of the enemy. Besides, knowing that he was wholly master at sea, and partly victorious by land, he would have had every thing imaginable to encourage him, and could not have been urged to any dangerous measures by despair.

But it seems that the republican form of government was no longer to subsist in Rome; that it necessarily required a monarchy; and that Providence, to remove the only man who could oppose his des-

tined master, kept the knowledge of that victory from him till it was too late. And yet how near was he to receiving intelligence! The very evening before the engagement, a deserter, named Clodius, came over from the enemy to tell him that Cæsar was informed of the loss of his fleet, and that this was the reason of his hastening the battle. The deserter, however, was considered either as designing or ill informed; his intelligence was disregarded, and he was not even admitted into the presence of Brutus.

That night, they say, the spectre appeared again to Brutus, and assumed its former figure, but vanished without speaking. Yet Publius Volumnius, a philosophical man, who had borne arms with Brutus during the whole war, makes no mention of this prodigy; though he says that the first standard was covered with a swarm of bees; and that the arm of one of the officers sweated oil of roses, which would not cease, though they often wiped it off. He says too, that, immediately before the battle, two eagles fought in the space between the two armies; and that there was an incredible silence and attention in the field, till that on the side of Brutus was beaten, and flew away. The story of the Ethiopian is well known, who, meeting the standard-bearer opening the gate of the camp, was cut in pieces by the soldiers; for *that* they interpreted as an ill-omen.

When Brutus had drawn up his army in form of battle, he paused some time before he gave the word. While he was visiting the ranks, he had suspicions of some, and heard accusations of others. The cavalry, he found, had no ardour for the attack, but seemed waiting to see what the foot would do. Besides, Camulatus, a soldier in the highest estimation for valour, rode close by Brutus, and went over to the enemy in his sight. This hurt him inexpressibly; and partly out of anger, partly from fear of further desertion and treachery, he led his forces against the enemy about three in the afternoon. Where he fought in person, he was still successful. He charged the enemy's left wing, and the cavalry following the impression which the foot had made, it was put to the rout. But when the other wing of Brutus was ordered to advance, the inferiority of their numbers made them apprehensive that they should be surrounded by the enemy: For this reason they extended their ranks, in order to cover more ground; by which means the centre of the left wing was so much weakened, that it could not sustain the shock of the enemy, but fled at the first onset. After their dispersion, the enemy surrounded Brutus, who did every thing that the bravest and most expert general could do in his situation, and whose conduct at least entitled him to victory. But what seemed an advantage in the first engagement, proved a disadvantage in the second. In the former battle, that

wing of the enemy which was conquered, was totally cut off; bu most of the men in the conquered wing of Cassius were saved*.— This, at the time, might appear as an advantage, but it proved prejudice. The remembrance of their former defeat filled them wit terror and confusion, which they spread through the greatest part o the army.

Marcus, the son of Cato, was slain fighting amidst the bravest o the young nobility. He scorned alike either to fly or to yield; bu avowing who he was, and assuming his father's name, still used hi sword till he fell upon the heaps of the slaughtered enemy. Man other brave men, who exposed themselves for the preservation of Brutus, fell at the same time.

Lucilius, a man of great worth, and his intimate friend, observed some barbarian horse riding full speed against Brutus in particular and was determined to stop them, though at the hazard of his own life He therefore told them that he was Brutus; and they believed him because he pretended to be afraid of Cæsar, and desired to be conveyed to Antony. Exulting in their capture, and thinking themselve peculiarly fortunate, they carried him along with them by night having previously sent an account to Antony of their success, wh was infinitely pleased with it, and came out to them. Many other likewise, when they heard that Brutus was brought alive, assemble to see him; and some pitied his misfortunes, while others accuse him of an inglorious meanness, in suffering the love of life to betray hi into the hands of barbarians. When he approached, and Anton was deliberating in what manner he should receive Brutus, Lucilius first addressed him, and, with great intrepidity, said, "Antony, b assured that Brutus neither is nor will be taken by an enemy. Forbid it, heaven, that fortune should have such a triumph over virtue Whether he shall be found alive or dead, he will be found in a stat becoming Brutus. I imposed on your soldiers, and am prepare to suffer the worst you can inflict upon me." Thus spoke Lucilius, t the no small astonishment of those that were present. When Anton addressing himself to those that brought him, said, "I perceive fellow-soldiers, that you are angry at this imposition of Lucilius: bu you have really got a better booty than you intended. You sough an enemy; but you have brought me a friend. I know not how should have treated Brutus, had you brought him alive; but I am sur it is better to have such a man as Lucilius for a friend than for a

* There is no defect in the original, as the former translator imagines. He suppose the defeat of Cassius's soldiers to be in the present, and not in the former battle. Thi led him into the difficulty, which he increased by translating πλεον ἐσχε, *victory*, instea of *advantage*.

enemy." When he said this, he embraced Lucilius, recommending him to the care of one of his friends; and he ever after found him faithful to his interest.

Brutus, attended by a few of his officers and friends, having passed a brook that was overhung with cliffs, and shaded with trees, and being overtaken by night, stopped in a cavity under a large rock. There, casting his eyes on the heavens, which were covered with stars, he repeated two verses, one of which, Volumnius tells us, was this:

Forgive not, Jove, the cause of this distress*.

The other, he says, had escaped his memory. Upon enumerating the several friends that had fallen before his eyes in the battle, he sighed deeply at the mention of Flavius and Labeo; the latter of whom was his lieutenant, and the former master of the band of artificers. In the meanwhile, one of his attendants being thirsty, and observing Brutus in the same condition, took his helmet, and went to the brook for water. At the same time a noise was heard on the opposite bank, and Volumnius and Dardanus the armour-bearer went to see what it was. In a short time they returned, and asked for the water: "It is all drank up," said Brutus, with a smile; "but another helmet-full shall be fetched." The man who had brought the first water was therefore sent again; but he was wounded by the enemy, and made his escape with difficulty.

As Brutus supposed that he had not lost many men in the battle, Statilius undertook to make his way through the enemy (for there was no other way), and see in what condition their camp was. If things were safe there, he was to hold up a torch for a signal, and return. He got safe to the camp, for the torch was held up: but a long time elapsed, and he did not return. "If Statilius were alive," said Brutus, "he would be here." In his return he fell into the enemy's hands, and was slain.

The night was now far spent, when Brutus, leaning his head towards his servant Clitus, whispered something in his ear. Clitus made no answer, but burst into tears. After that he took his armour-bearer Dardanus aside, and said something to him in private. At last addressing Volumnius in Greek, he entreated him, in memory of their common studies and exercises, to put his hand to his sword, and help him to give the thrust. Volumnius, as well as several others, refused: and one of them observing that they must necessarily fly, "We must fly, indeed," said Brutus, rising hastily, "but not with our feet, but with our hands." He then took each of them by the hand, and spoke with great appearance of cheerfulness, to the following purpose: "It is an infinite satisfaction to me that all my

* Euripides, *Medea*.

friends have been faithful. If I am angry with Fortune, it is for the sake of my country. Myself I esteem more happy than the conquerors, not only in respect of the past, but in my present situation. I shall leave behind me that reputation for virtue, which they, with all their wealth and power, will never acquire: for posterity will not scruple to believe and declare that they were an abandoned set of men, who destroyed the virtuous, for the sake of that empire to which they had no right." After this he entreated them severally to provide for their own safety, and withdrew with only two or three of his most intimate friends. One of these was Strato, with whom he first became acquainted when he studied rhetoric. This friend he placed next to himself, and laying hold of the hilt of his sword with both his hands, he fell upon the point, and died. Some say that Strato, at the earnest request of Brutus, turned aside his head, and held the sword, upon which he threw himself with such violence, that, entering at his breast, it passed quite through his body, and he immediately expired.

Messala, the friend of Brutus, after he was reconciled to Cæsar, took occasion to recommend Strato to his favour. "This," said he, with tears, "is the man who did the last kind office for my dear Brutus." Cæsar received him with kindness, and he was one of those brave Greeks who afterwards attended him at the battle of Actium. Of Messala it is said, that when Cæsar observed he had been no less zealous in his service at Actium than he had been against him at Philippi, he answered, "I have always taken the best and justest side." When Antony found the body of Brutus, he ordered it to be covered with the richest robe he had; and that being stolen, he put the thief to death. The ashes of Brutus he sent to his mother Servilia.

With regard to Porcia, his wife, Nicolaus the philosopher, and Valerius Maximus*, tell us, that being prevented from that death she wished for by the constant vigilance of her friends, she snatched some burning coals from the fire, and shut them close in her mouth, till she was suffocated. Notwithstanding, there is a letter from Brutus to his friends still extant, in which he laments the death of Porcia, and complains that their neglect of her must have made her prefer death to the continuance of her illness. So that Nicolaus

* Valerius Maximus speaks of her fortitude on this occasion in the highest terms:—"Tuos quoque castissimos ignes, Porcia, M. Catonis filia, cuncta secula debita admira-"tione prosequentur: Quæ cum apud Philippos victum et interemptum virum tuum Bru-"tum cognosceres, quia ferrum non dabatur, ardentes ore carbones haurire non dubitasti, "muliebri spiritu virilem patris exitum imitata. Sed nescio an hoc fortius, quod ille "usitato, tu novo genere mortis absumptares!"—*Val. Max.* l. iv. c. 6.

appears to have been mistaken in the time, at least if this epistle be authentic; for it describes Porcia's distemper, her conjugal affection, and the manner of her death.

DION AND BRUTUS COMPARED.

WHAT is principally to be admired in the lives of Dion and Brutus, is their rising to such importance from inconsiderable beginnings: but here Dion has the advantage; for in the progress of glory he had no coadjutor, whereas Cassius went hand in hand with Brutus; and though in the reputation of virtue and honour he was by no means his equal, in military experience, resolution, and activity, he was not inferior. Some have imputed to him the origin of the whole enterprise, and have asserted that Brutus would never otherwise have engaged in it. But Dion, at the same time that he made the whole military preparations himself, engaged the friends and associates of his design. He did not, like Brutus, gain power and riches from the war: he employed that wealth, on which he was to subsist as an exile in a foreign country, in restoring the liberties of his own. When Brutus and Cassius fled from Rome, and found no asylum from the pursuit of their enemies, their only resource was war: and they took up arms as much in their own defence as in that of the common liberty. Dion, on the contrary, was happier in his banishment than the tyrant that banished him; and yet he voluntarily exposed himself to danger for the freedom of Sicily. Besides, to deliver the Romans from Cæsar, and the Syracusans from Dionysius, were enterprises of a very different kind. Dionysius was an avowed and established tyrant, and Sicily, with reason, groaned beneath his yoke. But with respect to Cæsar, though, whilst his imperial power was in its infancy, he treated his opponents with severity, yet, as soon as that power was confirmed, the tyranny was rather a nominal than a real thing; for no tyrannical action could be laid to his charge. Nay, such was the condition of Rome, that it evidently required a master; and Cæsar was no more than a tender and skilful physician, appointed by Providence to heal the distempers of the state. Of course the people lamented his death, and were implacably enraged against his assassins. Dion, on the contrary, was reproached by the Syracusans for suffering Dionysius to escape, and not digging up the former tyrant's grave.

With regard to their military conduct, Dion, as a general, was without a fault: he not only made the most of his own instructions, but, where others failed, he happily repaired the error. But it was wrong in Brutus to hazard a second battle, where all was at stake*. And when that battle was lost, he had neither sagacity enough to think of new resources, nor spirit, like Pompey, to contend with fortune, though he had still reason to rely on his troops, and was absolute master at sea.

But what Brutus is chiefly blamed for, was his ingratitude to Cæsar. He owed his life to his favour, as well as the lives of those prisoners for whom he interceded. He was treated as his friend, and distinguished with particular marks of honour; and yet he imbrued his hands in the blood of his benefactor. Dion stands clear of any charge like this. As a relation of Dionysius, he assisted and was useful to him in the administration; in which case his services were equal to his honours. When he was driven into exile, and deprived of his wife and his fortune, he had every motive that was just and honourable to take up arms against him.

Yet, if this circumstance is considered in another light, Brutus will have the advantage. The greatest glory of both consists in their abhorrence of tyrants and their criminal measures. This, in Brutus, was not blended with any other motive: he had no quarrel with Cæsar; but exposed his life for the liberty of his country. Had not Dion been injured, he had not fought. This is clear from Plato's epistles; where it appears that he was banished from the court of Dionysius, and, in consequence of that banishment, made war upon him. For the good of the community, Brutus, though an enemy to Pompey, became his friend, and though a friend to Cæsar, he became his enemy. His enmity and his friendship arose from the same principle, which was justice. But Dion, whilst in favour, employed his services for Dionysius; and it was not till he was disgraced that he armed against him. Of course his friends were not quite satisfied with his enterprise.—They were apprehensive that, when he had destroyed the tyrant, he might seize the government himself, and amuse the people with some softer title than that of tyranny. On the other hand, the very enemies of Brutus acknowledged that he was the only conspirator who had no other view than that of restoring the ancient form of government.

Besides, the enterprise against Dionysius cannot be placed in competition with that against Cæsar. The former had rendered himself contemptible by his low manners, his drunkenness, and de-

* This censure seems very unjust. The wavering disposition of Cassius's troops obliged him to come to a second engagement.

bauchery. But to meditate the fall of Cæsar, and not tremble at his dignity, his fortune, or his power, nor shrink at that name which shook the kings of India and Parthia on their thrones, and disturbed their slumbers; this showed a superiority of soul on which fear could have no influence. Dion was no sooner seen in Sicily than he was joined by thousands; but the authority of Cæsar was so formidable in Rome, that it supported his friends even after he was dead; and a simple boy rose to the first eminence of power by adopting his name which served as a charm against the envy and the influence of Antony. Should it be objected that Dion had the sharpest conflicts in expelling the tyrant, but that Cæsar fell naked and unguarded beneath the sword of Brutus, it will argue at least a consummate management and prudence to be able to come at a man of his power naked and unguarded; particularly when it is considered that the blow was not sudden, nor the work of one, or of a few men, but meditated and communicated to many associates, of whom not one deceived the leader: for either he had the power of distinguishing honest men at the first view, or such as he chose he made honest by the confidence he reposed in them. But Dion confided in men of bad principles; so that he must either have been injudicious in his choice, or, if his people grew worse after their appointments, unskilful in his management. Neither of these can be consistent with the talents and conduct of a wise man; and Plato accordingly blames him, in his letters, for making choice of such friends as, in the end, were his ruin.

Dion found no friend to revenge his death; but Brutus received an honourable interment even from his enemy Antony. And Cæsar allowed of that public respect which was paid to his memory, as will appear from the following circumstance:—A statue of brass had been erected to him at Milan, in Gallia Cisalpina, which was a fine performance, and a striking likeness. Cæsar, as he passed through the town, took notice of it, and summoning the magistrates, in the presence of his attendants, he told them that they had broken the league, by harbouring one of his enemies. The magistrates, as may well be supposed, denied it, and stared at each other, profoundly ignorant what enemy he could mean. He then turned towards the statue, and, knitting his brows, said, "Is not this my enemy that stands here?" The poor Milanese were struck dumb with astonishment; but Cæsar told them, with a smile, that he was pleased to find them faithful to their friends in adversity, and ordered that the statue should continue where it was.

ARTAXERXES.

THE first Artaxerxes, who of all the Persian kings was most distinguished for his moderation and greatness of mind, was surnamed *Longimanus*, because his right hand was longer than his left. He was the son of Xerxes. The second Artaxerxes, surnamed *Mnemon**, whose life we are going to write, was son to the daughter of the first: for Darius, by his wife Parysatis, had four sons; Artaxerxes the eldest, Cyrus the second, and Ostanes and Oxathres the two younger. Cyrus was called after the ancient king of that name, as he is said to have been after the sun; for the Persians call the sun *Cyrus*. Artaxerxes at first was named Arsicas†, though Dinon asserts that his original name was Oartes‡. But though Ctesias has filled his books with a number of incredible and extravagant fables, it is not probable that he should be ignorant of the name of a king at whose court he lived, in quality of physician to him, his wife, his mother, and his children.

Cyrus, from his infancy, was of a violent and impetuous temper; but Artaxerxes had a native mildness, something gentle and moderate in his whole disposition. The latter married a beautiful and virtuous lady by order of his parents, and he kept her when they wanted him to put her away: for the king having put her brother to death §,

* So called on account of his extraordinary memory. † Or, Arsaces ‡ Or, Oarses.

§ Teriteuchmes, the brother of Statira, had been guilty of the complicated crimes of adultery, incest, and murder, which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in them. Statira was daughter to Hydarnes, governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire.—Artaxerxes, then called Arsaces, was charmed with her beauty, and married her. At the same time Teriteuchmes, her brother, married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister to Arsaces; by reason of which marriage he had interest enough, on his father's demise, to get himself appointed to his government. But in the mean time he conceived a passion for his own sister, Roxana, no ways inferior in beauty to Statira; and, that he might enjoy her without constraint, resolved to despatch his wife Hamestris, and light up the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. Darius, being apprised of his design, engaged Udiastes, an intimate friend of Teriteuchmes, to kill him, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Upon this some commotions were raised by the son of Teriteuchmes; but the king's forces having the superiority, all the family of Hydarnes were apprehended, and delivered to Parysatis, that she might execute her revenge upon them for the injury done or intended to her daughter. That cruel princess put them all to death except Statira, whom she spared at the earnest entreaties of her husband Arsaces, contrary to the opinion of Darius. But Arsaces was no sooner settled upon the throne, than Statira prevailed upon him to leave Udiastes to her correction; and she put him to a death too cruel to be described. Parysatis, in return, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and not long after Statira herself.—*Ctes. in Pers.*

designed that she should share his fate. But Arsicas applied to his mother with many tears and entreaties, and, with much difficulty, prevailed upon her, not only to spare her life, but to excuse him from divorcing her. Yet his mother had the greater affection for Cyrus, and was desirous of raising him to the throne; therefore, when he was called from his residence on the coast in the sickness of Darius, he returned full of hopes that the queen's interest had established him successor. Parysatis had, indeed, a specious pretence, which the ancient Xerxes had made use of at the suggestion of Demaratus, that she had brought Darius his son Arsicas when he was in a private station, but Cyrus when he was a king. However, she could not prevail. Darius appointed his eldest son his successor; on which occasion his name was changed to Artaxerxes. Cyrus had the government of Lydia, and was to be commander in chief on the coast.

Soon after the death of Darius, the king, his successor, went to Pasargadæ in order to be consecrated, according to custom, by the priests of Persia. In that city there is the temple of a goddess who has the affairs of war under her patronage, and therefore may be supposed to be Minerva. The prince to be consecrated must enter that temple, put off his own robe there, and take that which was worn by the great Cyrus before he was king. He must eat a cake of figs, chew some turpentine, and drink a cup of acidulated milk. Whether there are any other ceremonies is unknown, except to the persons concerned. As Artaxerxes was on the point of going to be consecrated, Tissaphernes brought to him a priest who had been chief inspector of Cyrus's education in his infancy, and had instructed him in the learning of the *Magi*, and therefore might be supposed to be as much concerned as any man in Persia at his pupil's not being appointed king. For that reason his accusation against Cyrus could not but gain credit. He accused him of a design to lie in wait for the king in the temple, and, after he had put off his garment, to fall upon him and destroy him. Some affirm that Cyrus was immediately seized upon this information; others, that he got into the temple and concealed himself there, but was pointed out by the priest; in consequence of which he was to be put to death; but his mother at that moment took him in her arms, bound the tresses of her hair about him, held his neck to her own, and by her tears and entreaties prevailed to have him pardoned, and remanded to the sea-coast. Nevertheless, he was far from being satisfied with his government. Instead of thinking of his brother's favour with gratitude, he remembered only the indignity of chains, and, in his resentment, aspired more than ever after the sovereignty.

Some, indeed, say, that he thought his allowance for his table insufficient, and therefore revolted from his king. But this is a foolish pretext: for if he had no other resource, his mother would have supplied him with whatever he wanted out of her revenues. Besides, there needs no greater proof of his riches than the number of foreign troops that he entertained in his service, which were kept for him in various parts by his friends and retainers: for, the better to conceal his preparations, he did not keep his forces in a body, but had his emissaries in different places, who enlisted foreigners on various pretences. Meanwhile his mother, who lived at court, made it her business to remove the king's suspicions, and Cyrus himself always wrote in a lenient style; sometimes begging a candid interpretation, and sometimes recriminating upon Tissaphernes, as if his contention had been solely with that grandee. Add to this, that the king had a dilatory turn of mind, which was natural to him, and which many took for moderation. At first, indeed, he seemed entirely to imitate the mildness of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore, by behaving with great affability to all that addressed him, and distributing honours and rewards to persons of merit with a lavish hand. He took care that punishments should never be imbittered with insult. If he received presents, he appeared as well pleased as those who offered them, or rather as those who received favours from him; and, in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleasure. There was not any thing, however trifling, brought him by way of present, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one Omisus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon size, he said, "By the light of Mithra, this man, if he were made governor of a small city, would soon make it a great one." When he was once upon a journey, and people presented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having nothing else to give him, ran to the river and brought him some water in his hands. Artaxerxes was so much pleased, that he sent the man a gold cup and a thousand *darics*. When Euclidas the Lacedæmonian said many insolent things to him, he contented himself with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this answer: "You may say what you please to the king; but the king would have you to know, that he can not only say, but do." One day, as he was hunting, Tiribazus showed him a rent in his robe; upon which the king said, "What shall I do with it?" "Put on another, and give that to me," said Tiribazus. "It shall be so," said the king; "I give it thee; but I charge thee not to wear it." Tiribazus, who, though not a bad man, was giddy and vain, disregarding the restriction, soon put on the robe, and at the same time tricked

himself out with some golden ornaments fit only for queens. The court expressed great indignation, because it was a thing contrary to their laws and customs; but the king only laughed, and said to him, "I allow thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe as a madman."

None had been admitted to the king of Persia's table but his mother and his wife; the former of which sat above him, and the latter below him: Artaxerxes, nevertheless, did that honour to Ostanes and Oxathres, two of his younger brothers. But what afforded the Persians the most pleasing spectacle, was the queen Statira always riding in her chariot with the curtains open, and admitting the women of the country to approach and salute her. These things made his administration popular. Yet there were some turbulent and factious men, who represented that the affairs of Persia required a king of such a magnificent spirit, so able a warrior, and so generous a master as Cyrus was; and that the dignity of so great an empire could not be supported without a prince of high thoughts and noble ambition. It was not, therefore, without a confidence in some of the Persians, as well as in the maritime provinces, that Cyrus undertook the war.

He wrote also to the Lacedæmonians for assistance, promising that to the foot he would give horses, and to the horsemen chariots; that on those who had farms he would bestow villages, and on those who had villages, cities. As for their pay, he assured them it should not be counted, but measured out to them. At the same time he spoke in very high terms of himself, telling them he had a greater and more princely heart than his brother; that he was the better philosopher, being instructed in the doctrines of the *Magi*, and that he could drink and bear more wine than his brother. Artaxerxes, he said, was so timorous and effeminate a man, that he could not sit a horse in hunting, nor a chariot in time of war. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, sent the *scytale* to Clearchus, with orders to serve Cyrus in every thing he demanded*.

Cyrus began his march against the king with a numerous army of barbarians†, and almost thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries‡. He

* They took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case Artaxerxes should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him in what they had done.—*Xenoph. de Expedit. Cyri*, l. i.

† A hundred thousand barbarians.

‡ Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bœotians were under Proxenes, a Theban; and the Thessalians under Menon. The other nations were commanded by Persian generals, of whom Ariæus was the chief. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships,

found one pretence after another for having such an armament on foot; but his real designs did not remain long undiscovered, for Tissaphernes went in person to inform the king of them.

This news put the court in great disorder. Parysatis was censured as the principal cause of the war, and her friends were suspected of a private intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, in her distress about the war, gave Parysatis the most trouble. "Where is now," she cried, "that faith which you pledged? Where your intercessions, by which you saved the man that was conspiring against his brother? Have they not brought war and all its calamities upon us?" These expostulations fixed in the heart of Parysatis, who was naturally vindictive and barbarous in her resentment and revenge, such a hatred of Statira, that she contrived to take her off. Dinon writes, that this cruel purpose was put in execution during the war; but Ctesias assures us it was after it; and it is not probable that he, who was an eye-witness to the transactions of that court, could either be ignorant of the time when the assassination took place, or could have any reason to misrepresent the date of it; though he often deviates into fictitious tales, and loves to give us invention instead of truth. We shall, therefore, leave this story to the order of time in which he has placed it.

While Cyrus was upon his march, he had accounts brought him that the king did not design to try the fortune of the field by giving battle immediately, but to wait in Persia till his forces were assembled there from all parts of his kingdom. And though he had drawn a trench across the plain ten fathoms wide, as many deep*, and four hundred furlongs in length, yet he suffered Cyrus to pass him, and to march almost to Babylon†. Tiribazus, we are told, was the first who ventured to remonstrate to the king, that he ought not any longer to avoid an action, nor to abandon Media, Babylon, and even Susa, to the enemy, and hide himself in Persia, since he had an army infinitely greater than theirs, and ten thousand *Satrapæ* and other officers, all of them superior to those of Cyrus both in courage and conduct.

Upon this he took a resolution to come to action as soon as possible. His sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men, well prepared and accoutred, extremely surprised the re-

under Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian; and twenty-five commanded by Tamos, an Egyptian, who was admiral of the whole fleet. On this occasion, Proxenes presented Xenophon to Cyrus, who gave him a commission amongst the Greek mercenaries.

* Xenophon says this trench was only five fathoms wide, and three deep. It must be observed that the word *orguia* sometimes signifies a *pace* only; and if it be understood so here, it will bring Plutarch's account more within the bounds of probability.

† There was a passage twenty feet wide left between the trench and the Euphrates, and Artaxerxes neglected to defend it.

bels, who, through the confidence they had in themselves, and contempt of their enemy, were marching in great confusion, and even without their arms; so that it was with great difficulty that Cyrus reduced them to any order; and he could not do it at last without much noise and tumult. As the king advanced in silence, and at a slow pace, the good discipline of his troops afforded an astonishing spectacle to the Greeks, who expected, amongst such a multitude, nothing but disorderly shouts and motions, and every other instance of distraction and confusion. He showed his judgment too, in placing the strongest of his armed chariots before that part of his phalanx which was opposite to the Greeks, that, by the impetuosity of their motion, they might break the enemy's ranks before they came to close combat.

Many historians have described this battle; but Xenophon has done it with such life and energy, that we do not read an account of it; we see it, and feel all the danger. It would be very absurd, therefore, to attempt any thing after him, except the mentioning some material circumstances which he has omitted.

The place where the battle was fought is called Conaxa, and is five hundred furlongs from Babylon. A little before the action, Clearchus advised Cyrus to post himself behind the Macedonians*, and not risk his person; upon which he is reported to have said, "What advice is this, Clearchus? Would you have me, at the very time I am aiming at a crown, to show myself unworthy of one?" Cyrus, indeed, committed an error in rushing into the midst of the greatest danger without care or caution; but Clearchus was guilty of another as great, if not greater, in not consenting to place his Greeks opposite to the king, and in getting the river on his right, to prevent his being surrounded; for, if safety was his principal object, and he was by all means to avoid loss, he ought to have staid at home. But to carry his arms ten thousand furlongs from the sea, without necessity or constraint, and solely with a view to place Cyrus on the throne of Persia, and then not to be solicitous for a post where he might best defend the prince whose pay he received, but for one in which he might act most at ease and in the greatest safety, was to behave like a man, who, on the sight of present danger, abandons the whole enterprise, and forgets the purpose of his expedition; for it appears, from the course of the action, that if the Greeks had charged those that were posted about the king's person, they would not have stood the shock; and after Artaxerxes had been slain, or put to flight, the conqueror must have gained the crown without further interruption.

* This is undoubtedly the error of some transcriber; and for *Macedonians* we should read Lacedæmonians.

Therefore the ruin of Cyrus's affairs, and his death, are much rather to be ascribed to the caution of Clearchus, than to his own rashness; for if the king himself had been to choose a post for the Greeks, where they might do him the least prejudice, he could not have pitched upon a better than that which was most remote from himself, and the troops about him. At the distance he was from Clearchus, he knew not of the defeat of that part of his army which was near the river, and Cyrus was cut off before he could avail himself of the advantages gained by the Greeks. Cyrus, indeed, was sensible what disposition would have been of most service to him, and for that reason ordered Clearchus to charge in the centre; but Clearchus ruined all, notwithstanding his assurances of doing every thing for the best: for the Greeks beat the barbarians with ease, and pursued them a considerable way.

In the mean time, Cyrus being mounted on *Pasaccas*, a horse of great spirit, but at the same time headstrong and unruly, fell in, as Ctesias tells us, with Artagerses, general of the Cadusians, who met him upon the gallop, and called out to him in these terms: "Most unjust and most stupid of men, who disgracest the name of Cyrus, the most august of all names among the Persians; thou leadest these brave Greeks a vile way to plunder thy country, and to destroy thy brother and thy king, who has many millions of servants that are better men than thou. Try if he has not, and here thou shalt lose thy head, before thou canst see the face of the king." So saying, he threw his javelin at him with all his force; but his cuirass was of such excellent temper, that he was not wounded, though the violence of the blow shook him in his seat. Then as Artagerses was turning his horse, Cyrus aimed a stroke at him with his spear, and the point of it entered at his collar-bone, and pierced through his neck. That Artagerses fell by the hand of Cyrus, almost all historians agree. As to the death of Cyrus himself, since Xenophon has given a very short account of it, because he was not on the spot when it happened, perhaps it may not be amiss to give the manner of it in detail, as Dinon and Ctesias have represented it.

Dinon tells us, that Cyrus, after he had slain Artagerses, charged the vanguard of Artaxerxes with great fury, wounded the king's horse, and dismounted him. Tiribazus immediately mounted him on another horse, and said, "Sir, remember this day; for it deserves not to be forgotten." At the second attack, Cyrus spurred his horse against the king, and gave him a wound; at the third, Artaxerxes, in great indignation, said to those that were by, "It is better to die than to suffer all this." At the same time he advanced against Cyrus, who was rashly advancing to meet a shower of darts. The king wounded

him with his javelin, and others did the same. Thus fell Cyrus, as some say, by the blow which the king gave him; but, according to others, it was a Carian soldier who despatched him, and who afterwards, for his exploit, had the honour of carrying a golden cock, at the head of the army, on the point of his spear: for the Persians called the Carians cocks, on account of the crests with which they adorned their helmets.

Ctesias's story is very long, but the purport of it is this: When Cyrus had slain Artagerses, he pushed his horse up towards the king, and the king advanced against him; both in silence. Ariacus, one of the friends of Cyrus, first aimed a blow at the king, but did not wound him. Then the king threw his javelin at Cyrus, but missed him; the weapon, however, did execution upon Tissaphernes*, a man of approved valour, and a faithful servant to Cyrus. It was now Cyrus's turn to try his javelin; it pierced the king's cuirass, and going two fingers deep into his breast, brought him from his horse. This caused such disorder in his troops, that they fled: but the king recovering, retired with a few of his men, among whom was Ctesias, to an eminence not far off, and there reposed himself. In the mean time Cyrus's horse, grown more furious by the action, carried him deep amongst the enemy; and as night was coming on, they did not know him, and his own men sought for him in vain. Elated, however, with victory, and naturally daring and impetuous, he kept on, crying out, in the Persian language, as he went, "Make way, ye slaves, make way!" They humbled themselves, and opened their ranks; but his tiara happened to fall from his head, and a young Persian named Mithridates, in passing, wounded him with his lance in the temple near his eye, without knowing who he was. Such a quantity of blood issued from the wound, that he was seized with a giddiness, and fell senseless from his horse. The horse, having lost his rider, wandered about the field; the furniture, too, was fallen off, and the servant of Mithridates, who had given him the wound, took it up, all stained with blood.

At last Cyrus, with much difficulty, began to recover from his swoon; and a few eunuchs who attended him endeavoured to mount him on another horse, and so to carry him out of danger. But as he was too weak to sit a horse, he thought it better to walk, and the eunuchs supported him as he went. His head was still heavy, and he tottered at every step; yet he imagined himself victorious, because he heard the fugitives calling Cyrus king, and imploring mercy.

* *Tissaphernes* is probably an erroneous reading. We know of no Tissaphernes but the grandee of that name, who was a faithful servant to Artaxerxes. One of the manuscripts gives us *Satiphernes*.

At that instant, some Caunians of mean condition, who performed the most servile offices for the royal army, happened to mix with the company of Cyrus as friends. They perceived, however, though not without difficulty, that the clothing of his people was red whereas that given by the king their master was white. One of these then ventured to give Cyrus a stroke with his spear behind, without knowing him to be the prince. The weapon hit his ham, and cut the sinew; upon which he fell, and in falling dashed his wounded temple against a stone, and died upon the spot. Such is Ctesias's story of the death of Cyrus, which, like a blunt weapon, hacks and hews him a long time, and can hardly kill him at last.

Soon after Cyrus expired, an officer, who was called *the King's Eye*, passed that way. Artasyras (for that was his name) knowing the eunuchs, who were mourning over the corpse, addressed him who appeared to be most faithful to his master, and said, "Pariscas, who is that whom thou art lamenting so much?" "O Artasyras!" answered the eunuch, "see you not prince Cyrus dead?" Artasyras was astonished at the event; however, he desired the eunuch to compose himself, and take care of the corpse, and then rode at full speed to Artaxerxes, who had given up all for lost, and was ready to faint, both with thirst and with the anguish of his wound. In these circumstances the officer found him, and, with a joyful accent, hailed him in these words: "I have seen Cyrus dead." The king, at first, was impatient to see the dead body himself, and commanded Artasyras immediately to conduct him to it. But finding all the field full of terror and dismay, upon a report that the Greeks, victorious in their quarter, were pursuing the fugitives, and putting all to the sword, he thought proper to send out a greater number to reconnoitre the place, which Artasyras had told him of. Accordingly thirty men went with flambeaux in their hands. Still the king was almost dying with thirst, and the eunuch Satibarzanes sought every place for water; for the field afforded none, and they were at a great distance from the camp. After much search he found one of those poor Caunians had about two quarts of bad water in a mean bottle, and he took it and carried it to the king. After the king had drank it all up, the eunuch asked him, "If he did not find it a disagreeable beverage?" Upon which he swore by all the gods, "That he had never drank the most delicious wine, nor the lightest and clearest water, with so much pleasure. I wish only," continued he, "that I could find the man who gave it thee, that I might make him a recompense. In the mean time, I entreat the gods to make him happy and rich."

When he was speaking, the thirty men, whom he had sent out, returned in great exultation, and confirmed the news of his unexpected

good fortune. Now, likewise, numbers of his troops repaired to him again, and dismissing his fears, he descended from the eminence, with many torches carried before him. When he came to the dead body, according to the law of the Persians, the right hand and the head were cut off; and having ordered the head to be brought to him, he took it by the hair, which was long and thick, and showed it to the fugitives, and to such as were still doubtful of the fortune of the day. They were astonished at the sight, and prostrated themselves before him. Seventy thousand men soon assembled about him, and with them he returned to his camp. Ctesias tells us, he had led four hundred thousand men that day into the field; but Dinon and Xenophon make that number much greater. As to the number of the killed, Ctesias says, an account only of nine thousand was brought to Artaxerxes; whereas there appeared to Ctesias himself to be no fewer than twenty thousand. That article, therefore, must be left dubious. But nothing can be a more palpable falsity than what Ctesias adds, that he was sent ambassador to the Greeks in conjunction with Phayllus, the Zacynthian, and some others; for Xenophon knew that Ctesias was at the Persian court; he mentions him in his works, and it is plain that he had met with his books. Therefore, if he had been joined in commission to settle such important affairs, he would not have passed him by unnoticed, but would have mentioned him with Phayllus. Ctesias, indeed, was a man of unbounded vanity, as well as strong attachment to Clearchus; and for that reason always leaves a corner in the story for himself, when he is dressing out the praises of Clearchus and the Lacedæmonians.

After the battle, the king sent great and valuable presents to the son of Artagerses, who was slain by Cyrus. He rewarded also Ctesias and others in a distinguished manner; and having found the Caunian who gave him the bottle of water, he raised him from indigence and obscurity to riches and honours. There was something of an analogy between his punishments and the crime. One Arbaces, a Mede, in the battle, deserted to Cyrus, and, after that prince was killed, came back to his colours. As he perceived that the man had done it rather out of cowardice than any treasonable design, all the penalty he laid upon him was to carry about a naked courtesan upon his shoulders a whole day in the market-place. Another, besides deserting, had given it out that he had killed two of the enemy; and for his punishment, he only ordered his tongue to be pierced through with three needles.

He supposed, and he was desirous of having it pass upon the world, that Cyrus fell by his hand. This induced him to send valuable presents to Mithridates, who gave him the first wound, and to instruct

the messengers to say, "The king does you this honour, because you found the furniture of Cyrus's horse, and brought it to him."—And when the Caunian, who gave Cyrus the stroke in his ham, that caused his death, asked for his reward, he ordered those who gave it him to say, "The king bestows this upon you, because you were the second person that brought him good tidings: for Artasyras was the first, and you the next, that brought him an account of the death of Cyrus." Mithridates went away in silence, though not without concern. But the unhappy Caunian could not conquer the common disease of vanity. Elated with what he thought his good fortune, and aspiring to things above his walk in life, he would not receive his reward for tidings, but angrily insisted, and called the gods and men to witness, that he, and no other man, killed Cyrus; and that it was not just to rob him of the glory.

The king was so much incensed at this, that he ordered the man's head to be cut off. But his mother, Parysatis, being present, said, "Let not this villanous Caunian go off so: leave him to me, and he shall have the reward which his audacious tongue deserves." Accordingly the king gave him up to her, and she delivered him to the executioners, with orders to torture him for ten days, and then to tear out his eyes, and pour molten brass into his ears till he expired.

Mithridates also came to a miserable end soon after, through his own folly. Being invited one evening to supper, where both the eunuchs of the king, and those of his mother were present, he went in a robe embroidered with gold, which he had received from the king. During the entertainment, Parysatis's principal eunuch took occasion to say, "What a beautiful garment is this, Mithridates, which the king has given you! How handsome are those bracelets and that chain! How valuable your scimitar! He has certainly made you not only a great, but a happy man." Mithridates, who, by this time was flushed with wine, made answer, "What are these things, Sparamixes? I deserve much greater marks of honour than these, for the services I rendered the king that day." Then Sparamixes replied, with a smile, "I speak not in the least out of envy; but since, according to the Greek proverb, there is truth in wine, let me tell you my mind freely, and ask you what great matter it is to find a horse's furniture fallen off, and bring it to the king." This he said, not that he was ignorant of the real state of the case; but because he wanted to lay him open, and saw that the wine had made him talkative, and taken him off his guard; he studied to pique his vanity. Mithridates, no longer master of himself, said, "You may talk of what furniture and what trifles you please, but I tell you plainly, it was by this hand that Cyrus was slain: for I did not, like Artagerses, throw my javelin

in vain, but pierced his temples near the eye, and brought him to the ground; and of that wound he died." The rest of the company saw the dreadful fate that would befal Mithridates, and looked with dejected eyes upon the ground; but he who gave the entertainment said, "Let us now attend to our eating and drinking; and, adoring the fortune of the king, let such matters alone as are too high for us."

Immediately after the company broke up, the eunuch told Parysatis what had been said, and she informed the king. Artaxerxes, like a person detected, and one who had lost a victory out of his hands, was enraged at this discovery; for he was desirous of making all the barbarians and Greeks believe, that in the several encounters he both gave and received blows; and that, though he was wounded himself, he killed his adversary. He therefore condemned Mithridates to the punishment of *the Boat*. The manner of it is this: they take two boats, which are made to fit each other, and extend the criminal in one of them in a supine posture; then they turn the other upon it, so that the poor wretch's body is covered, and only the head and hands are out at one end, and the feet at the other.—They give him victuals daily, and if he refuse to eat, they compel him by pricking him in the eyes. After he has eaten, they make him drink a mixture of honey and milk, which they pour into his mouth; they spread the same, too, over his face, and always turn him, so as to have the sun full in his eyes; the consequence of which is, that his face is covered with swarms of flies. As all the necessary evacuations of a man who eats and drinks are within the boat, the filthiness and corruption engender a quantity of worms, which consume his flesh, and penetrate to his entrails. When they find that the man is dead, they take off the upper boat, and have the spectacle of a carcase whose flesh is eaten away, and of numberless vermin clinging to and gnawing the bowels. Mithridates with much difficulty found death, after he had been consumed in this manner for seventeen days.

There remained now no other mark for the vengeance of Parysatis but Mesabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who cut off Cyrus's head and hand. As he took care to give her no handle against him, she laid this scheme for his destruction. She was a woman of keen parts in all respects, and in particular she played well at dice.—The king often played with her before the war, and being reconciled to her after it, took the same diversion with her. She was even the confidant of his pleasures, and scrupled not to assist him in any thing of gallantry.

Statira, indeed, was the object of her hatred, and she let her have

a very small share of the king's company; for she was determined to have the principal interest with him herself. One day, finding Artaxerxes wanted something to pass away the time, she challenged him to play for a thousand *darics*, and purposely managed her dice so ill, that she lost. She paid the money immediately, but pretended to be much chagrined, and called on him to play again for a eunuch. He consented to the proposal, and consented each of them to except five of their most faithful eunuchs; the winner was to have his choice out of the rest. On these conditions they played. The queen, who had the affair at heart, exerted all her skill, and being favoured, besides, by the dice, won the eunuch, and pitched upon Mesabates, who was not of the number of the excepted. He was immediately delivered to her, and before the king suspected any thing of her intentions, she put him into the hands of the executioners, with orders to flay him alive, to fix his body on three stakes, and to stretch out his skin by itself. The king was highly incensed, and expressed his resentment in strong terms; but she only said, in a laughing, ironical way, "This is pleasant, indeed, that you must be so angry about an old useless eunuch, while I say not a word of my loss of a thousand *darics*." The king, though much concerned at the imposition, held his peace: but Statira, who, on other occasions, openly censured the practice of the queen-mother, complained now of her injustice and cruelty, in sacrificing to Cyrus the eunuchs and other faithful servants of the king.

After Tissaphernes* had deceived Clearchus and the other Grecian officers, and contrary to the treaty and his oaths, put them in chains, Ctesias tells us that Clearchus made interest with him for the recovery of a comb. When he had obtained it, it seems he was so much pleased with the use of it, that he took his ring from his finger, and gave it Ctesias, that it might appear as a token of his regard for him to his friends and relations in Lacedæmon. The device was a dance of the *Caryatides*†. He adds, that whenever provisions were sent to Clearchus, his fellow-prisoners took most of them for themselves, and left him a very small share; but that he corrected this abuse, by

* Tissaphernes, by promises which he did not intend to keep, drew Clearchus to an interview in his tent. He went with four principal officers, and twenty captains, to wait on the Persian, who put Clearchus and the four officers under arrest, and ordered the twenty captains to be cut in pieces. Some time after, the king commanded Clearchus, and all the four officers, except Menon, to be beheaded.—*Xenoph. de Exped. Cyri*, l. ii.

† Carya was a town in Laconia, where there was a temple of Diana. Indeed the whole town was dedicated to Diana and her nymphs. In the court before the temple stood a statue of *Diana Caryatis*, and the Spartan virgins kept a yearly festival, on which they danced round it.

procuring a larger quantity to be sent to Clearchus, and separating the allowance of the others from his. All this (according to our author) was done with the consent and by the favour of Parysatis. As he sent every day a gammon of bacon among the provisions, Clearchus suggested to him, that he might easily conceal a small dagger in the fleshy part, and begged earnestly that he would do it, that his fate might not be left to the cruel disposition of Artaxerxes; but, through fear of the king's displeasure, he refused it. The king, however, at the request of his mother, promised, upon oath, not to put Clearchus to death; but afterwards he was persuaded, by Statira, to destroy all the prisoners except Menon. On this account, he tells us, Parysatis plotted against Statira, and resolved to take her off by poison. But it is a great absurdity in Ctesias to assign so disproportionate a cause. Would Parysatis, for the sake of Clearchus, undertake so horrid and dangerous an enterprise, as that of poisoning the king's lawful wife, by whom he had children, and an heir to his crown? It is clear enough that he tells this fabulous tale to do honour to the memory of Clearchus: for he adds, that the carcases of the other officers were torn in pieces by dogs and birds; but that a storm of wind brought a great heap of sand, and provided a tomb for Clearchus. Around this heap there sprang up a number of palm-trees, which soon grew into an admirable grove, and spread their protecting shade over the place; so that the king repented greatly of what he had done, believing that he had destroyed a man who was a favourite of the gods.

It was, therefore, only from the hatred and jealousy which Parysatis had entertained of Statira from the first, that she embarked in so cruel a design. She saw that her own power with the king depended only on his reverence for her as his mother; whereas that of Statira was founded in love, and confirmed by the greatest confidence in her fidelity. The point she had to carry was great, and she resolved to make one desperate effort. She had a faithful and favourite attendant named Gigis, who, as Dinon tells us, assisted in the affair of the poison; but, according to Ctesias, she was only conscious to it, and that against her will. The former calls the person who provided the poison Melantas; the latter Belitaras.

These two princesses had, in appearance, forgot their old suspicions and animosities, and began to visit and eat at each other's table; but they did it with so much distrust and caution, as to make it a rule to eat of the same dish, and even of the same slices. There is a small bird in Persia which has no excrements, the intestines being only filled with fat; on which account it is supposed to live upon air and dew; the name of it is *Rhyntaces*. Ctesias writes, that Pa-

rysatis divided one of these birds with a small knife that was poisoned on one side, and taking the wholesomer part herself, gave the other to Statira. Dinon, however, affirms, that it was not Parysatis, but Melantas, who cut the bird in two, and presented the poisoned part to Statira. Be that as it may, she died in dreadful agonies and convulsions, and was not only sensible herself of the cause, but intimated her suspicions to the king, who knew too well the savage and implacable temper of his mother. He therefore immediately made an inquisition into the affair: he took her officers and servants that attended at her table and put them to the torture; but she kept Gigis in her own apartment; and when the king demanded her, refused to give her up. At last Gigis begged of the queen-mother to let her go in the night to her own house; and the king being informed of it, ordered some of his guards to intercept her. Accordingly she was seized, and condemned to die. The laws of Persia have provided this punishment for prisoners—their heads are placed on a broad stone, and then crushed with another, till nothing of the figure remains. In that manner was Gigis executed. As for Parysatis, the king did not reproach her with her crime, nor punish her any further, than by sending her to Babylon, (which was the place she desired to retire to), and declaring that he would never visit that city while she lived. Such was the state of his domestic affairs.

He was no less solicitous to get the Greeks into his hands, who had followed Cyrus into Asia, than he had been to conquer Cyrus himself, and to keep the crown. But he could not succeed*; for, though they had lost Cyrus their general, and their own officers, yet they forced their way, as it were, out of the very palace of Artaxerxes, and made it appear to all the world that the Persians and their king had nothing to value themselves upon but wealth, luxury, women, and that the rest was mere parade and ostentation. This gave fresh spirits to the Greeks, and taught them to despise the barbarians. The Lacedæmonians, in particular, thought it would be a great dishonour, if they did not now deliver the Asiatic Greeks from

* The Greeks were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a numerous army flushed with victory, and had no way to return again into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through an immense track of the enemy's country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties, and, in spite of a powerful army, which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made a retreat of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles through the provinces belonging to the Persians, and got safe to the Greek cities on the Euxine sea. Clearchus had the conduct of this march at first, but he being cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, Xenophon was chosen in his room; and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into Greece.

servitude, and put an end to the insults of the Persians. Their first attempt was under the direction of Thimbro, and the next under that of Dercyllidas; but as those generals effected nothing of importance, the conduct of the war was given to Agesilaus. That prince immediately passed into Asia with his fleet, and soon distinguished himself by his vigorous operations; for he defeated Tissaphernes in a pitched battle, and brought over several cities.

By these losses Artaxerxes understood what was his best method of making war. He therefore sent Hermocrates the Rhodian into Greece with a great quantity of gold, having instructed him to corrupt with it the leading men amongst the states, and to stir up a Grecian war against Lacedæmon.

Hermocrates acquitted himself so well in his commission, that the most considerable cities leagued against Sparta, and there were such commotions in Peloponnesus, that the magistrates were forced to recal Agesilaus from Asia. On leaving that country, he is reported to have said to his friends, "The king drives me out of Asia with thirty thousand archers;" for the Persian money bore the impression of an archer.

Artaxerxes deprived the Lacedæmonians of the dominion of the sea by means of Conon the Athenian, who acted in conjunction with Pharnabazus: for Conon, after he had lost the sea-fight at Ægos Potamos, took up his abode in Cyprus, not merely to provide for his own safety, but to wait for a change of affairs, as mariners wait for the turn of the tide. As he saw that his own plan wanted a respectable power to carry it into execution, and that the Persian power required a person of ability to conduct it, he wrote the king an account of the measures he had concerted. The messenger was ordered to get the letter delivered into his hands by Zeno the Cretan, who danced in the revels, or by Polycritus the Mendæan, who was his physician; and in case of their absence, by Ctesias, another physician. The letter, we are told, was given to Ctesias, and he added to it this paragraph—"I desire you, Sir, to send Ctesias to me, for he will be very serviceable in the business of the navy." But Ctesias affirms, that the king, without any kind of solicitation, put him upon this service.

After Artaxerxes had gained, by Conon and Pharnabazus, the battle off Cnidus, which stripped the Lacedæmonians of the empire of the sea, he drew almost all Greece into his interest; insomuch that the celebrated peace, called the peace of Antalcidas, was entirely of his modelling. Antalcidas was a Spartan, the son of Leon, and so strongly attached to the king, that he prevailed with the Lacedæmonians to give up to him all the Greek cities in Asia, and the

islands which are reckoned amongst its dependencies, to be held as his tributaries, in virtue of the peace; if we can call that a peace by which Greece was dishonoured and betrayed; which was indeed so vile a bargain, that the most unsuccessful war could have terminated in nothing more inglorious.

Hence it was that Artaxerxes, though, according to Dinon's account, he always detested the other Spartans as the most impudent of men, yet expressed a great regard for Antalcidas when he came to his court. One evening he took a chaplet of flowers from his head, dipped it in the richest essences, and sent it from his table to Antalcidas. All the court was astonished at such a mark of favour. But there seems to have been a propriety in making him so ridiculous a compliment*; and he was a fit man to wear such a crown, who could take off Leonidas and Callicratides in a dance before the Persians. Somebody happening to say in the hearing of Agesilaus, "Alas, for Greece! when the Lacedæmonians are turning Persians;" he corrected him, and said, "No; the Medes are rather turning Lacedæmonians." But the wit of the expression did not remove the disgrace of the thing. They lost their superiority in Greece by the ill-fought battle of Leuctra, as they had before lost their honour by the vile conditions of this peace.

So long as Sparta kept the lead, the king admitted Antalcidas to the privileges of hospitality, and called him his friend: but when, upon their defeat at Leuctra, the Spartans sent Agesilaus into Egypt to get a supply of money, and Antalcidas went upon the same business to the Persian court, Artaxerxes treated him with so much neglect and contempt, that between the ridicule he suffered from his enemies, and his fear of the resentment of the *ephori*, he resolved, on his return, to starve himself to death. Ismenias the Theban, and Pelopidas, who had lately won the battle of Leuctra, went also to the court of Artaxerxes. Pelopidas submitted to nothing unworthy of his country or character; but Ismenias being commanded to adore the king, purposely let his ring fall from his finger, and then, by stooping to take it up, appeared in a posture of adoration. Timagoras the Athenian, having given the king some secret intelligence in a letter which he sent by a secretary named Beluris, he was so much pleased, that he made him a present of ten thousand *darics*. The same Timagoras wanted a supply of cow's milk on account of a languishing disorder, and Artaxerxes ordered eighty cows for his use, which were to follow him wherever he went. He like-

* It was a compliment entirely out of character to a Lacedæmonian, who, as such, was supposed to value himself upon the simplicity of his manners, and on avoiding all approaches to luxury.

wise sent him a bed with the necessary coverlets, and Persian servants to make it, because he thought the Greeks not skilled in that art; and he ordered him to be carried to the sea-side in a litter, on account of his indisposition. To this we may add the allowance for his table while he was at court, which was so magnificent, that Ostanes, the king's brother, one day said to him, "Timagoras, remember this table, for it is not so sumptuous for nothing." This was rather reproaching him with his treason, than calling for his acknowledgments; and, indeed, Timagoras, on his return, was capitally condemned by the Athenians for taking bribes.

Artaxerxes in some measure atoned for the causes of sorrow he gave the Greeks, by doing one thing that afforded them great pleasure: he put Tissaphernes, their most implacable enemy, to death. This he did partly at the instigation of Parysatis, who added other charges to those alleged against him: for he did not long retain his anger, but was reconciled to his mother, and sent for her to court; because he saw she had understanding and spirit enough to assist in governing the kingdom, and there now remained no further cause of suspicions and uneasiness between them. From this time she made it a rule to please the king in all her measures, and not to oppose any of his inclinations, by which she gained an absolute ascendant over him. She perceived that he had a strong passion for one of his own daughters, named Atossa. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal it on his mother's account, and restrained it in public; though, according to some authors, he had already a private commerce with the princess. Parysatis no sooner suspected the intrigue, than she caressed her grand-daughter more than ever, and was continually praising, to Artaxerxes, both her beauty and her behaviour, in which she assured him there was something great, and worthy of a crown. At last she persuaded him to make her his wife, without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks: "God," said she, "has made you a law to the Persians, and a rule of right and wrong." Some historians, amongst whom is Heraclides of Cumæ, affirm that Artaxerxes married not only Atossa, but another of his daughters, named Amestris, of whom we shall speak by and bye. His affection for Atossa was so strong, that though she had a leprosy, which spread itself over her body, he was not disgusted at it; but he was daily imploring Juno for her, and grasping the dust of her temple; for he paid his homage to no other goddess. At the same time, by his order, his great officers sent so many offerings to her shrine, that the whole space between the palace and the temple, which was sixteen furlongs, was filled with gold, silver, purple, and fine horses*.

* As horses seem a strange present to Juno, and are as strangely mixed with gold

He sent Pharnabazus and Iphicrates to make war upon the Egyptians; but the expedition miscarried, through the difference which happened between the generals he employed. After this he went in person against the Cadusians, with three hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Their country is rough and uneven, and covered with perpetual fogs. As it produces no corn or fruits by cultivation, the inhabitants, a fierce and warlike race of men, live upon wild pears, apples, and other things of that kind. He therefore insensibly fell into great danger and distress; for his troops could find no provisions there, nor could they be supplied from any other place. They were forced to kill their beasts of burden; and eat them; and those became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for sixty *drachmas*. The king's table itself was ill supplied, and there remained only a few horses, all the rest having been used for food.

In this extremity, Tiribazus, who often was in high favour on account of his valour, and often degraded for his levity, and who, at this very time, was in the greatest disgrace, saved the king and his whole army by the following stratagem: the Cadusians having two kings, each had his separate camp. Upon this Tiribazus formed his scheme; and after he had communicated it to Artaxerxes, went himself to one of those princes, and sent his son to the other. Each imposed upon the king he applied to, by pretending that the other was going to send a private embassy to Artaxerxes, to negotiate a separate alliance. "But if you are wise," said they, "you will be beforehand with your rival, and we will assist you in the whole affair." This argument had its effect; and each, persuaded that the other was undermining him out of envy, sent his ambassadors, the one with Tiribazus, and the other with his son. As some time passed before they returned, Artaxerxes began to suspect; and there were those who suggested that Tiribazus had some traiterous design.—The king was extremely dejected, and, repenting of the confidence he had reposed in him, gave ear to all the calumnies of his enemies. But at last Tiribazus arrived, as did also his son, with the Cadusian ambassadors, and peace was made with both parties; in consequence of which Tiribazus returned with the king in greater esteem and authority than ever. During this expedition, Artaxerxes showed that timidity and effeminacy ought not to be ascribed, as they generally are, to the pomp and luxuries of life, but to a native meanness, and a depraved judgment: for neither the gold, the purple, nor the jewels, which the king always wore, and which were worth no less than twelve thousand talents, hindered him from bearing the same

silver, and purple, Dacier conjectures, that instead of ἵππων, horses, we should read λίθων, precious stones.

fatigues and hardships with the meanest soldier in his army. He took his quiver on his back, and his buckler upon his arm, and quitting his horse, would often march foremost up the most craggy and difficult places; insomuch that others found their task much lighter, when they saw the strength and alacrity with which he proceeded; for he marched above two hundred furlongs a-day.

At last he arrived at one of his own palaces, where there were gardens and parks of great extent and beauty, though the country around it was naked and barren. As the weather was exceedingly cold, he permitted his men to cut wood out of his own parks, without sparing either pine or cypress; and when the soldiers were loath to touch trees of such size and beauty, he took an axe in his own hand, and laid it to the finest tree amongst them; after which they cut them down without scruple, and, having made a number of fires, passed the night with great satisfaction.

He found, however, on his arrival at his capital, that he had lost many brave men, and almost all his horses; and imagining that he was despised for his losses, and the ill success of the expedition, he became suspicious of his grandees. Many of them he put to death in anger, and more out of fear: for fear is the most sanguinary principle a tyrant can act from; courage, on the contrary, is merciful, mild, and unsuspicious. Thus the most timorous animals are the hardest to be tamed; but the more generous, having less suspicion, because they have less fear, fly not the caresses and society of men.

Artaxerxes, being now far advanced in years, observed his sons making parties for the crown amongst his friends and the rest of the nobility. The more equitable part were for his leaving it to his eldest son Darius, as he had received it from his father in the same right. But his younger son Ochus, who was an active man, and of a violent spirit, had also a considerable interest among the grandees. Besides, he hoped to gain his father through Atossa, for he paid his court to her, and promised to make her the partner of his throne, upon the death of Artaxerxes. Nay, it was said that he had already private familiarities with her. Artaxerxes, though he was ignorant of this circumstance, resolved to cut off the hopes of Ochus at once, lest, following the daring steps of his uncle Cyrus, he should involve the kingdom again in civil wars. He therefore declared Darius his successor, who was now twenty-five* years old, and permitted him to wear the point of his turban† erect, as a mark of royalty.

* In the printed text it is *fifty*, but one of the manuscripts gives us *pempton kai eikoson*, instead of *pentekoson*. Besides, Plutarch calls him a young man a little below.

† *Citaris*.

As it is customary in Persia for the heir to ask a favour of him that declared him such, which if possible, is always granted, Darius asked for Aspasia, who had been the favourite mistress of Cyrus, and was now one of the king's concubines. She was a native of Phocæa in Ionia; and her parents, who were above the condition of slaves, had given her a good education. One evening she was introduced to Cyrus at supper with the other women. They approached him without scruple, and received his jokes and caresses with pleasure: but Aspasia stood by in silence; and when Cyrus called her, she refused to go. Perceiving that the chamberlains were about to compel her, she said, "Whoever lays hands upon me shall repent it." Upon which the company looked upon her as an unpolished creature; but Cyrus was pleased, and said, with a smile, to the person who brought the women, "Do not you see, that of all you have provided, this only has generous and virtuous sentiments!" From this moment he attached himself to her, loved her most of all his concubines, and called her Aspasia *the wise*. When Cyrus fell in battle, she was taken amongst the plunder of his camp.

Artaxerxes was much concerned at his son's request; for the barbarians are so extremely jealous of their women, that capital punishment is inflicted, not only on the man who speaks to or touches one of the king's concubines, but on him who approaches or passes their chariots on the road. And though, in compliance with the dictates of his passion, he had made Atossa his wife contrary to law, he kept three hundred and sixty concubines, all women of the greatest beauty. However, when Darius demanded Aspasia, he declared her free, and said, "She might go with him, if she pleased; but he would do no violence to her inclinations." Accordingly Aspasia was sent for, and, contrary to the king's expectation, made choice of Darius. He gave her up to him, indeed, because he was obliged to it by the law; but he soon took her away, and made her a priestess of Diana at Ecbatana, whom they call *Anitis**, that she might pass the remainder of her life in chastity. This he thought no severe revenge upon his son, but a pleasant way of chastising his presumption: but Darius highly resented the affront; whether it was that the charms of Aspasia had made a deep impression upon him, or whether he thought himself insulted and ridiculed by this proceeding.

Tiribazus, seeing how much he was offended, endeavoured to exasperate him still more. This he did from a fellow-feeling; for he had suffered an injury much of the same kind. The king, having several daughters, promised to give Apama to Pharnabazus, Rhodo-

* Pausanias says there was a temple of Diana *Anaitis* in Lydia; but Justin tells us that Artaxerxes made Aspasia one of the priestesses of the sun.

gune to Orontes, and Amestris to Tiribazus. He kept his word with the two first, but deceived Tiribazus; for, instead of giving Amestris to him, he married her himself, promising at the same time that he should have his youngest daughter Atossa; but he became enamoured of her too, and married her, as we have already mentioned. This treatment extremely incensed Tiribazus, who had indeed nothing steady in his disposition, but was wild and irregular. One while successful, and upon a footing with the greatest men in the court, another while unacceptable to the king, and sinking into disgrace, he bore no change of fortune with propriety. If he was in favour, his vanity was insupportable; if in disgrace, instead of being humble and quiet, he had recourse to violence and ferocity.

His conversing with the young prince was therefore adding flame to fire. "What avails it," said he, "to have the point of your turban advanced, if you seek not to advance your authority? Nothing can be more absurd than your thinking yourself secure of the succession, while your brother is privately forwarding his interest by means of the women, and your father is so very foolish and unsteady. He who could break one of the most sacred laws of the Persians, for the sake of an insignificant Grecian woman, is certainly not to be depended upon in more important engagements. The case is quite different between you and Ochus, as to the event of the competition; if Ochus does not obtain the crown, none will hinder him from living happily in a private station; but you, who have been declared king, must either reign or die." On this occasion was verified that observation of Sophocles,

> ..... Swift in its march .....
> Is evil counsel .....

The road which leads us to what we desire is indeed smooth, and of an easy descent; and the desires of most men are vicious, because they have never known or tried the enjoyments of virtue. The lustre of such an imperial crown, and Darius's fear of his brother, furnished Tiribazus with other arguments; but the goddess of beauty contributed her share towards persuading him, by putting him in mind of the loss of Aspasia.

He gave himself up, therefore, entirely to Tiribazus, and many others soon entered into the conspiracy; but, before it could be carried into execution, a eunuch gave the king information of it, and of all the measures that were taken; for he had got perfect intelligence that they designed to enter his chamber in the night, and kill him in his bed.

Artaxerxes thought it would be great imprudence either to slight the information, and lay himself open to such danger, or to credit it

without further proof. The method he took was this: he ordered the eunuch to join Darius and his adherents, and assist at all their councils; and in the mean time broke a door through the wall behind his bed, which he concealed with the tapestry. When the time came, which the eunuch informed him of, he placed himself upon his bed, and remained there till he had a sight of the faces of the conspirators, and could perfectly distinguish each of them: but when he saw them draw their swords, and advance towards him, he pulled back the tapestry, retreated into the inner room, and after he had bolted the door, alarmed the palace. The assassins, seeing themselves discovered, and their designs disappointed, immediately took to flight, and desired Tiribazus to do the same, because he must certainly have been observed. While he lingered, the guards came and laid hold of him; but he killed many of them, and it was with difficulty that he was despatched at last by a javelin thrown at a distance.

Darius was taken, together with his children, and brought to answer for his crime before the judges which the king appointed. The king did not think proper to assist at the trial in person, but directed others to lay the charge against his son, and his notaries were to take down separately the opinion of each judge. As they all gave it unanimously for death, the officers took Darius, and led him into an adjacent prison: but when the executioner came, with the instrument in his hand which is used in beheading the capital convicts, he was seized with horror at the sight of Darius, and drew back towards the door, as having neither ability nor courage to lay violent hands upon his king: but the judges, who stood at the door, urging him to do his office, with menaces of instant punishment if he did not comply, he returned, and seizing Darius by the hair, threw him on the ground, and cut off his head. Some say the cause was tried in presence of the king, and that Darius, after he was convicted by indubitable proofs, fell on his face, and begged for mercy; but Artaxerxes, rising in great anger, drew his scimitar, and pursued his stroke till he laid him dead at his feet. They add, that after this he returned to his palace, and having paid his devotions to the sun, said to those who assisted at the ceremony, "My Persians, you may now return in triumph, and tell your fellow-subjects, that the great Oromazes* has taken vengeance on those who formed the most impious and execrable designs against their sovereign." Such was the end of the conspiracy.

Ochus now entertained very agreeable hopes, and was encouraged

* The Persians worshipped *Oromazes* as the author of Good, and *Arimanius* as the author of Evil.

besides by Atossa: but he had still some fear of his remaining legitimate brother Ariaspes, and of his natural brother Arsames. Not that Ochus had so much to apprehend from Ariaspes, merely because he was older, but the Persians were desirous of having him succeed to the throne on account of his mildness, his sincerity, and his humane disposition. As for Arsames, he had the character of a wise prince, and was the particular favourite of his father. This was no secret to Ochus. However, he planned the destruction of both these brothers of his; and being of an artful as well as sanguinary turn, he employed his cruelty against Arsames, and his art against Ariaspes. To the latter he privately sent some of the king's eunuchs and friends, with frequent accounts of severe and menacing expressions of his father's, as if he had resolved to put him to a cruel and ignominious death. As these persons came daily to tell him in confidence, that some of these threats were upon the point of being put in execution, and the others would not be long delayed, he was so terrified, and fell into such a melancholy and desponding way, that he prepared a poisonous draught, and drank it, to deliver himself from the burden of life.

The king, being informed of the manner of his death, sincerely lamented him, and had some suspicion of the cause, but could not examine into it thoroughly on account of his great age.

However, Arsames now became dearer to him than ever, and it was easy to see that the king placed an entire confidence in him, and communicated to him his most secret thoughts. Ochus, therefore, would not defer his enterprise longer, but employed Harpates, the son of Tiribazus, to kill Arsames. Artaxerxes, whom time had brought to the very verge of life, when he had this additional stroke in the fate of Arsames, could not make much more struggle; his sorrow and regret soon brought him to the grave. He lived ninety-four years, and reigned sixty-two*. He had the character of a prince who governed with lenity, and loved his people: but perhaps the behaviour of his successor might contribute not a little to his reputation; for Ochus was the most cruel and sanguinary of princes.

* Diodorus Siculus says that he reigned only forty-three years.

ARATUS.

THE philosopher Chrysippus, my dear Polycrates, seems to have thought the ancient proverb not quite justifiable, and therefore he delivered it, not as it really is, but what he thought it should be—

Who but a happy son will praise his sire:

Dionysiodorus the Trœzenian, however, corrects him, and gives it right,

Who but unhappy sons will praise their sires?

He says the proverb was made to silence those who, having no merit of their own, dress themselves up in the virtues of their ancestors, and are lavish in their praises. And those *in whom the virtues of their sires shine in congenial beauty*, to make use of Pindar's expression, who, like you, form their conduct after the brightest patterns in their families, may think it a great happiness to remember the most excellent of their ancestors, and often to hear or speak of them: for they assume not the honour of other men's virtues for want of merit in their own, but uniting their great actions to those of their progenitors, they praise them as the authors of their descent, and the models of their lives: for which reason, when I have written the life of Aratus, your countryman, and one of your ancestors, I shall send it to you, who reflect no dishonour on him either in point of reputation or power. Not that I doubt your having informed yourself of his actions from the first with all possible care and exactness; but I do it, that your sons, Polycrates and Pythocles, may form themselves upon the great exemplars, in their own family, sometimes hearing and sometimes reading what it becomes them well to imitate: for it is the self-admirer, not the admirer of virtue, that thinks himself superior to others.

After the harmony of the pure Doric*, I mean the aristocracy, was broken in Sicyon, and seditions took place through the ambition of the demagogues, the city continued a long time in a distempered state. It only changed one tyrant for another, till Cleon was slain, and the administration committed to Timoclidas and Clinias, persons of the greatest reputation and authority amongst the citizens. The commonwealth seemed to be in some degree re-established, when Timoclidas died. Abantidas, the son of Paseas, taking that opportunity to set himself up tyrant, killed Clinias, and either banished or put to death his friends and relations. He sought also for his son Aratus, who was only seven years old, with a design to despatch him:

* There was a gravity, but at the same time great perfection, in the Dorian music.

but in the confusion that was in his house when his father was slain, the boy escaped among those that fled, and wandered about the city, in fear, and destitute of help, till he happened to enter unobserved the house of a woman named Soso, who was sister to Abantidas, and had been married to Prophantus, the brother of Clinias. As she was a person of generous sentiments, and persuaded, besides, that it was by the direction of some deity that the child had taken refuge with her, she concealed him in one of her apartments till night, and then sent him privately to Argos.

Aratus having thus escaped so imminent a danger, immediately conceived a violent and implacable hatred for tyrants, which increased as he grew up. He was educated by the friends of his family at Argos in a liberal manner; and as he was vigorous and robust, he took to gymnastic exercises, and succeeded so well as to gain the prize in the five several sorts*. Indeed, in his statues there is an athletic look; and amidst the strong sense and majesty expressed in his countenance, we may discover something inconsistent with the voracity and mattock of the wrestlers†. Hence, perhaps, it was that he cultivated his powers of eloquence less than became a statesman. He might indeed be a better speaker than some suppose; and there are those who judge, from his Commentaries, that he certainly was so, though they were hastily written, and attempted nothing beyond common language.

Some time after the escape of Aratus, Dinias and Aristotle the logician formed a design against Abantidas; and they easily found an opportunity to kill him, when he attended and sometimes joined in their disputations in the public halls, which they had insensibly drawn him into for that very purpose. Paseas, the father of Abantidas, then seized the supreme power, but he was assassinated by Nicocles, who took his place, and was the next tyrant. We are told that there was a perfect likeness between this Nicocles and Periander the son of Cypselus; as Orontes the Persian resembled Alcmæon the son of Amphiaraus, and a Lacedæmonian youth the great Hector. Myrtilas informs us, that the young man was crowded to death by the multitudes who came to see him, when that resemblance was known.

Nicocles reigned four months, during which time he did a thousand injuries to the people, and was near losing the city to the Ætolians, who formed a scheme to surprise it. Aratus was by this time

* The five exercises of the *Pentathlum*, (as we have already observed), were running, leaping, throwing the dart, boxing, and wrestling.

† They used to break up the ground with the mattock, by way of exercise, to improve their strength.

approaching to manhood, and great attention was paid him on account of his high birth and his spirit, in which there was nothing little or unenterprising, and yet it was under the correction of a gravity and solidity of judgment much beyond his years. The exiles, therefore, considered him as their principal resource; and Nicocles was not regardless of his motions, but by his private agents observed the measures he was taking; not that he expected he would embark in so bold and dangerous an enterprise as he did, but he suspected his applications to the princes who were the friends of his father. Indeed, Aratus began in that channel; but when he found that Antigonus, notwithstanding his promises, put him off from time to time, and that his hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy were too remote, he resolved to destroy the tyrant without any foreign assistance.

The first persons to whom he communicated his intentions, were Aristomachus and Ecdelus. Aristomachus was an exile from Sicyon, and Ecdelus, an Arcadian, banished from Megalopolis. The latter was a philosopher, who, in speculation, never lost sight of practice, for he had studied at Athens under Arcesilaus the academician*. As these readily accepted his proposal, he applied to the other exiles; a few of whom joined him, because they were ashamed to give up so promising a hope; but the greatest part believed it was only Aratus's inexperience† that made him think of so bold an attempt, and endeavoured to prevent his proceedings.

While he was considering how to seize some post in the territories of Sicyon, from whence he might prosecute hostilities against the tyrant, a man of Sicyon arrived at Argos, who had escaped out of prison. He was brother to Xenocles, one of the exiles; and being introduced by him to Aratus, he informed him, that the part of the wall which he had got over was almost level with the ground on the inside, as it joined upon a high rocky part of the city, and on the outside it was not so high but that it might be scaled. Upon this intelligence, Aratus sent two of his servants, Sceuthas and Technon, along with Xenocles to reconnoitre the wall; for he was resolved, if he could do it secretly, to hazard all upon one great effort, rather than lengthen out the war, and publicly engage with a tyrant, when he had no resources but those of a private man.

Xenocles and his companions, after they had taken the height of the wall, reported, at their return, that it was neither impracticable nor difficult, but that it was dangerous to attempt it on account of some dogs kept by a gardener, which were little indeed, but at the

* Arcesilaus was the disciple of Crantor, and had established the middle academy.

† He was not yet twenty years old.

same time extremely fierce and furious. Aratus, however, immediately set about the work. It was easy to provide arms without suspicion; for almost every body went armed, by reason of the frequent robberies, and the incursions of one people into the territories of another. And as to the scaling-ladders, Euphranor, who was one of the exiles, and a carpenter by trade, made them publicly: his business screening him from suspicion. Each of his friends in Argos, who had no great number of men that he could command, furnished him with ten: he armed thirty of his own servants, and hired some few soldiers of Xenophilus, who was chief captain of a band of robbers. To the latter it was given out, that the design of their march to Sicyon was to carry off the king's stud; and several of them were sent before by different ways to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait for him there. Caphesias was likewise sent with four others in a travelling dress. These were to go in the evening to the gardener's, and, pretending to be travellers, get a lodging there; after which they were to confine both him and his dogs: for that part of the wall was not accessible any other way. The ladders being made to take in pieces, were packed up in corn-chests, and sent before in waggons prepared for that purpose.

In the mean time, some of the tyrant's spies arrived at Argos, and it was reported that they were skulking about to watch the motions of Aratus. Next morning, therefore, Aratus appeared early with his friends in the market-place, and talked with them for some time. He then went to the Gymnasium, and, after he had anointed himself, took with him some young men from the wrestling-ring, who used to be of his parties of pleasure, and returned home. In a little time his servants were seen in the market-place, some carrying chaplets of flowers, some buying flambeaux, and some in discourse with the women who used to sing and play at entertainments. These manœuvres deceived the spies: they laughed, and said to each other, "Certainly nothing can be more dastardly than a tyrant, since Nicocles, who is master of so strong a city, and armed with so much power, lives in fear of a young man, who wastes the pittance he has to subsist on in exile in drinking and revelling even in the day time. After these false reasonings they retired.

Aratus, immediately after he had made his meal, set out for the tower of Polygnotus, and when he had joined the soldiers there, proceeded to Nemea, where he disclosed his real intentions to his whole company. Having exhorted them to behave like brave men, and promised them great rewards, he gave *propitious Apollo* for the word, and then led them forwards towards Sicyon, governing his march according to the motion of the moon, sometimes quickening

and sometimes slackening his pace, so as to have the benefit of her light by the way, and to come to the garden by the wall just after she was set. There Caphesias met him, and informed him that the dogs were let out before he arrived, but that he had secured the gardener. Most of the company were greatly dispirited at this account, and desired Aratus to quit his enterprise; but he encouraged them, by promising to desist if the dogs should prove very troublesome. Then he ordered those who carried the ladders to march before under the conduct of Ecdelus and Mnasitheus, and himself followed softly. The dogs now began to run about and bark violently at Ecdelus and his men; nevertheless, they approached the wall, and planted their ladders safe: but as the foremost of them was mounting, the officer who was to be relieved by the morning guard passed by that way at the sound of the bell, with many torches and much noise. Upon this, the men laid themselves close to the ladders, and escaped the notice of this watch without much difficulty; but when the other which was to relieve it came up, they were in the utmost danger. However, that too passed by without observing them; after which Mnasitheus and Ecdelus mounted the wall first, and having secured the way both to the right and the left, they sent Technon to Aratus to desire him to advance as soon as possible.

It was no great distance from the garden to the wall, and to a tower in which was placed a great hunting dog to alarm the guard: but whether he was naturally drowsy, or had wearied himself the day before, he did not perceive their entrance: but the gardener's dogs awakening him by barking below, he began to growl; and when Aratus's men passed by the tower, he barked out, so that the whole place resounded with the noise. Then the sentinel, who kept watch opposite to the tower, called aloud to the huntsman, and asked him, "Whom the dog barked at so angrily, or whether any thing new had happened?" the huntsman answered from the tower, "That there was nothing extraordinary, and that the dog was only disturbed at the torches of the guards and the noise of the bell." This encouraged Aratus's soldiers more than any thing; for they imagined the huntsman concealed the truth, because he had a secret understanding with their leader, and that there were many others in the town who would promote the design. But when the rest of their companions came to scale the wall, the danger increased. It appeared to be a long affair, because the ladders shook and swung extremely, if they did not mount them softly, and one by one; and the time pressed, for the cocks began to crow. The country people too, who kept the market, were expected every moment. Aratus, therefore, hastened up himself, when only forty of his companions were upon the wall;

and when a few more had joined him from below, he put himself at the head of his men, and marched immediately to the tyrant's palace, where the main-guard was kept, and where the mercenaries passed the night under arms. Coming suddenly upon them, he took them prisoners without killing one man; and then sent to his friends in the town to invite them to come and join him. They ran to him from all quarters; and day now appearing, the theatre was filled with a crowd of people, who stood in suspense; for they had only heard a rumour, and had no certainty of what was doing, till a herald came and proclaimed it in these words: "Aratus the son of Clinias calls the citizens to liberty."

Then, persuaded that the day they had long expected was come, they rushed in multitudes to the palace of the tyrant and set fire to it. The flame was so strong, that it was seen as far as Corinth; and the Corinthians, wondering what might be the cause, were upon the point of going to their assistance. Nicocles escaped out of the city by some subterranean conduits; and the soldiers having helped the Sicyonians to extinguish the fire, plundered his palace. Nor did Aratus hinder them from taking this booty; but the rest of the wealth which the several tyrants had amassed, he bestowed upon the citizens.

There was not so much as one man killed or wounded in this action, either of Aratus's party or of the enemy; fortune so conducting the enterprise, as not to sully it with the blood of one citizen. Aratus recalled eighty persons who had been banished by Nicocles, and of those that had been expelled by the former tyrants not less than five hundred. The latter had long been forced to wander from place to place, some of them full fifty years; consequently most of them returned in a destitute condition. They were now, indeed, restored to their ancient possessions, but their going into houses and lands which had found new masters, laid Aratus under great difficulties. Without, he saw Antigonus envying the liberty which the city had recovered, and laying schemes to enslave it again; and, within, he found nothing but faction and disorder. He therefore judged it best in this critical situation to join it to the Achæan league. As the people of Sicyon were Dorians, they had no objection to being called a part of the Achæan community, or to their form of government*.

* The Dutch republic much resembles it. The Achæans, indeed, at first had two *Prætors*, whose office it was both to preside in the diet, and to command the army; but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one. There is this difference, too, between the Dutch Stadtholder and the Achæan Prætor, that the latter did not continue two years successively in his employment: but in other respects, there is a striking similarity between the states of Holland and those of the Achæan league; and if the

It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the Achæans at that time were no very great and powerful people: their towns were generally small; their lands neither extensive nor fertile; and they had no harbours on their coasts, the sea for the most part entering the land in rocky and impracticable creeks. Yet none gave a better proof than this people, that the power of Greece is invincible, while good order and harmony prevail amongst her members, and she has an able general to lead her armies. In fact, these very Achæans, though but inconsiderable in comparison of the Greeks in their flourishing times, or, to speak more properly, not equalling in their whole community the strength of one respectable city in the period we are upon, yet, by good counsels and unanimity, and by hearkening to any man of superior virtue, instead of envying his merit, not only kept themselves free among so many powerful states and tyrants, but saved great part of Greece, or rescued it from chains.

As to his character, Aratus had something very popular in his behaviour; he had a native greatness of mind, and was more attentive to the public interest than to his own. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants; but, with respect to others, he made the good of his country the sole rule of his friendship or opposition; so that he seems rather to have been a mild and moderate enemy, than a zealous friend; his regards or aversions to particular men varying as the occasions of the commonwealth dictated. In short, nations and great communities with one voice re-echoed the declaration of the assemblies and theatres, that Aratus loved none but good men. With regard to open wars and pitched battles, he was indeed diffident and timorous; but in gaining a point by stratagem, in surprising cities and tyrants, there could not be an abler man.

To this cause we must assign it, that after he had exerted great courage, and succeeded in enterprises that were looked upon as desperate, through too much fear and caution he gave up others that

Achæans could have become a maritime power like the Dutch, their power would probably have been much more extensive and lasting than it was.

All the cities subject to the Achæan league were governed by the great council, or general assembly of the whole nation, which was assembled twice a-year, in the spring and autumn. To this assembly or diet, each of the confederate cities had a right to send a number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, and, in short, provided for all the principal occasions of the commonwealth.

Besides the *Prætor*, they had ten great officers called *Demiurgi*, chosen by the general assembly out of the most eminent and experienced persons amongst the states. It was their office to assist the prætor with their advice. He was to propose nothing to the general assembly but what had been previously approved by their body; and in his absence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them.

were more practicable, and not of less importance. For as amongst animals there are some that can see very clearly in the night, and yet are next to blind in the day-time, the dryness of the eye, and the subtlety of its humours, not suffering them to bear the light; so there is in man a kind of courage and understanding, which is easily disconcerted in open dangers and encounters, and yet resumes a happy boldness in secret enterprises. The reason of this inequality in men, of parts otherwise excellent, is their wanting the advantages of philosophy. Virtue is in them the product of nature, unassisted by science, like the fruits of the forest, which come without the least cultivation*. Of this there are many examples to be found.

After Aratus had engaged himself and his city in the Achæan league, he served in the cavalry, and the generals highly esteemed him for his ready obedience: For, though he had contributed so much to the common cause by his name, and by the forces of Sicyon, yet the Achæan commander, whether of Dima or Tritta, or some more inconsiderable town, found him always as tractable as the meanest soldier.

When the king of Egypt made him a present of twenty-five talents, he received it indeed, but laid out the whole upon his fellow-citizens; relieving the necessitous with part of it, and ransoming such as were prisoners with the rest.

But the exiles whom Aratus had recalled, would not be satisfied with any thing less than the restitution of their estates, and gave the present possessors so much trouble, that the city was in danger of being ruined by sedition. In this extremity he saw no resource except in the generosity of Ptolemy, and therefore determined to take a voyage to Egypt, and apply to him for as much money as would reconcile all parties. Accordingly he set sail for Methone, above the promontory of Melea, in hopes of taking the shortest passage; but a contrary wind sprang up, and the seas ran so high, that the pilot, unable to bear up against them, changed his course, and with much difficulty got into Adria†, a town which was in the enemy's hands; for Antigonus had a garrison there. To avoid this imminent danger, he landed, and, with only one friend, named Timanthes, making his way as far as possible from the sea, sought for shelter in a place well covered with wood, in which he and his companion

* This character of Aratus is perfectly agreeable to what Polybius has given us in his fourth book. Two great masters will draw with equal excellence, though their manner must be different.

† Palmerius conjectures that we should read *Andria*, which he supposes to be a town in the island of *Andros*. He confirms it with this argument—that Aratus is said to have passed from hence to Eubœa, which is opposite to that island.

spent a very disagreeable night. Soon after he had left the ship, the governor of the fort came and inquired for him; but he was deceived by Aratus's servants, who were instructed to say he had made off in another vessel to Eubœa. However, he detained the ship and servants as lawful prize. Aratus spent some days in this distressful situation, where one while he looked out to reconnoitre the coast, and another while kept himself concealed; but at last by good fortune a Roman ship happened to put in near the place of his retreat. The ship was bound for Syria, and Aratus prevailed upon the master to land him at Caria. But he had equal dangers to combat at sea in this, as in his former passages; and when he was in Caria, he had a voyage to take to Egypt, which he found a very long one. Upon his arrival, however, he was immediately admitted to audience by the king, who had long been inclined to serve him, on account of the paintings which he used to compliment him with from Greece: for Aratus, who had a taste for these things, was always collecting for him the pieces of the best masters, particularly those of Pamphilius and Melanthus*: for Sicyon was famed for the cultivation of the arts, particularly the art of painting; and it was believed that there only the ancient elegance was preserved without the least corruption. Hence it was, that the great Apelles, at a time when he was much admired, went to Sicyon and gave the painters a talent, not so much for any improvement he expected, as for the reputation of having been of their school. In consequence of which, Aratus, when he restored Sicyon to liberty, and restored the portraits of the tyrants, hesitated a long time on coming to that of Aristratus; for it was the united work of the disciples of Melanthus, who had represented him standing in a chariot of victory, and the pencil of Apelles had contributed to the performance, as we are informed by Polemo the geographer.

The piece was so admirable, that Aratus could not avoid feeling the art that was displayed in it; but his hatred of tyrants soon overruled that feeling, and he ordered it to be defaced. Nealces the painter†, who was honoured with his friendship, is said to have implored him with tears to spare that piece: and when he found him

* Two of the most celebrated painters of all antiquity. Pamphilius had been brought up under Eupompus, and was the master of Apelles and Melanthus. The capital pieces of Pamphilius were, *a Brotherhood, a Battle, the Victory of the Athenians,* and *Ulysses in his vessel taking leave of Calypso.* Pliny tells us, that the whole wealth of a city could scarce purchase one of the pieces of Melanthus.

† Nealces was a painter of great reputation. One of his pieces was the naval fight between the Egyptians and the Persians. As the action was upon the Nile, whose colour is like that of the sea, he distinguished it by a symbol. He drew an ass drinking on the shore, and a crocodile in the act to spring upon him.—*Plin.* l. xxxv. c. ii.

inflexible, said, "Aratus, continue your war with tyrants, but not with every thing that belongs to them. Spare at least the chariot and the victory, and I shall soon make Aristratus vanish." Aratus gave his consent, and Nealces defaced the figure of Aristratus, but did not venture to put any thing in its place, except a palm-tree. We are told, however, that there was still a dim appearance of the feet of Aristratus at the bottom of the chariot.

This taste for painting had already recommended Aratus to Ptolemy, and his conversation gained so much further upon him, that he made him a present of a hundred and fifty talents for the city; forty of which he sent with him on his return to Peloponnesus, and he remitted the rest in the several portions, and at the times that he had fixed. It was a glorious thing to apply so much money to the use of his fellow-citizens, at a time when it was common to see generals and demagogues, for much smaller sums which they received of the kings, to oppress, enslave, and betray to them the cities where they were born: but it was still more glorious, by this money, to reconcile the poor to the rich, to secure the commonwealth, and establish harmony amongst all ranks of people.

His moderation in the exercise of the great power he was vested with, was truly admirable: for, being appointed sole arbitrator of the claims of the exiles, he refused to act alone, and joined fifteen of the citizens in the commission; with whose assistance, after much labour and attention, he established peace and friendship amongst the people. Besides the honours which the whole community conferred on him for these services, the exiles, in particular, erected his statue in brass, and put upon it this inscription:

Far as the pillars which Alcides rear'd,
Thy counsels and thy deeds in arms for Greece
The tongue of Fame has told. But we, Aratus,
We wanderers whom thou hast restor'd to Sicyon,
Will sing thy justice; place thy pleasing form,
As a benignant power, with gods that save.
For thou hast given that dear equality,
And all the laws which favouring Heaven might give.

Aratus, after such important services, was placed above envy amongst his people. But king Antigonus, uneasy at the progress he made, was determined either to gain him, or to make him obnoxious to Ptolemy. He therefore gave him extraordinary marks of his regard, though he wanted no such advances. Amongst others, this was one—on occasion of a sacrifice which he offered at Corinth, he sent portions of it to Aratus at Sicyon; and, at the feast which ensued, he said in full assembly, "I at first looked upon this young Sicyonian only as a man of a liberal and patriotic spirit, but now I

find that he is also a good judge of the characters and affairs of princes. At first he overlooked us for the sake of foreign hopes, and the admiration he had conceived from stories of the wealth, the elephants, fleets, and the splendid court of Egypt; but since he has been upon the spot, and seen that all this pomp is merely a theatrical thing, he is come over entirely to us. I have received him to my bosom, and am determined to employ him in all my affairs. I desire, therefore, you will all consider him as a friend." The envious and malevolent took occasion from this speech to lay heavy charges against Aratus in their letters to Ptolemy, insomuch that the king sent one of his agents to tax him with his infidelity. Thus, like passionate lovers, the candidates for the first favours of kings dispute them with the utmost envy and malignity.

After Aratus was first chosen general of the Achæan league, he ravaged Locris, which lies on the other side of the Gulph of Corinth; and committed the same spoil in the territories of Calydon. It was his intention to assist the Bœotians with ten thousand men, but he came too late; they were already defeated by the Ætolians in an action near Chæronea*, in which Abœocritus their general, and a thousand of their men, were slain.

The year following†, Aratus, being elected general again, undertook that celebrated enterprise of recovering the citadel of Corinth; in which he consulted not only the benefit of Sicyon and Achaia, but of Greece in general; for such would be the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison, which was nothing better than a tyrant's yoke. As Chares, the Athenian general, upon a battle which he won of the king of Persia's lieutenants, wrote to the people, that he had gained a victory which was sister to that of Marathon; so we may justly call this exploit of Aratus sister to that of Pelopidas the Theban, and Thrasybulus the Athenian, when they killed the tyrants. There is, indeed, this difference, that Aratus's enterprise was not against Greeks, but against a foreign power, which is a difference much to his honour. For the Isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, joins our continent to that of Peloponnesus; and when there is a good garrison in the citadel of Corinth, which stands on a high hill in the middle, at an equal distance from the two continents, it cuts off the communication with those within the Isthmus, so that there can be no passage for troops, nor any kind of commerce, either by

* We must take care to distinguish this battle of Chæronea from that great action in which Philip of Macedon beat the Thebans and Athenians, and which happened sixty-six years before Aratus was born.

† Polybius, who wrote from Aratus's Commentaries, tells us, there were eight years between Aratus's first prætorship and his second, in which he took *Acrocorinth*.

sea or land. In short, he that is possessed of it is master of all Greece. The younger Philip of Macedon, therefore, was not jesting, but spoke a serious truth, when he called the city of Corinth *the Fetters of Greece.* Hence the place was always much contended for, especially by kings and princes.

Antigonus's passion for it was not less than that of love in its greatest madness; and it was the chief object of his cares to find a method of taking it by surprise, when the hopes of succeeding by open force failed. When Alexander, who was master of the citadel, died of poison, that is said to have been given him through Antigonus's means, his wife Nicæa, into whose hands it then fell, guarded it with great care: but Antigonus, hoping to gain it by means of his son Demetrius, sent him to make her an offer of his hand. It was a flattering prospect to a woman, somewhat advanced in years, to have such a young prince for her husband. Accordingly Antigonus caught her by this bait. However, she did not give up the citadel, but guarded it with the same attention as before. Antigonus, pretending to take no notice, celebrated the marriage with sacrifices and shows, and spent whole days in feasting the people, as if his mind had been entirely taken up with mirth and pleasure. One day, when Amœbeus was to sing in the theatre, he conducted Nicæa in person on her way to the entertainment in a litter set out with royal ornaments. She was elated with the honour, and had not the least thought of what was to ensue; but when they came to the point which bore towards the citadel, he ordered the men that bore the litter to proceed to the theatre; and bidding farewell to Amœbeus and the wedding, he walked up to the fort much faster than could have been expected from a man of his years. Finding the gate barred, he knocked with his staff, and commanded the guard to open it. Surprised at the sight of him, they complied, and thus he became master of the place. He was not able to contain his joy on that occasion; he drank and revelled in the open streets, and in the market-place, attended with female musicians, and crowned with flowers. When we see a man of his age, who had experienced such changes of fortune, carouse and indulge his transports, embracing and saluting every one he meets, we must acknowledge that unexpected joy raises greater tumults in an unbalanced mind, and oversets it sooner, that either fear or sorrow.

Antigonus having in this manner made himself master of the citadel, garrisoned it with men in whom he placed the greatest confidence, and made the philosopher Persæus governor. Whilst Alexander was living, Aratus had cast his eye upon it as an excellent acquisition for his country; but the Achæans admitting Alexander into

the league, he did not prosecute his design. Afterwards, however, a new occasion presented itself. There were in Corinth four brothers, natives of Syria, one of which, named Diocles, served as a soldier in the garrison. The other three, having stolen some of the king's money, retired to Sicyon, where they applied to one Ægias, a banker, whom Aratus used to employ. Part of this gold they immediately disposed of to him, and Erginus, one of the three, at several visits, privately changed the rest. Thus an acquaintance was formed between him and Ægias, who one day drew him into discourse about the garrison. Erginus told him, that as he often went up to visit his brother, he had observed on the steepest side a small winding path cut in the rock, and leading to a part of the wall much lower than the rest. Upon this, Ægias said, with an air of raillery, "Why will you, my good friend, purloin the king's treasures for so inconsiderable a sum, when you might raise yourself to opulence by one hour's service? Do not you know, that if you are taken, you will as certainly be put to death for this trifling theft as if you had betrayed the citadel." Erginus laughed at the hint, and promised to sound his brother Diocles upon the subject; for he could not, he said, place much confidence in the other two.

A few days after this he returned, and had an interview with Aratus, at which it was agreed that he should conduct him to a part of the wall that was not above fifteen feet high, and that both he and his brother Diocles should assist him in the rest of the enterprize. Aratus, on his part, promised to give them sixty talents if he succeeded; and in case they failed, and yet returned all safe to Sicyon, he engaged that each of them should have a house and one talent. As it was necessary that the sixty talents should be deposited in the hands of Ægias, for the satisfaction of Erginus, and Aratus neither had such a sum, nor chose to borrow it, because that might create some suspicion of his intentions, he took most of his plate and his wife's jewels, and pledged them with Ægias for the money. Such was the greatness of his soul, such his passion for high achievements, that knowing that Phocion and Epaminondas were accounted the justest and most excellent of all the Greeks, for refusing great presents, and not sacrificing virtue to money, he ascended a step higher. He privately gave money, he embarked his estate in an enterprise, where he alone was to expose himself for the many, who were not even apprised of his intentions in their favour. Who then can sufficiently admire his magnanimity? Who is there, even in our days, that is not fired with an ambition to imitate the man who purchased so much danger at so great an expense, who pledged the most valuable of his goods for the sake of being introduced by night amongst ene-

mies, where he was to fight for his life, without any other equivalent than the hope of performing a great action?

This undertaking, which was dangerous enough in itself, became more so by a mistake which they committed in the beginning. Technon, one of Aratus's servants, of whom we have already spoken, was sent before to Diocles, that they might reconnoitre the wall together. He had never seen Diocles, but he thought he should easily know him by the marks which Erginus had given, which were, curled hair, a swarthy complexion, and want of beard. He went, therefore, to the place appointed, and sat down before the city at a point called *Ornis*, to wait for Erginus and his brother Diocles. In the mean time Dionysius, their eldest brother, who knew nothing of the affair, happened to come up. He greatly resembled Diocles, and Technon, struck with his appearance, which answered the description, asked him if he had any connexion with Erginus. He said he was his brother: upon which Technon, thoroughly persuaded that he was speaking to Diocles, without asking his name, or waiting for any token, gave him his hand, mentioned to him the circumstances of the appointment with Erginus, and asked him many questions about it. Dionysius, availed himself very artfully of the mistake, agreed to every point, and, returning towards the city, held him in discourse, without giving him the least cause of suspicion. They were now near the town, and he was on the point of seizing Technon, when, by good fortune, Erginus met them, and perceiving how much his friend was imposed upon, and the great danger he was in, beckoned to him to make his escape. Accordingly they both fled, and got safe to Aratus. However, Aratus did not give up his hopes, but immediately sent Erginus to Dionysius to offer him money, and entreat him to be silent; in which he succeeded so well, that he brought Dionysius along with him to Aratus. When they had him in their hands, they did not think it safe to part with him; they bound and set a guard on him in a small apartment, and then prepared for their principal design.

When every thing was ready, Aratus ordered his troops to pass the night under arms; and taking with him four hundred picked men, few of whom knew the business they were going about, he led them to the gates of the city, near the temple of Juno. It was then about the middle of summer, the moon at the full, and the night without the least cloud. As their arms glittered with the reflection of the moon, they were afraid that circumstance would discover them to the watch. The foremost of them were now near the walls, when clouds arose from the sea, and covered the city and its environs. The men sat down, and took off their shoes, that they might make the

less noise, and mount the ladders without danger of slipping. But Ergiaus took with him seven young men in the habit of travellers, and getting unobserved to the gate, killed the keeper, and the guard that were with him. At the same time the ladders were applied to the walls, and Aratus, with a hundred men, got over with the utmost expedition. The rest he commanded to follow in the best manner they could, and having immediately drawn up his ladders, he marched at the head of his party through the town towards the citadel, confident of success, because he was not discovered.

As they advanced, they met four of the watch, with a light, which gave Aratus a full and timely view of them, while he and his company could not be seen by them, because the moon was still overclouded. He therefore retired under some ruined walls, and lay in ambush for them. Three out of the four were killed; but the other, after he had received a cut upon his head, ran off crying, "That the enemy was in the city." A little after, the trumpets sounded, and the whole town was in motion on the alarm. The streets were filled with people running up and down, and so many lights were brought out, both in the lower town and in the citadel, that the whole was illuminated, and a confused noise was heard from every quarter. Aratus went on, notwithstanding, and attempted the way up the rock. He proceeded in a slow and difficult manner at first, because he had lost the path which lay deep beneath the craggy parts of the rock, and led to the wall by a great variety of windings and turnings: but at that moment the moon, as it were by miracle, is said to have dispersed the clouds, and thrown a light upon the obscure part of the path, which continued till he reached the wall at the place he wanted. Then the clouds gathered afresh, and she hid her face again.

In the mean time the three hundred men whom Aratus had left by the temple of Juno, had entered the city, which they found all in an alarm, and full of lights. As they could not find the way Aratus had taken, nor trace him in the least, they screened themselves under the shady side of a high rock, and waited there in great perplexity and distress. By this time Aratus was engaged with the enemy on the ramparts of the citadel, and they could distinguish the cries of combatants; but as the noise was echoed by the neighbouring mountains, it was uncertain from whence it first came. Whilst they were in doubt what way to turn, Archelaus, who commanded the king's forces, took a considerable corps, and began to ascend the hill with loud shouts, and trumpets sounding, in order to attack Aratus's rear. He passed the party of the three hundred without perceiving them; but he was no sooner gone by, than they rose, as from an ambuscade, fell upon him, and killing the first they attacked, so terrified the rest,

and even Archelaus himself, that they turned their backs, and were pursued until they entirely dispersed.

When the party was thus victorious, Erginus came to them from their friends above, to inform them that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, who defended themselves with great vigour, that the wall itself was disputed, and that their general wanted immediate assistance. They bade him lead them to the place that moment; and as they ascended, they discovered themselves by their shouts. Thus their friends were encouraged, and the reflection of the full moon upon their arms made their numbers appear greater to their enemies, on account of the length of the path. In the echoes of the night, too, the shouts seemed to come from a much larger party. At last they joined Aratus, and with an united effort beat off the enemy, and took post upon the wall. At break of day the citadel was their own, and the first rays of the sun did honour to their victory. At the same time the rest of Aratus's forces arrived from Sicyon. The Corinthians readily opened their gates to them, and assisted in taking the king's soldier's prisoners.

When he thought his victory complete, he went down from the citadel to the theatre; an innumerable multitude crowding to see him, and to hear the speech that he would make to the Corinthians. After he had disposed the Achæans on each side of the avenues to the theatre, he came from behind the scenes, and made his appearance in his armour; but he was so much changed by labour and watching, that the joy and elevation which his success might have inspired was weighed down by the extreme fatigue of his spirits. On his appearance, the people immediately began to express their high sense of his services; upon which he took his spear in his right hand, and leaning his body and one knee a little against it, remained a long time in that posture silent, to receive their plaudits and acclamations, their praises of his virtue, and compliments on his good fortune.

After their first transports were over, and he perceived that he could be heard, he summoned the strength he had left, and made a speech, in the name of the Achæans, suitable to the great event, persuaded the Corinthians to join the league, and delivered to them the keys of their city, which they had not been masters of since the times of Philip. As to the generals of Antigonus, he set Archelaus, who was his prisoner, free; but he put Theophrastus to death, because he refused to leave Corinth. Persæus, on the taking of the citadel, made his escape to Cenchreæ. Some time after, when he was amusing himself with disputations in philosophy, and some person advanced this position, "None but the wise man is fit to be a general." "It is true," said he, "and the gods know it, that this

maxim of Zeno's once pleased me more than all the rest; but I have changed my opinion, since I was better taught by the young Sicyonian." This circumstance concerning Persæus we have from many historians.

Aratus immediately seized the *Heræum*, or temple of Juno, and the harbour of Lechæum, in which he took twenty-five of the king's ships. He took also five hundred horses, and four hundred Syrians, whom he sold. The Achæans put a garrison of four hundred men in the citadel of Corinth, which was strengthened with fifty dogs, and as many men to keep them.

The Romans were great admirers of Philopœmen, and called him *the last of the Greeks;* not allowing that there was any great man amongst that people after him: but, in my opinion, this exploit of Aratus is the last which the Greeks have to boast of. Indeed, whether we consider the boldness of the enterprise, or the good fortune which attended it, it equals the greatest upon record. The same appears from its immediate consequences; the Megarensians revolted from Antigonus, and joined Aratus; the Trœzenians and Epidaurians, too, ranged themselves on the side of the Achæans.

In his first expedition beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, Aratus overran Attica, and passing into Salamis, ravaged that island; so that the Achæan forces thought themselves escaped, as it were, out of prison, and followed him wherever he pleased. On this occasion he set the Athenian prisoners free without ransom, by which he sowed amongst them the first seeds of defection from the Macedonians. He brought Ptolemy likewise into the Achæan league, by procuring him the direction of the war both by sea and land. Such was his influence over the Achæans, that as the laws did not allow him to be general two years together, they appointed him every other year; and, in action as well as council, he had always in effect the chief command: for they saw it was not wealth, or glory, or the friendship of kings, or the advantage of his own country, or any thing else, that he preferred to the promotion of the Achæan power. He thought that cities in their single capacity were weak, and that they could not provide for their defence without uniting and binding themselves together for the common good. As the members of the body cannot be nourished, or live, but by their connexion with each other, and, when separated, pine and decay; so cities perish, when they break off from the community to which they belonged; and, on the contrary, gather strength and power, by becoming parts of some great body, and enjoying the fruits of the wisdom of the whole*.

* We shall here give the reader an account of some laws by which the Achæan states were governed: 1. An extraordinary assembly was not to be summoned at the request

Observing, therefore, that all the bravest people in his neighbourhood lived according to their own laws, it gave him pain to see the Argives in slavery, and he took measures for destroying their tyrant Aristomachus*. Besides, he was ambitious for restoring Argos to its liberty, as a reward for the education it had afforded him, and to unite it to the Achæan league. Without much difficulty he found them hardy enough to undertake the commission, at the head of whom were Æschylus and Charimenes the diviner; but they had no swords, for they were forbidden to keep arms, and the tyrant had laid great penalties on such as should be found to have any in their possession. To supply this defect, Aratus provided several daggers for them at Corinth, and having sewed them up in the pack saddles of horses that were to carry some ordinary wares, they were by that stratagem conveyed to Argos†. In the mean time, Charimenes taking in another of his friends as a partner, Æschylus and his associates were so much provoked, that they cast him off, and determined to do the business by themselves; but Charimenes perceiving their intention, in resentment of the slight, informed the tyrant of their purpose, when they were set out to put it in execution: upon which they fled with precipitation, and most of them escaped to Corinth.

It was not long, however, before Aristomachus was despatched by one of his own servants; but before any measures could be taken to guard against tyranny, Aristippus took the reins, and proved a worse tyrant than the former. Aratus, indeed, marched immediately to Argos with all the Achæans that were able to bear arms, in order to support the citizens, whom he doubted not to find ready to assert their liberty: but they had been long accustomed to the yoke, and were willing to be slaves, insomuch that not one of them joined him, and he returned with the inconvenience of bringing a charge upon the Achæans, that they had committed acts of hostility in time of full peace: for they were summoned to answer for this injustice before the Mantineans.

Aratus did not appear at the trial, and Aristippus being the prose-

of foreign ambassadors, unless they first notified, in writing, to the *Prætor* and *Demiurgi*, the subject of their embassy. 2. No city, subject to the league, was to send any embassy to a foreign prince or state, without the consent and approbation of the general diet. 3. No member of the assembly was to accept of presents from foreign princes, under any pretence whatsoever. 4. No prince, state, or city, was to be admitted into the league, without the consent of the whole alliance. 5. The general assembly was not to sit above three days.

* This Aristomachus must not be confounded with him who was thrown into the sea at Cenchreæ. Between them reigned Aristippus.

† Polybius places this attempt for the relief of Argos under the second Aristomachus.—Vid. *Polyb.* lib. ii.

cutor, got a fine of thirty *minæ* laid upon the Achæans. As that tyrant both hated and feared Aratus, he meditated his death, and Antigonus entered into the scheme. They had their emissaries in almost every quarter, watching their opportunity. But the surest guard for a prince, or other chief, is the sincere affection of his people: for when the commons and nobility, instead of fearing their chief magistrate, fear for him, he sees with many eyes, and hears with many ears. And here I cannot but leave a little the thread of my story, to describe the manner of life which Aristippus was under a necessity of leading, if he chose to keep in his hands that despotism, that state of an arbitrary sovereign which is commonly so much envied, and admired as the highest pitch of happiness.

This tyrant, who had Antigonus for his ally, who kept so large a body-guard, and had not left one of his enemies alive in the city, would not suffer his guards to do duty in the palace, but only in the vestibule and porticoes about it. When supper was over, he sent away all his servants, barred the door of the hall himself, and, with his mistress, crept through a trap-door into a small chamber above: upon that door he placed his bed, and slept there as a person in his anxious state of mind may be supposed to sleep. The ladder by which he went up, his mistress's mother took away and secured in another room till morning, when she brought it again, and called up this wonderful prince, who crept like a reptile out of his hole. Whereas Aratus, who acquired a lasting command, not by force of arms, but by virtue, and in a way agreeable to the laws; who made his appearance without fear in a plain vest and cloke, and always showed himself an enemy to tyrants, left an illustrious posterity among the Greeks, which flourishes at this day. But of those who have seized castles, who have maintained guards, who have fenced themselves with arms, and gates, and barricadoes, how few can we reckon up that have not, like timorous hares, died a violent death; and not one of them has left a family, or even a monument, to preserve his memory with honour.

Aratus made many attempts, both private and open, to pull down Aristippus, and rescue Argos out of his hands, but he always miscarried. Once he applied his scaling-ladders, and ascended the wall with a small party, in spite of the extreme danger that threatened him. He even succeeded so far as to kill the guards that came to oppose him: but when day appeared, and the tyrant attacked him on all sides, the people of Argos, as if he had not been fighting for their liberty, and they were only presiding at the Nemean games, sat very impartial spectators of the action, without making the least motion to assist. Aratus defended himself with great courage; and

though he had his thigh run through with a spear, maintained his post all day against such superior numbers. Would his strength have permitted him to continue the combat in the night too, he must have carried his point; for the tyrant now thought of nothing but making his escape, and had already sent most of his treasure on board his ships. However, as no one gave Aratus intelligence of this circumstance, as his water failed, and his wound disqualified him from any further efforts, he called off his men and retired.

He now despaired of succeeding by way of surprise, and therefore openly entered the territories of Argos with his army, and committed great devastations. He fought a pitched battle with Aristippus near the river Chares, and on that occasion he was censured for deserting the action, and letting the victory slip out of his hands: for one part of his army had clearly the advantage, and was advancing fast in the pursuit, when he, without being overpowered where he acted in person, merely out of fear and diffidence, retired in great disorder to his camp. His men, on their return from the pursuit, expressed their indignation at being prevented from erecting the trophy, after they had put the enemy to flight, and killed many more men than they had lost. Aratus, wounded with these reproaches, determined to risk a second battle for the trophy. Accordingly, after his men had rested one day, he drew them out the next: but finding that the enemy's numbers were increased, and that their troops were in much higher spirits than before, he durst not venture upon an action, but retreated, after having obtained a truce to carry off the dead. However, by his engaging manners, and his abilities in the administration, he obviated the consequences of this error, and added the city of Cleonæ to the Achæan league. In Cleonæ he caused the Nemean games to be celebrated; for he thought that city had the best and most ancient claim to them. The people of Argos likewise exhibited them; and on this occasion the freedom and security, which had been the privilege of the champions, were first violated. The Achæans considered as enemies all that had repaired to the games at Argos; and having seized them as they passed through their territories, sold them for slaves: so violent and implacable was their general's hatred of tyrants.

Not long after, Aratus had intelligence that Aristippus had a design upon Cleonæ, but that he was afraid of him, because he then resided at Corinth, which was very near Cleonæ. In this case he assembled his forces by proclamation, and having ordered them to take provisions for several days, marched to Cenchreæ. By this manœuvre he hoped to bring Aristippus against Cleonæ, as supposing him at a distance; and it had its effect. The tyrant immediately set out

from Argos with his army: but it was no sooner dark, than Aratus returned from Cenchreæ to Corinth, and having placed guards in all the roads, led on the Achæans, who followed him in such good order, and with so much celerity and pleasure, that they not only made their march, but entered Cleonæ that night, and put themselves in order of battle; nor did Aristippus gain the least knowledge of this movement.

Next morning, at break of day the gates were opened, the trumpet sounded, and Aratus advancing at full speed, and with all the alarm of war, fell upon the enemy, and soon routed them. Then he went upon the pursuit, particularly that way which he imagined Aristippus might take, for the country had several outlets. The pursuit was continued as far as Mycenæ, and the tyrant, as Dinias tells us, was overtaken and killed by a Cretan named Tragiscus; and of his army, there were above fifteen hundred slain. Aratus, though he had gained this important victory without the loss of one man, could not make himself master of Argos, nor deliver it from slavery; for Agias and young Aristomachus entered it with the king of Macedon's troops, and held it in subjection.

This action silenced in a great measure the calumny of the enemy, and put a stop to the insolent scoffs of those who, to flatter the tyrants, had not scrupled to say, that whenever the Achæan general prepared for battle, his bowels lost their retentive faculty; that when the trumpet sounded, his eyes grew dim, and his head giddy; and that, when he had given the word, he used to ask his lieutenants and other officers, what further need there could be of him, since the die was cast, and whether he might not retire and wait the event of the day at some distance. These reports had prevailed so much, that the philosophers, in their inquiries in the schools, whether the palpitation of the heart and change of colour, on the appearance of danger, were arguments of cowardice, or only of some natural defect, some coldness in the constitution? used always to quote Aratus as an excellent general, who yet was always subject to these emotions on occasion of a battle.

After he had destroyed Aristippus, he sought means to depose Lysiades the Megalopolitan, who had assumed the supreme power in his native city. This man had something generous in his nature, and was not insensible to true honour. He had not, like most other tyrants, committed this injustice out of a love of licentious pleasure, or from a motive of avarice, but incited when very young by a passion for glory, and unadvisedly believing the false and vain accounts of the wondrous happiness of arbitrary power, he had made it his business to usurp it. However, he soon felt it a heavy burden; and

being at once desirous to gain the happiness which Aratus enjoyed, and to deliver himself from the fear of his intriguing spirit, he formed the noblest resolution that can be conceived, which was first to deliver himself from the hatred, the fears, and the guards that encompassed him, and then to bestow the greatest blessing on his country. In consequence hereof, he sent for Aratus, laid down the authority he had assumed, and joined the city to the Achæan league. The Achæans, charmed with his noble spirit, thought it not too great a compliment to elect him general. He was no sooner appointed, than he discovered an ambition to raise his name above that of Aratus, and was by that means led to several unnecessary attempts, particularly to declare war against the Lacedæmonians.

Aratus endeavoured to prevent it, but his opposition was thought to proceed from envy. Lysiades was chosen general a second time, though Aratus exerted all his interest to get that appointment for another: for, as we have already observed, he had the command himself only every other year. Lysiades was fortunate enough to gain that commission a third time, enjoying it alternately with Aratus: but at last avowing himself his enemy, and often accusing him to the Achæans in full council, that people cast him off; for he appeared with an assumed character to contend against real and sincere virtue. Æsop tells us, "That the cuckoo one day asked the little birds, why they avoided her? and they answered, it was because they feared she would at last prove a hawk." In like manner it happened to Lysiades. It was suspected, that, as he had been once a tyrant, his laying down his power was not quite a voluntary thing, and that he would be glad to take the first opportunity to resume it.

Aratus acquired new glory in the war with the Ætolians. The Achæans pressed him to engage them on the confines of Megara; and Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians, who attended with an army, joined his instances to theirs, but he would not consent. They reproached him with want of spirit, with cowardice; they tried what the weapons of ridicule could do; but he bore all their attacks with patience, and would not sacrifice the real good of the community to the fear of seeming disgrace. Upon this principle, he suffered the Ætolians to pass Mount Gerania, and to enter Peloponnesus without the least resistance: but when he found that in their march they had seized Pellene, he was no longer the same man. Without the least delay, without waiting till all his forces were assembled, he advanced with those he had at hand against the enemy, who were much weakened by their late acquisition, for it had occasioned the utmost disorder and misrule. They had no sooner entered the city, than the private men dispersed themselves in the houses, and began to

scramble and fight for the booty, while the generals and other officers seized the wives and daughters of the inhabitants, and each put his helmet on the head of his prize, as a mark to whom she belonged, and to prevent her coming into the hands of another.

While they were thus employed, news was brought that Aratus was at hand, and ready to fall upon them. The consternation was such as might be expected amongst men in extreme disorder. Before they were all apprised of their danger, those that were about the gates and in the suburbs had skirmished a few moments with the Achæans, and were put to flight; and the precipitation with which they fled greatly distressed those who had assembled to support them. During this confusion, one of the captives, daughter to Epigethes, a person of great eminence in Pellene, who was remarkable for her beauty and majestic mien, was seated in the temple of Diana, where the officer whose prize she was had placed her, after having put his helmet, which was adorned with three plumes of feathers, on her head. This lady, hearing the noise and tumult, ran out suddenly to see what was the cause. As she stood at the door of the temple, and looked down upon the combatants, with the helmet still upon her head, she appeared to the citizens a figure more than human, and the enemy took her for a deity; which struck the latter with such terror and astonishment, that they were no longer able to use their arms.

The Pelleneans tell us, that the statue of the goddess stands commonly untouched, and that when the priestess moves it out of the temple, in order to carry it in procession, none dare look it in the face, but, on the contrary, they turn away their eyes with great care; for it is not only a terrible and dangerous sight to mankind, but its look renders the trees barren, and blasts the fruits where it passes. They add, that the priestess carried it out on this occasion, and always turning the face directly towards the Ætolians, filled them with horror, and deprived them of their senses. But Aratus, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of any such circumstance; he only says, that he put the Ætolians to flight, and entering the town with the fugitives, dislodged them by dint of sword, and killed seven hundred. This action was one of the most celebrated in history: Timanthes the painter gave a very lively and excellent representation of it.

However, as many powerful states were combining against the Achæans, Aratus hastened to make peace with the Ætolians, which he not only effected with the assistance of Pantaleon, one of the most powerful men amongst them, but likewise entered into an alliance offensive and defensive. He had a strong desire to restore Athens to

its liberty, and exposed himself to the severest censures of the Achæans, by attempting to surprise the Piræus, while there was a truce subsisting between them and the Macedonians. Aratus, indeed, in his Commentaries, denies the fact, and lays the blame upon Erginus, with whom he took the citadel of Corinth. He says, it was the peculiar scheme of Erginus to attempt that port; that, his ladder breaking, he miscarried, and was pursued; and that, to save himself, he often called upon Aratus, as if present; by which artifice he deceived the enemy, and escaped. But this defence of his wants probability to support it. It is not likely that Erginus, a private man, a Syrian, would have formed a design of such consequence, without having Aratus at the head of it, to supply him with troops, and to point out the opportunity for the attack. Nay, Aratus proved the same against himself, by making not only two or three, but many more attempts upon the Piræus. Like a person violently in love, his miscarriage did not prevail upon him to desist: for, as his hopes were disappointed only by the failure perhaps of a single circumstance, and he was always within a little of succeeding, he still encouraged himself to go on In one repulse, as he fled over the fields of Thirasium, he broke his leg; and the cure could not be effected, without several incisions; so that, for some time after, when he was called to action, he was carried into the field in a litter.

After the death of Antigonus, and Demetrius's accession to the throne, Aratus was more intent than ever on delivering Athens from the yoke, and conceived an utter contempt for the Macedonians. He was, however, defeated in a battle near Phylacia by Bithys, the new king's general; and a strong report being spread on one side that he was taken prisoner, and on another that he was dead, Diogenes, who commanded in the Piræus, wrote a letter to Corinth, insisting, "That the Achæans should evacuate the place, since Aratus was no more." Aratus happened to be at Corinth when the letter arrived, and the messengers, finding that their business occasioned much laughter and satirical discourse, retired in great confusion. The king of Macedon himself, too, sent a ship with orders "That Aratus should be brought to him in chains."

The Athenians, exceeding themselves in flattery to the Macedonians, wore chaplets of flowers upon the first report of Aratus's death. Incensed at this treatment, he immediately marched out against them, and proceeded as far as the Academy: but they implored him to spare them, and he returned without doing them the least injury. This made the Athenians sensible of his virtue: and as, upon the death of Demetrius, they were determined to make an attempt for liberty, they called him in to their assistance. Though he was not general

of the Achæans that year, and was so much indisposed, besides, by long sickness, as to be forced to keep his bed, yet he caused himself to be carried in a litter, to render them his best services. Accordingly he prevailed upon Diogenes, who commanded the garrison, to give up the Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium, to the Athenians, for the consideration of a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which Aratus himself furnished. Upon this the Æginetæ and Hermonians joined the Achæans, and great part of Arcadia paid contributions to the league. The Macedonians now found employment enough for their arms nearer home, and the Achæans, numbering the Ætolians amongst their allies, found a great addition to their power.

Aratus still proceeded upon his old principles, and, in his uneasiness to see tyranny established in a city so near him as that of Argos, sent his agents to Aristomachus, to represent "how advantageous a thing it would be for him to restore that city to liberty, and join it to the Achæan league; how noble to follow the example of Lysiades, and command so great a people with reputation and honour, as the general of their choice, rather than one city as a tyrant, exposed to perpetual danger and hatred." Aristomachus listened to their suggestions, and desired Aratus to send him fifty talents to pay off his troops. The money was granted agreeably to his request; but Lysiades, whose commission as general was not expired, and who was ambitious to have this negotiation pass with the Achæans for his work, took an opportunity, while the money was providing, to accuse Aratus to Aristomachus, as a person that had an implacable aversion to tyrants, and to advise him rather to put the business into his hands. Aristomachus believed these suggestions, and Lysiades had the honour of introducing him to the league. But on this occasion especially, the Achæan council showed their affection and fidelity to Aratus: for, upon his speaking against Aristomachus, they rejected him with marks of resentment. Afterwards, when Aratus was prevailed upon to manage the affair, they readily accepted the proposal, and passed a decree, by which the Argives and Phliasians were admitted into the league. The year following, too, Aristomachus was appointed general.

Aristomachus, finding himself esteemed by the Achæans, was desirous of carrying his arms into Laconia, for which purpose he sent for Aratus from Athens. Aratus made answer, that he utterly disapproved the expedition, not choosing that the Achæans should engage with Cleomenes*, whose spirit and power kept growing in propor-

* Some authors write, that Cleomenes, at the instigation of the Ætolians, had built a fortress in the territory of the Megalopolitans, called *Athenæum*, which the Achæans

tion to the dangers he had to encounter. Aristomachus, however, was bent upon the enterprise, and Aratus, yielding to his solicitations, returned to assist him in the war. Cleomenes offered him battle at Palantium, but Aratus prevented him from accepting the challenge. Hereupon Lysiades accused Aratus to the Achæans, and the year following declared himself his competitor for the command; but Aratus had the majority of votes, and was, for the twelfth time, declared general.

This year he was defeated by Cleomenes at Mount Lycæum; and, in his flight, being forced to wander about in the night, he was supposed to be killed. This was the second time that a report of his death spread over Greece. He saved himself, however; and having collected the scattered remains of his forces, was not satisfied with retiring unmolested: on the contrary, he availed himself in the best manner of his opportunity; and, when none expected, or even thought of such a manœuvre, fell suddenly upon the Mantineans, who were allies to Cleomenes, took their city, secured it with a garrison, and declared all the strangers he found there free of the city. In short, he acquired that for the Achæans when beaten, which they could not easily have gained when victorious.

The Lacedæmonians again entering the territories of Megalopolis, he marched to relieve that city. Cleomenes endeavoured to bring him to an engagement, but he declined it, though the Megalopolitans pressed him much to leave the matter to the decision of the sword. For, besides that he was never very fit for disputes in the open field, he was now inferior in numbers; and, at a time of life when his spirits began to fail, and his ambition was subdued, he would have had to do with a young man of the most adventurous courage. He thought, too, that if Cleomenes, by his boldness, sought to acquire glory, it became *him*, by his caution, to keep that which he had.

One day the light infantry skirmished with the Spartans, and having driven them to their camp, entered it with them, and began to plunder. Aratus even then would not lead on the main body, but kept his men on the other side of a defile that lay between, and would not suffer them to pass. Lysiades, incensed at this order, and reproaching him with cowardice, called upon the cavalry to support the party which was in pursuit of the enemy, and not to betray the victory, nor to desert a man who was going to hazard all for his country. Many of the best men in the army followed him to the charge, which was so vigorous, that he put the right wing of the Lacedæmonians to flight; but, in the ardour of his courage, and his ambition for honour,

considered as an open rupture, and therefore declared, in a general assembly, that the Lacedæmonians should be considered as enemies.

he went inconsiderately upon the pursuit, till he fell into an intricate way; obstructed with trees, and intersected with large ditches. Cleomenes attacked him in this ground, and slew him, after he had maintained the most glorious of all combats, the combat for his people, almost at their own doors. The rest of the cavalry fled, and turning back upon the main body, put the infantry in disorder, so that the rout became general.

This loss was principally ascribed to Aratus, for he was thought to have abandoned Lysiades to his fate. The Achæans, therefore, retired in great anger, and obliged him to follow them to Ægium. There it was decreed in full council, that he should be supplied with no more money, nor have any mercenaries maintained; and that if he would go to war, he must find resources for it himself. Thus ignominiously treated, he was inclined to give up the seal, and resign his command immediately; but, upon more mature consideration, he thought it better to bear the affront with patience. Soon after this, he led the Achæans to Orchomenus, where he gave battle to Megistonus, father-in-law to Cleomenes, killed three hundred of his men, and took him prisoner.

It had been customary with him to take the command every other year; but when his turn came, and he was called upon to resume it, he absolutely refused, and Timoxenus was appointed general. The reason commonly given for his rejecting that commission, was his resentment against the people for the late dishonur they had done him; but the real cause was the bad posture of the Achæan affairs. Cleomenes no longer advanced by insensible steps; he had no measures now to keep with the magistrates at home, nor any thing to fear from their opposition; for he had put the *Ephori* to death, distributed the lands in equal portions, and admitted many strangers citizens of Sparta. After he had made himself absolute master by these means at home, he marched into Achaia, and insisted upon being appointed governor of the league. Aratus, therefore, is highly blamed, when affairs were in such a tempestuous state, for giving up the helm to another pilot, when he ought rather to have taken it by force to save the community from sinking: or, if he thought the Achæan power beyond the possibility of being retrieved, he should have yielded to Cleomenes, and not have brought Peloponnesus into a state of barbarism again with Macedonian garrisons, nor filled the citadel of Corinth with Illyrian and Gaulish arms: for this was making those men to whom he had shown himself superior, both in his military and political capacity, and whom he vilified so much in his Commentaries, masters of his cities, under the softer but false names of allies. It may be said, perhaps, that Cleomenes wanted justice, and was

tyranically inclined; let us grant it for a moment; yet he was a descendant of the Heraclidæ, and his country was Sparta, the meanest citizen of which should have been preferred as general of the league to the first of the Macedonians, at least by those who set any value on the dignity of Greece. Besides, Cleomenes asked for the command among the Achæans*, only to make their cities happy in his services, in return for the honour of the title; whereas Antigonus, though declared commander-in-chief both by sea and land, would not accept the commission till he was paid with the citadel of Corinth; in which he perfectly resembled Æsop's hunter†; for he would not ride the Achæans, though they offered their backs, and though by embassies and decrees they courted him to do it, till he had first bridled them by his garrison, and by the hostages which they were obliged to deliver to him.

It is true, Aratus labours to justify himself by the necessity of affairs: but Polybius assures us, that, long before that necessity existed, he had been afraid of the daring spirit of Cleomenes, and had not only treated with Antigonus in private, but drawn in the Megalopolitans to propose it to the general assembly of the Achæans, that Antigonus should be invited to their assistance: for whenever Cleomenes renewed his depredations, the Megalopolitans were the first that suffered by them. Phylarchus gives the same account; but we should not have afforded him much credit, if he had not been supported by the testimony of Polybius; for such is his fondness for Cleomenes, that he cannot speak of him but in an enthusiastic manner; and, as if he was pleading a cause, rather than writing a history, he perpetually disparages the one, and vindicates the other.

The Achæans having lost Mantinea, which Cleomenes now took a second time, and being moreover defeated in a great battle at Hecatombœum, were struck with such terror, that they immediately invited Cleomenes to Argos, with a promise of making him general. But Aratus no sooner perceived that he was on his march, and had brought his army as far as Lerma, than his fears prevailed, and he sent ambassadors to desire him to come to the Achæans as friends and allies, with three hundred men only. They were to add, that if he had any distrust of the Achæans, they would give him hostages,

* Perhaps Aratus was apprehensive that Cleomenes would endeavour to make himself absolute amongst the Achæans, as he was already in Lacedæmon. There was a possibility, however, of his behaving with honour as general of the Achæans; whereas, from Antigonus, nothing could be expected but chains.

† Horace gives us this fable of Æsop's; but, before Æsop, the poet Stesichorus is said to have applied it to the Himerians, when they were going to raise a guard for Phalaris.

Cleomenes told them, they did but insult and mock him with such a message, and returning immediately, wrote a letter to the Achæan council, full of complaints and invectives against Aratus. Aratus wrote another against Cleomenes in the same style: and they proceeded to such gross abuse, as not to spare even the characters of their wives and families.

Upon this Cleomenes sent a herald to declare war against the Achæans; and in the mean time the city of Sicyon was nearly being betrayed to him. Disappointed of his expectation there, he turned against Pellene, dislodged the Achæan garrison, and secured the town for himself. A little after this, he took Pheneum and Penteleum; and it was not long before the people of Argos adopted his interest, and the Phliasians received his garrison: so that scarce any thing remained firm to the Achæans of the dominions they had acquired; Aratus saw nothing but confusion about him; all Peloponnesus was in a tottering condition; and the cities every where excited by innovators to revolt. Indeed, none were quiet or satisfied with their present circumstances. Even amongst the Sicyonians and Corinthians many were found to have a correspondence with Cleomenes, having been long disaffected to the administration and the public utility, because they wanted to get the power into their own hands. Aratus was invested with full authority to punish the delinquents. The corrupt members of Sicyon he cut off; but by seeking for such in Corinth, in order to put them to death, he exasperated the people, already sick of the same distemper, and weary of the Achæan government*. On this occasion they assembled in the temple of Apollo, and sent for Aratus, being determined either to kill him, or take him prisoner, before they proceeded to an open revolt. He came leading his horse, as if he had not the least mistrust or suspicion. When they saw him at the gate, a number of them rose up, and loaded him with reproaches; but he, with a composed countenance and mild address, bade them sit down again, and not, by standing in the way, and making such a disorderly noise, prevent other citizens, who were at the door, from entering. At the same time that he said this, he drew back step by step, as if he was seeking somebody to take his horse. Thus he got out of the crowd, and continued to talk, without the least appearance of confusion, to such of the Corinthians as he met, and desired them to go to the temple, till he insensibly approached the citadel. He then mounted his horse, and without stopping any longer at the fort, than to give his orders to

* What wonder, when they saw Aratus unfaithful to his first principles, and going to bring them again under the Macedonian yoke?

Cleopater the governor to keep a strict guard upon it, he rode off to Sicyon, followed by no more than thirty soldiers, for the rest had left him and dispersed.

The Corinthians, soon apprised of his flight, went in pursuit of him; but failing in their design, they sent for Cleomenes, and put the city into his hands. He did not, however, think this advantage equal to his loss in their suffering Aratus to escape. As soon as the inhabitants of that district on the coast called *Acte* had surrendered their towns, he shut up the citadel with a wall of circumvallation and a pallisadoed intrenchment.

In the mean time, many of the Achæans repaired to Aratus at Sicyon, and a general assembly was held, in which he was chosen commander-in-chief, with an unlimited commission. He now first took a guard, and it was composed of his fellow-citizens. He had conducted the Achæan administration three-and-thirty years; he had been the first man in Greece, both in power and reputation; but he now found himself abandoned, indigent, persecuted, without any thing but one plank to trust to in the storm that had shipwrecked his country: for the Ætolians refused him the assistance which he requested, and the city of Athens, though well inclined to serve him, was prevented by Euclides and Micion.

Aratus had a house and valuable effects at Corinth. Cleomenes would not touch any thing that belonged to him, but sent for his friends and agents, and charged them to take the utmost care of his affairs, as remembering that they must give an account to Aratus. To Aratus himself he privately sent Tripylis, and afterwards his father-in-law Megistonus, with great offers, and, among the rest, a pension of twelve talents, which was double the yearly allowance he had from Ptolemy. For this he desired to be appointed general of the Achæans, and to be joined with him in the care of the citadel of Corinth. Aratus answered, "That he did not now govern affairs, "but they governed him." As there appeared an insincerity in this answer, Cleomenes entered the territories of Sicyon, and committed great devastations. He likewise blocked up the city for three months together; all which time Aratus was debating with himself, whether he should surrender the citadel to Antigonus; for he would not send him succours on any other condition.

Before he could take his resolution, the Achæans met in council at Ægium, and called him to attend it. As the town was invested by Cleomenes, it was dangerous to pass. The citizens entreated him not to go, and declared they would not suffer him to expose himself to an enemy who was watching for his prey. The matrons and their children, too, hung upon him, and wept for him as for a common

parent and protector. He consoled them, however, as well as he could, and rode down to the sea, taking with him ten of his friends, and his son, who was now approaching to manhood. Finding some vessels at anchor, he went on board and arrived safe at Ægium. There he held an assembly, in which it was decreed that Antigonus should be called in, and the citadel surrendered to him. Aratus sent his own son amongst the other hostages; which the Corinthians so much resented, that they plundered his goods, and made a present of his house to Cleomenes.

As Antigonus was now approaching with his army, which consisted of twenty thousand foot, all Macedonians, and of fourteen hundred horse, Aratus went with the Achæan magistrates by sea*, and, without being discovered by the enemy, met him at Pegæ, though he placed no great confidence in Antigonus, and distrusted the Macedonians: for he knew that his greatness had been owing to the mischiefs he had done them, and that he had first risen to the direction of affairs in consequence of his hatred to old Antigonus. But seeing an indispensable necessity before him, such an occasion as those who seemed to command are forced to obey, he faced the danger. When Antigonus was told that Aratus was come in person, he gave the rest a common welcome, but received him in the most honourable manner, and, finding him upon trial to be a man of probity and prudence, took him into his most intimate friendship: for Aratus was not only serviceable to the king in great affairs, but, in the hours of leisure, his most agreeable companion. Antigonus, therefore, though young, perceiving in him such a temper, and such other qualities as fitted him for a prince's friendship, preferred him not only to the rest of the Achæans but even to the Macedonians that were about him, and continued to employ him in every affair of consequence. Thus the thing which the gods announced by the entrails of one of the victims, was accomplished: for it is said, that when Aratus was sacrificing not long before, there appeared in the liver two gall bladders enclosed in the same caul; upon which the diviner declared, that two enemies, who appeared the most irreconcileable, would soon be united in the strictest friendship. Aratus then took little notice of the saying, for he never put much faith in victims, nor indeed in predictions from any thing else, but used to depend upon his reason. Some time after, however, when the war went on successfully, Antigonus made an entertainment at Corinth, at which, though there was a numerous company, he placed Aratus next above him. They had not sat long before Antigonus called for a cloke. At the same time he asked

* The magistrates called *Demiurgi*. See an account of them before.

Aratus, "Whether he did not think it very cold?" and he answered, "It was extremely cold." The king then desired him to sit nearer, and the servants who brought the cloke put it over the shoulders of both. This putting Aratus in mind of the victim, he informed the king both of the sign and the prediction: but this happened long after the time that we are upon.

While they were at Pegæ, they took oaths of mutual fidelity, and then marched against the enemy. There were several actions under the walls of Corinth, in which Cleomenes had fortified himself strongly, and the Corinthians defended the place with great vigour.

In the mean time, Aristotle, a citizen of Argos, and friend of Aratus, sent an agent to him privately, with an offer of bringing that city to declare for him, if he would go thither in person with some troops. Aratus, having acquainted Antigonus with this scheme, embarked fifteen hundred men, and sailed immediately with them from the isthmus to Epidaurus. But the people of Argos, without waiting for his arrival, had attacked the troops of Cleomenes, and shut them up in the citatel. Cleomenes having notice of this, and fearing that the enemy, if they were in possesion of Argos, might cut off his retreat to Lacedæmon, left his post before the citadel of Corinth the same night, and marched to the succour of his men. He reached it before Aratus, and gained some advantage over the enemy; but Aratus arriving soon after, and the king appearing with his army, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

Upon this all the cities joined the Achæans again. Antigonus made himself master of the citadel of Corinth: and the Argives having appointed Aratus their general, he persuaded them to give Antigonus the estates of the late tyrants, and all the traitors. That people put Aristomachus to the torture at Cenchreæ*, and afterwards drowned him in the sea. Aratus was much censured on this occasion, for permitting a man to suffer unjustly, who was not of a bad character, with whom he formerly had connections, and who, at his persuasion, had abdicated the supreme power, and brought Argos to unite itself to the Achæan league. There were other charges against Aratus, namely, that at his instigation, the Achæans had given the city of Corinth to Antigonus, as if it had been no more than an ordinary village; that they had suffered him to pillage Orchomenus, and place in it a Macedonian garrison; that they had made a decree that their community should not send a letter or an embassy to any

* Plutarch seems here to have followed Phylarchus. Polybius tells us that Aristomachus deserved greater punishments than he suffered, not only for his extreme cruelty when tyrant of Argos, but also for his abandoning the Achæans in their distress, and declaring for their enemies.

other king, without the consent of Antigonus; that they were forced to maintain and pay the Macedonians; and that they had sacrifices, libations, and games, in honour of Antigonus, the fellow-citizens of Aratus setting the example, and receiving Antigonus into their city, on which occasion Aratus entertained him in his house. For all these things they blamed Aratus, not considering that when he had once put the reins in the hands of that prince, he was necessarily carried along with the tide of regal power; no longer master of any thing but his tongue, and it was dangerous to use that with freedom; for he was visibly concerned at many circumstances of the king's conduct, particularly with respect to the statues. Antigonus erected anew those of the tyrants which Aratus had pulled down, and demolished those he had set up in memory of the brave men that surprised the citadel of Corinth. That of Aratus only was spared, notwithstanding his intercession for the rest. In the affair of Mantinea*, too, the behaviour of the Achæans was not suitable to the Grecian humanity; for, having conquered it by means of Antigonus, they put the principal of the inhabitants to the sword; some of the rest they sold, or sent in fetters to Macedonia; and they made slaves of the women and children. Of the money thus raised, they divided a third part among themselves, and gave the rest to the Macedonians. But this had its excuse in the law of reprisals; for, however shocking it may appear for men to sacrifice to their anger those of their own nation and kindred, yet in necessity, as Simonides says, it seems rather a proper alleviation than a hardship, to give relief to a mind inflamed and aching with resentment. But, as to what Aratus did afterwards with respect to Mantinea, it is impossible to justify him upon a plea either of propriety or necessity: for Antigonus having made a present of that city to the Argives, they resolved to repeople it, and appointed Aratus to see it done; in virtue of which commission, as well as that of general, he decreed that it should no more be called Mantinea, but Antigonea, which name it still bears. Thus, by his means, Mantinea, *the amiable Mantinea*, as Homer calls it, was no more; and in the place of it, we have a city which took its name from the man who ruined its inhabitants.

Some time after this, Cleomenes being overthrown in a great bat-

* The Mantineans had applied to the Achæans for a garrison to defend them against the Lacedæmonians. In compliance with their request, the Achæans sent them three hundred of their own citizens, and two hundred mercenaries: but the Mantineans soon after changing their minds, in the most perfidious manner massacred that garrison. They deserved, therefore, all that they are here said to have suffered. But Polybius makes no mention of the principal inhabitants being put to death; he only says their goods were plundered, and some of the people sold for slaves.

tle near Sellasia*, quitted Sparta, and sailed to Egypt. As for Antigonus, after the kindest and most honourable behaviour to Aratus, he returned to Macedonia. In his sickness there, which happened soon after his arrival, he sent Philip, then very young, but already declared his successor, into Peloponnesus, having first instructed him above all things to give attention to Aratus, and through him to treat with the cities, and make himself known to the Achæans. Aratus received him with great honour, and managed him so well, that he returned to Macedonia full of sentiments of respect for his friend, and in the most favourable disposition for the interests of Greece.

After the death of Antigonus, the Ætolians despised the inactivity of the Achæans; for, accustomed to the protection of foreign arms, and sheltering themselves under the Macedonian power, they sunk into a state of idleness and disorder. This gave the Ætolians room to attempt a footing in Peloponnesus. By the way they made some booty in the country about Patræ and Dyme, and then proceeded to Messene, and laid waste its territories. Aratus was incensed at this insolence, but he perceived that Timoxenus, who was then general, took slow and dilatory measures, because his year was almost expired. Therefore, as he was to succeed to the command, he anticipated his commission by five days, for the sake of assisting the Messenians. He assembled the Achæans, but they had now neither exercise nor courage to enable them to maintain the combat, and consequently he was beaten in a battle which he fought at Caphyæ. Being accused of having ventured too much on this occasion†, he became afterwards

* Cleomenes had intrenched himself so strongly near Sellasia, in a narrow pass between the mountains Eva and Olympus, that Antigonus did not think proper to attack him there. It is not easy to comprehend what could induce Cleomenes to come out of these intrenchments, and risk a pitched battle. His troops were not so numerous as the enemy's by one third; and he was supplied with all sorts of provisions from Sparta. What, then, could make him hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon? Polybius, indeed, seems to insinuate the cause of this proceeding; for he tells us, that Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who had promised to assist him in this war, acquainted him that he was not in a condition to make good his engagements. And as Cleomenes did not choose to try the other alternative, that of suing to Antigonus for a peace, he risked all upon the event of that day.

† Aratus was accused in the assembly, first, of having taken the command upon him before his time. In the next place, he was blamed for having dismissed the Achæan troops while the Ætolians were still in the heart of Peloponnesus. The third article against him was, his venturing a battle with so few troops, when he might have made, with great ease, a safe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The last and heaviest charge against him was, that, after he had resolved to give the enemy battle, he did not, in the whole action, take one step that became a general of any experience: for he sent the cavalry and light-armed foot to attack the enemy's rear, after their front had gained the advantage; whereas he ought to have encountered the front

so cold, and so far abandoned his hopes for the public, as to neglect the opportunities which the Ætolians gave him, and suffered them to roam about Peloponnesus in a Bacchanalian manner, committing all the excesses that insolence could suggest.

The Achæans were now obliged to stretch out their hands again towards Macedonia, and brought Philip to interfere in the affairs of Greece. They knew the regard he had for Aratus, and the confidence he placed in him, and hoped on that account to find him tractable and easy in all their affairs. But the king now first began to listen to Apelles, Megalacus, and other courtiers, who endeavoured to darken the character of Aratus, and prevailed upon him to support the contrary party, by which means Eperatus was elected general of the Achæans. Eperatus, however, soon fell into the greatest contempt amongst them, and as Aratus would not give any attention to their concerns, nothing went well. Philip, finding that he had committed a capital error, turned again to Aratus, and gave himself up entirely to his direction. As his affairs now prospered, and his power and reputation grew under the culture of Aratus, he depended entirely on him for the further increase of both. Indeed, it was evident to all the world, that Aratus had excellent talents, not only for guiding a commonwealth, but a kingdom too; for there appeared a tincture of his principles and manners in all the conduct of this young prince. Thus the moderation with which he treated the Spartans*, after they had offended him; his engaging behaviour to the Cretans, by which he gained the whole island in a few days; and the glorious success of his expedition against the Ætolians; gained Philip the honour of knowing how to follow good counsel, and Aratus that of being able to give it.

On this account the courtiers envied him still more; and as they found that their private engines of calumny availed nothing, they began to try open battery, reviling and insulting him at table with the

at first with the advantage of having them on the declivity; in which case his heavy-armed infantry would have done him great service. However, he endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle was not his fault, adding, that if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able general, he asked pardon, and hoped that, in regard of his past services, they would not censure him with rigour. This submission of his changed the minds of the whole assembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accusers.

* The Spartans had killed one of their *ephori*, and some others of their citizens who were in the interest of Philip, and some of his counsellors advised him to revenge the affront with rigour: but he said, that as the Spartans now belonged to the Achæan league, they were accountable to it; and that it ill became him to treat them with severity, who were his allies, when his predecessor had extended his clemency to them, though enemies.

utmost effrontery and lowest abuse; nay, once they threw stones at him, as he was retiring from supper to his tent. Philip, incensed at such outrage, fined them twenty talents, and, upon their proceeding to disturb and embroil his affairs, put them to death.

But afterwards he was carried so high by the flow of prosperity, as to discover many disorderly passions. The native badness of his disposition broke through the veil he had put over it, and by degrees his real character appeared. In the first place he greatly injured young Aratus by corrupting his wife; and the commerce was a long time secret, because he lived under his roof, where he had been received under the sanction of hospitality. In the next place, he discovered a strong aversion to commonwealths, and to the cities that were under that form of government. It was easy to be seen, too, that he wanted to shake off Aratus. The first suspicion of his intentions arose from his behaviour with respect to the Messenians. There were two factions amongst them, which had raised a sedition in the city: Aratus went to reconcile them; but Philip getting to the place a day before him, added stings to their mutual resentments. On the one hand, he called the magistrates privately, and asked them whether they had not laws to restrain the rabble? And on the other, he asked the demagogues whether they had not hands to defend them against tyrants? The magistrates, thus encouraged, attacked the chiefs of the people, and they in their turn came with superior numbers, and killed the magistrates, with nearly two hundred more of their party.

After Philip had engaged in these detestable practices, which exasperated the Messenians still more against each other, Aratus, when he arrived, made no secret of his resentment, nor did he restrain his son in the severe and disparaging things he said to Philip. The young man had once a particular attachment to Philip, which in those days they distinguished by the name of love; but on this occasion, he scrupled not to tell him, "That, after such a base action, instead of appearing agreeable, he was the most deformed of human kind."

Philip made no answer, though anger evidently was working in his bosom, and he often muttered to himself while the other was speaking. However, he pretended to bear it with great calmness, and affecting to appear the man of subdued temper and refined manners, gave the elder Aratus his hand, and took him from the theatre to the castle of Ithome*, under pretence of sacrificing to Jupiter, and visiting the place. This fort, which is as strong as the citadel of Corinth,

* In the printed text it is *Ithomata*, which agrees with the name this fort has in Polybius; but one of the manuscripts gives us *Ithome*, which is the name Strabo gives it.

were it garrisoned, would greatly annoy the neighbouring country, and be almost impregnable. After Philip had offered his sacrifice there, and the diviner came to show him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands, and showed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Phariæ, sometimes turning them to one, and sometimes to the other, and asking them, "What they saw in the entrails of the victim; whether they warned him to keep this citadel, or to restore it to the Messenians?" Demetrius smiled, and said, "If you have the soul of a diviner, you will restore it; but, if that of a king, you will hold the bull by both his horns." By which he hinted, that he must have Peloponnesus entirely in subjection, if he added Ithome to the citadel of Corinth. Aratus was a long time silent, but upon Philip's pressing him to declare his opinion, he said, "There are many mountains of great strength in Crete, many castles in Bœotia and Phocis in lofty situations, and many impregnable places in Acarnania, both on the coast and within land. You have seized none of these, and yet they all pay you a voluntary obedience. Robbers, indeed, take to rocks and precipices for security; but for a king there is no such fortress as honour and humanity. These are the things that have opened to you the Cretan sea, these have unbarred the gates of Peloponnesus: in short, by these it is that, at so early a period in life, you are become general of the one, and sovereign of the other." Whilst he was yet speaking, Philip returned the entrails to the diviner, and taking Aratus by the hand, drew him along, and said, "Come on then, let us go as we came;" intimating that he had overruled him, and deprived him of such an acquisition as the city would have been.

From this time Aratus began to withdraw from court, and by degrees to give up all correspondence with Philip. He refused also to accompany him in his expedition into Epirus, though applied to for that purpose; choosing to stay at home, lest he should share in the disrepute of his actions. But after Philip had lost his fleet with great disgrace in the Roman war, and nothing succeeded to his wish, he returned to Peloponnesus, and tried once more what art could do to impose upon the Messenians. When he found that his designs were discovered, he had recourse to open hostilities, and ravaged their country. Aratus then saw all his meanness, and broke with him entirely. By this time, too, he perceived that he had dishonoured his son's bed; but though the injury lay heavy on him, he concealed it from his son, because he could only inform him that he was abused, without being able to help him to the means of revenge. There seemed to be a great and unnatural change in Philip, who, of a mild and sober young prince, became a libidinous and cruel tyrant: but in fact it was not a change of disposition; it was only discovering, in a

time of full security, the vices which his fears had long concealed. That his regard for Aratus had originally a great mixture of fear and reverence, appeared even in the method he took to destroy him: for though he was very desirous of effecting that cruel purpose, because he neither looked upon himself as an absolute prince, or a king, or even a freeman, while Aratus lived, yet he would not attempt any thing against him in the way of open force, but desired Phaurion, one of his friends and generals, to take him off in a private manner, in his absence. At the same time he recommended poison. That officer accordingly having formed an acquaintance with him, gave him a dose, not of a sharp or violent kind, but such a one as causes lingering heats and a slight cough, and gradually brings the body to decay. Aratus was not ignorant of the cause of his disorder, but knowing that it availed nothing to discover it to the world, he bore it quietly and in silence, as if it had been an ordinary distemper. Indeed, when one of his friends came to visit him in his chamber, and expressed his surprise at seeing him spit blood, he said, "Such, Cephalon, are the fruits of royal friendship."

Thus died Aratus at Ægium, after he had been seventeen times general of the Achæans. That people were desirous of having him buried there, and would have thought it an houour to give him a magnificent funeral, and a monument worthy of his life and character: but the Sicyonians considered it as a misfortune to have him interred any where but amongst them, and therefore persuaded the Achæans to leave the disposal of the body entirely to them. As there was an ancient law, that had been observed with religious care, against burying any person within their walls, and they were afraid to transgress it on this occasion, they sent to inquire of the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, and she returned this answer:—

Seek you what funeral honours you shall pay
To your departed prince, the small reward
For liberty restor'd, and glory won?
Bid Sicyon, fearless, rear the sacred tomb.
For the vile tongue that dares with impious breath
Offend Aratus, blasts the face of Nature,
Pours horror on the earth, and seas, and skies.

This oracle gave great joy to all the Achæans, particularly the people of Sicyon. They changed the day of mourning into a festival, and adorning themselves with garlands and white robes, brought the corpse with songs and dances from Ægium to Sicyon. There they selected the most conspicuous ground, and interred him as the founder and deliverer of their city. The place is still called *Aratium*, and there they offer two yearly sacrifices: the one on the fifth of the

month Dæsius, (the Athenians call it Anthesterion*), which was the day he delivered the city from the yoke of tyrants, and on which account they call the festival *Soteria;* the other on his birth-day. The first sacrifice was offered by the priest of Jupiter *the Preserver,* and the second by the son of Aratus, who, on that occasion, wore a girdle†, not entirely white, but half purple. The music was sung to the harp by the choir that belonged to the theatre. The procession was led up by the master of the *Gymnasium,* at the head of the boys and young men; the senate followed, crowned with flowers, and such of the other citizens as chose to attend. Some small marks of the ceremonies observed on those days still remain, but the greatest part is worn out by time and other circumstances.

Such was the life and character that history has given us of the elder Aratus. And as to the younger, Philip, who was naturally wicked, and delighted to add insolence to cruelty, gave him potions, not of the deadly kind, but such as deprived him of his reason; insomuch that he took up inclinations that were shocking and monstrous, and delighted in things that not only dishonoured, but destroyed him. Death, therefore, which took him in the flower of his age, was considered not as a misfortune, but a deliverance. The vengeance, however, of Jupiter, the patron of hospitality and friendship, visited Philip for his breach of both, and pursued him through life: for he was beaten by the Romans, and forced to yield himself to their discretion. In consequence of which, he was stripped of all the provinces he had conquered, gave up all his ships except five, obliged himself to pay a thousand talents, and deliver his son as a hostage. He even held Macedonia and its dependencies only at the mercy of the conquerors. Amidst all these misfortunes, he was possessed only of one blessing, a son of superior virtue, and him he put to death, in his envy and jealousy of the honours the Romans paid him. He left his crown to his other son Perseus, who was believed not to be his, but a supposititious child, born of a sempstress named Gnathænium. It was over him that Paulus Æmilius triumphed, and in him ended the royal race of Antigonus; whereas the posterity of Aratus remained to our days, and still continues in Sicyon and Pellene.

* February. † *Strophion* signifies also a fillet.

GALBA.

IPHICRATES, the Athenian general, thought that a soldier of fortune should have an attachment both to money and pleasure, that his passions might put him upon fighting with more boldness for a supply. But most others are of opinion, that the main body of an army, like the healthy natural body, should have no motion of its own, but be entirely guided by the head. Hence Paulus Æmilius, when he found his army in Macedonia talkative, busy, and ready to direct their general, is said to have given orders, "That each should keep his hand fit for action, and his sword sharp, and leave the rest to him." And Plato perceiving that the best general cannot undertake any thing with success, unless his troops are sober, and perfectly united to support him, concluded, that to know how to obey, required as generous a disposition, and as rational an education, as to know how to command; for these advantages would correct the violence and impetuosity of the soldier with the mildness and humanity of the philosopher. Amongst other fatal examples, what happened amongst the Romans after the death of Nero, is sufficient to show that nothing is more dreadful than an undisciplined army actuated only by the impulse of their own ferocity. Demades, seeing the wild and violent motions of the Macedonian army after the death of Alexander, compared it to the Cyclops*, after his eye was put out: but the Roman empire more resembled the extravagant passions and ravings of the Titans, which the poets tell us of, when it was torn in pieces by rebellion, and turned its arms against itself; not so much through the ambition of the emperors, as the avarice and licentiousness of the soldiers, who drove out one emperor by another†.

Dionysius the Sicilian, speaking of Alexander of Pheræ, who reigned in Thessaly only ten months, and then was slain, called him, in derision of the sudden change, a theatrical tyrant: but the palace of the Cæsars received four emperors in a less space of time, one entering, and another making his exit, as if they had only been acting a part upon a stage. The Romans, indeed, had one consolation amidst their misfortunes, that they needed no other revenge upon the authors of them, than to see them destroy each other; and with the greatest justice of all fell the first, who corrupted the army, and taught them to expect so much upon the change of emperor; thus dishonouring a glorious action by mercenary considerations, and turning

* Polyphemus. † In the original it is, *as one nail is driven out by another.*

the revolt from Nero into treason: for Nymphidius Sabinus, who, as we observed before*, was joined in commission with Tigellinus, as captain of the prætorian cohorts, after Nero's affairs were in a desperate state, and it was plain that he intended to retire into Egypt, persuaded the army, as if Nero had already abdicated, to declare Galba emperor, promising every soldier of the prætorian cohorts seven thousand five hundred *drachmas*, and the troops that were quartered in the provinces twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a-man: a sum which it was impossible to collect, without doing infinitely more mischief to the empire than Nero had done in his whole reign.

This proved the immediate ruin of Nero, and soon after destroyed Galba himself. They deserted Nero in hopes of receiving the money, and despatched Galba because they did not receive it. Afterwards they sought for another who might pay them that sum; but they ruined themselves by their rebellions and treasons, without gaining what they had been made to expect. To give a complete and exact account of the affairs of those times, belongs to the professed historian: it is, however, in my province to lay before the reader the most remarkable circumstances in the lives of the Cæsars.

It is an acknowledged truth, that Sulpitius Galba was the richest private man that ever rose to the imperial dignity: but though his extraction was of the noblest, from the family of the Servii, yet he thought it a greater honour to be related to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, who was the first man in his time for virtue and reputation, though he voluntarily left to others the pre-eminence in power. He was also related to Livia the wife of Augustus, and it was by her interest that he was raised from the office he had in the palace to the dignity of consul. It is said that he acquitted himself of his commission in Germany with honour; and that he gained more reputation than most commanders, during his proconsulate in Africa. But his simple parsimonious way of living passed for avarice in an emperor; and the pride he took in economy and strict temperance was out of character.

He was sent governor into Spain by Nero, before that emperor had learned to fear such of the citizens as had great authority in Rome. Besides, the mildness of his temper, and his advanced time of life, promised a cautious and prudent conduct. The emperor's receivers†, a most abandoned set of men, harassed the provinces in the most cruel manner. Galba could not assist them against their persecutors, but his concern for their misfortunes, which appeared not less

* In the life of Nero, which is lost.

† *Epitropoi, (procuratores)*; they had full powers to collect the revenues, and scrupled no acts of oppression in the course of their proceedings.

than if he had been a sufferer himself, afforded them some consolation, even while they were condemned and sold for slaves. Many songs were made upon Nero, and sung every where; and as Galba did not endeavour to suppress them, or to join the receivers of the revenues in their resentment, that was a circumstance which endeared him still more to the natives: for by this time he had contracted a friendship with them, having long been their governor. He had born that commission eight years, when Junius Vindex, who commanded in Gaul, revolted against Nero. It is said, that before this rebellion broke out, Galba had intimations of it in letters from Vindex; but he neither countenanced nor discovered it, as the governors of other provinces did, who sent the letters they had received to Nero, and by that means ruined the project, as far as was in their power. Yet those same governors, afterwards joining in the conspiracy against their prince, showed that they could betray not only Vindex, but themselves.

But after Vindex had openly commenced hostilities, he wrote to Galba desiring him "to accept the imperial dignity, and give a head to the strong Gallic body which so much wanted one; which had no less than a hundred thousand men in arms, and was able to raise a much greater number."

Galba then called a council of his friends. Some of them advised him to wait, and see what motions there might be in Rome, or inclinations for a change: but Titus Vinius, captain of one of the prætorian cohorts, said, "What room is there, Galba, for deliberation? To inquire whether we shall continue faithful to Nero, is to have revolted already. There is no medium. We must either accept the friendship of Vindex, as if Nero was our declared enemy, or accuse and fight Vindex, because he desires that the Romans should have Galba for their emperor, rather than Nero for their tyrant." Upon this, Galba, by an edict, fixed a day for enfranchising all who should present themselves. The report of this soon drew together a multitude of people who were desirous of a change, and he had no sooner mounted the tribunal, than, with one voice, they declared him emperor. He did not immediately accept the title, but accused Nero of great crimes, and lamented the fate of many Romans of great distinction, whom he had barbarously slain: after which he declared that he would serve his country with his best abilities, not as Cæsar, or emperor, but as lieutenant to the senate and people of Rome*"

That it was a just and rational scheme which Vindex adopted in

* Dio Cassius informs us, that this declaration was made nine months and thirteen days before Galba's death, and consequently on the third of April; for he was assassinated on the fifteenth of January, in the following year.

calling Galba to the empire, there needs no better proof than Nero himself: for though he pretended to look upon the commotions in Gaul as nothing, yet when he received the news of Galba's revolt, which he happened to do just after he had bathed, and was sat down to supper, in his madness he overturned the table. However, when the senate had declared Galba an enemy to his country, he affected to despise the danger, and, attempting to be merry upon it, said to his friends, "I have long wanted a pretence to raise money, and this will furnish me with an excellent one. The Gauls, when I have conquered them, will make a fine booty, and, in the mean time, I will seize the estate of Galba, since he is a declared enemy, and dispose of it as I think fit." Accordingly he gave directions that Galba's estate should be sold; which Galba no sooner heard of, than he exposed to sale all that belonged to Nero in Spain, and more readily found purchasers.

The revolt from Nero soon became general, and the governors of provinces declared for Galba: only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Virginius Rufus in Germany, stood out, and acted for themselves, but upon different motives. Clodius being conscious to himself of much rapine and many murders, to which his avarice and cruelty had prompted him, was in a fluctuating state, and could not take his resolution either to assume or reject the imperial title. And Virginius, who commanded some of the best legions in the empire, and had been often pressed by them to take the title of emperor, declared, "That he would neither take it himself, nor suffer it to be given to any other but the person whom the senate should name."

Galba was not a little alarmed at this at first. But after the forces of Virginius and Vindex had overpowered them, like charioteers no longer able to manage the reins, and forced them to fight, Vindex lost twenty thousand Gauls in the battle, and then despatched himself. A report was then current, that the victorious army, in consequence of so great an advantage, would insist that Virginius should accept the imperial dignity, and that, if he refused it, they would turn again to Nero. This put Galba in a great consternation, and he wrote letters to Virginius, exhorting him to act in concert with him, for preserving the empire and liberty of the Romans. After which he retired with his friends to Colonia, a city in Spain, and there spent some time, rather in repenting of what he had done, and wishing for the life of ease and leisure to which he had so long been accustomed, than taking any of the necessary steps for his promotion.

It was now the beginning of summer, when, one evening, a little before night, one of Galba's freedmen, a native of Sicily, arrived in seven days from Rome. Being told that Galba was retired to rest,

he ran up to his chamber, and having opened it, in spite of the resistance of the chamberlains, informed him, "That as Nero did not appear, though he was living at that time, the army first, and then the people and senate of Rome, had declared Galba emperor; and, not long after, news was brought that Nero was dead. He added, that he was not satisfied with the report, but went and saw the dead body of the tyrant, before he would set out." Galba was greatly elevated by this intelligence, and he encouraged the multitudes that soon attended at the door by communicating it to them, though the expedition with which it was brought appeared incredible. But two days after, Titus Vinius, with many others, arrived from the camp, and brought an account of all the proceedings of the senate. Vinius* was promoted to an honourable employment; while the freedman had his name changed from Icelus to Marcianus, was honoured with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and had more attention paid him than any of the other freedmen.

Meantime, at Rome, Nymphidius Sabinus got the administration into his hands, not by slow and insensible steps, but with the greatest celerity. He knew that Galba, on account of his great age, being now seventy-three, was scarce able to make his journey to Rome, though carried in a litter: besides, the forces there had long been inclined to serve him, and now they depended upon him only, considering him as their benefactor, on account of the large gratuity he had promised, and Galba as their debtor. He therefore immediately commanded his colleague Tigellinus to give up his sword. He made great entertainments, at which he received persons of consular dignity, and such as had commanded armies and provinces; yet he gave the invitation in the name of Galba. He likewise instructed many of the soldiers to suggest it to the prætorian cohorts, that they should send a message to Galba, demanding that Nymphidius should be always their captain, and without a colleague. The readiness the senate expressed to add to his honour and authority, in calling him their benefactor, in going daily to pay their respects at his gate, and desiring that he would take upon him to propose and confirm every decree, brought him to a much higher pitch of insolence; insomuch, that, in a little time, he became not only obnoxious, but formidable to the very persons that paid their court to him. When the consuls had charged the public messengers with decrees to be carried to the emperor, and had sealed the instruments with their seal, in order that

* Vinius was of a prætorian family, and had behaved with honour as governor of Gallia Narbonensis; but when he became the favourite and first minister of the emperor of Rome, he soon made his master obnoxious to the people, and ruined himself. The truth is, he was naturally of a bad disposition, and a man of no principle.

the magistrates of the towns through which they were to pass, seeing their authority, might furnish them with carriages at every different stage, for the greater expedition, he resented it, that they had not made use of his seal, and employed his men to carry the despatches. It is said that he even had it under consideration whether he should not punish the consuls; but, upon their apologizing, and begging pardon for the affront, he was appeased. To ingratiate himself with the people, he did not hinder them from despatching, by torture, such of Nero's creatures as fell into their hands. A gladiator, named Spicillus, was put under the statues of Nero, and dragged about with them in the *forum* till he died; Aponius, one of the informers, was extended on the ground, and waggons, loaded with stones, driven over him. They tore many others in pieces, and some who were entirely innocent. So that Mauriscus, who had not only the character of one of the best men in Rome, but really deserved it, said one day to the senate, "He was afraid they should soon regret the loss of Nero."

Nymphidius, thus advancing in his hopes, was not at all displeased at being called the son of Caius Cæsar, who reigned after Tiberius. It seems that prince, in his youth, had some commerce with his mother, who was daughter of Calistus, one of Cæsar's freedmen, by a sempstress, and who was not wanting in personal charms. But it is evident that the connexion Caius had with her was after the birth of Nymphidius; and it was believed that he was the son of Martianus the gladiator, whom Nymphidia fell in love with, on account of his reputation in his way; besides, his resemblance to the gladiator gave a sanction to that opinion. Be that as it may, he acknowledged himself the son of Nymphidia, and yet insisted that he was the only person who deposed Nero. Not content with the honours and emoluments he enjoyed on that account, * * *

an officer of greater name or reputation than Virginius, nor one who had more weight in the affairs of those times; for he had delivered the empire both from tyranny and from a Gallic war. He abode, however, by his first resolution, and reserved the appointment of emperor for the senate. After Nero's death was certainly known, the troops again pressed hard upon Virginius, and one of the tribunes drew his sword in the pavilion, and bade him receive either sovereign power or the steel; but the menace had no effect. At last, after Fabius Valens, who commanded one legion, had taken the oath of fidelity to Galba, and letters arrived from Rome with an account of the senate's decree, he persuaded his army, though with great difficulty, to acknowledge Galba. The new emperor having sent Flaceus Hordeonius as his successor, he received him in that quality, and delivered up his forces to him. He then went to meet Galba, who was on his journey to Rome, and attended him thither, without finding any marks either of his favour or resentment. The reason of this was, that Galba, on the one hand, considered him in too respectable a light to offer him any injury; and, on the other hand, the emperor's friends, particularly Titus Vinius, were jealous of the progress he might make in his favour: but that officer was not aware, that, while he was preventing his promotion, he was co-operating with his good genius, in withdrawing him from the wars and calamities in which other generals were engaged, and bringing him to a life of tranquillity full of days and peace.

The ambassadors which the senate sent to Galba met him at Narbon, a city of Gaul. There they made their compliments, and advised him to show himself as soon as possible to the people of Rome, who were very desirous to see him. He gave them a kind reception, and entertained them in an agreeable manner: but though Nymphidius had sent him rich vessels, and other furniture suitable to a great prince, which he had taken out of Nero's palace, he made use of none of it; every thing was served up in dishes of his own. This was a circumstance that did him honour, for it showed him a man of superior sentiments, and entirely above vanity. Titus Vinius, however, soon endeavoured to convince him, that these superior sentiments, this modesty and simplicity of manners, betrayed an ambition for popular applause, which real greatness of mind disdains; by which argument he prevailed with him to use Nero's riches, and show all the imperial magnificence at his entertainments. Thus the old man made it appear that in time he would be entirely governed by Vinius.

No man had a greater passion for money than Vinius; nor was any man more addicted to women. While he was yet very young, and making his first campaign under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought the

wife of his general, an abandoned prostitute, one night into the camp in a soldier's habit, and lay with her in that part of it which the Romans call the *Principia*. For this Caius Cæsar put him in prison; but he was released upon the death of that prince. Afterwards, happening to sup with Claudius Cæsar, he stole a silver cup. The emperor being informed of it, invited him the following evening, but ordered the attendants to serve him with nothing but earthen vessels. This moderation of the emperor seemed to show that the theft was deserving only of ridicule, and not serious resentment: but what he did afterwards, when he had Galba and his revenues at command, served partly as the cause, and partly as the pretence, for many events of the most tragical kind.

Nymphidius, upon the return of Gellianus, whom he had sent as a spy upon Galba, was informed that Cornelius Laco was appointed to the command of the guards and of the palace, and that all the power would be in the hands of Vinius. This distressed him exceedingly, as he had no opportunity to attend the emperor, or speak to him in private; for his intentions were suspected, and all were on their guard. In this perplexity, he assembled the officers of the prætorian cohorts, and told them, that "Galba was indeed an old man of mild and moderate sentiments; but that, instead of using his own judgment, he was entirely directed by Vinius and Laco, who made a bad use of their power. It is our business, therefore," continued he, "before they insensibly establish themselves, and become sole masters, as Tigellinus was, to send ambassadors to the emperor in the name of all the troops, and represent to him, that if he removes those two counsellors from his person, he will find a much more agreeable reception amongst the Romans." Nymphidius perceiving that his officers did not approve the proposal, but thought it absurd and preposterous to dictate the choice of friends to an emperor of his age, as they might have done to a boy who now first tasted power, he adopted another scheme. In hopes of intimidating Galba, he pretended sometimes, in his letters, that there were discontents, and dangers of an insurrection in Rome; sometimes, that Clodius Macer had laid an embargo in Africa on the corn-ships. One while he said, the German legions were in motion, and another while, that there was the same rebellious disposition amongst those in Syria and Judea. But as Galba did not give much attention or credit to his advices, he resolved to usurp the imperial title himself before he arrived; though Clodius Celsus the Antiochian, a sensible man, and one of his best friends, did all in his power to dissuade him; and told him plainly, he did not believe there was one family in Rome that would give him the title of Cæsar. Many others, however, made a

jest of Galba; and Mithridates of Pontus, in particular, making merry with his bald head and wrinkled face, said, "The Romans think him something extraordinary while he is at a distance, but, as soon as he arrives, they will consider it a disgrace to the times to have ever called him Cæsar."

It was resolved, therefore, that Nymphidius should be conducted to the camp at midnight, and proclaimed emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, the first tribune, assembled in the evening the troops under his command, and blamed both himself and them for changing so often in so short a time, not in pursuance of the dictates of reason, or for making a better choice, but because some demon pushed them on from one treason to another: "The crimes of Nero, indeed," said he, "may justify our first measures: but has Galba murdered his own mother, or his wife? Or has he made you ashamed of your emperor by appearing as a fiddler or an actor on a stage? Yet not even these things brought us to abandon Nero: but Nymphidius first persuaded us that he had abandoned us, and was fled into Egypt. Shall we then sacrifice Galba after Nero; and when we have destroyed the relation of Livia, as well as the son of Agrippina, set the son of Nymphidia on the imperial throne? Or rather, after having taken vengeance on a detestable tyrant in Nero, shall we not show ourselves good and faithful guards to Galba?"

Upon this speech of the tribune, all his men acceded to the proposal. They applied also to their fellow-soldiers, and prevailed upon most of them to return to their allegiance. At the same time a loud shout was heard in the camp; and Nymphidius either believing (which is the account that some give us) that the troops were calling him in order to proclaim him emperor, or else hastening to appease the insurrection, and fix such as he found wavering, went with lights to the camp; having in his hand a speech composed for him by Cingonius Varro, which he had committed to memory, in order to pronounce it to the army. But seeing the gates shut, and a number of men in arms upon the wall, his confidence abated. However, advancing nearer, he asked them, "What they intended to do, and by whose command they were under arms?" They answered, one and all, "That they acknowledged no other emperor but Galba." Then pretending to enter into their opinion, he applauded their fidelity, and ordered those that accompanied him to follow his example. The guard opening the gate, and suffering him to enter with a few of his people, a javelin was thrown at him, which Septimius, who went before, received upon his shield. But others drawing their swords, he fled, and was pursued into a soldier's hut, where they despatched him. His body was dragged to the middle of the camp,

where they enclosed it with pales, and exposed it to public view the next day.

Nymphidius being thus taken off, Galba was no sooner informed of it, than he ordered such of his accomplices as had not already despatched themselves to be put to death. Amongst these was Cingonius, who composed the oration, and Mithridates of Pontus. In this the emperor did not proceed according to the laws and customs of the Romans; nor was it indeed a popular measure to inflict capital punishment upon persons of eminence, without any form of trial, though they might deserve death. For the Romans, deceived, as it usually happens, by the first reports, now expected another kind of government. But what afflicted them most was the order he sent for the execution of Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity, merely because he had been faithful to Nero. There was some pretence for taking off Macer in Africa by means of Trebonianus, and Fonteius in Germany by Valens, because they were in arms, and had forces that he might be afraid of; but there was no reason why Turpilianus, a defenceless old man, should not have a hearing, at least under a prince who should have preserved in his actions the moderation he so much affected. Such complaints there were against Galba on this subject.

When he was about five-and-twenty furlongs from the city, he found the way stopped by a disorderly parcel of seamen, who gathered about him on all sides*. These were persons whom Nero had formed into a legion, that they might act as soldiers. They now met him on the road to have their establishment confirmed, and crowded the emperor so much, that he could neither be seen nor heard by those who came to wait on him; for they insisted, in a clamorous manner, on having legionary colours and quarters assigned them. Galba put them off to another time; but they considered that as a denial; and some of them even drew their swords, upon which he ordered the cavalry to fall upon them. They made no resistance, but fled with the utmost precipitation, and many of them were killed in the flight. It was considered as an inauspicious circumstance for Galba to enter the city amidst so much blood and slaughter; and those who despised him before as weak and inactive through age, now looked upon him as an object of fear and horror.

Besides, while he endeavoured to reform the extravagance and profusion with which money used to be given away by Nero, he missed the mark of propriety. When Canus, a celebrated performer

* Dio Cassius tells us (lib. lxiv.) that seven thousand of the disarmed multitude were cut to pieces on the spot, and others were committed to prison, where they lay till the death of Galba.

on the flute, played to him one evening at court, after expressing the highest satisfaction at the excellence of his music, he ordered his purse to be brought, and taking out a few pieces of gold*, gave them to Canus, telling him at the same time, that this was a gratuity out of his own, not the public money. As for the money which Nero had given to persons that pleased him on the stage, or in the *palæstra*, he insisted with great rigour that it should be all returned, except a tenth part. And as persons of such dissolute lives, who mind nothing but a provision for the day, could produce very little, he caused inquiry to be made for all who had bought any thing of them, or received presents, and obliged them to refund. This affair extending to great numbers of people, and seeming to have no end, it reflected disgrace on the emperor, and brought the public envy and hatred on Vinius, because he made the emperor sordid and mean to others, while he pillaged the treasury himself in the most insatiable manner, and took and sold whatever he thought proper.

In short, as Hesiod says,

> Spare not the full cask, nor, when shallow streams
> Declare the bottom near, withdraw your hand.

So Vinius, seeing Galba old and infirm, drank freely of the favours of fortune, as only beginning, and yet, at the same time, drawing to an end†.

But the aged emperor was greatly injured by Vinius, not only through his neglect or misapplication of things committed to his trust, but by his condemning or defeating the most salutary intentions of his master. This was the case with respect to punishing Nero's ministers. Some bad ones, it is true, were put to death, amongst whom were Elius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius. The people expressed their joy by loud plaudits when these were led through the *forum* to the place of execution, and called it a glorious and holy procession: but both gods and men, they said, demanded the punishment of Tigellinus, who suggested the very worst measures, and taught Nero all his tyranny. That *worthy* minister, however, had secured himself by great presents to Vinius, which were only earnests of still greater. Turpilianus, though obnoxious only because he had

* Suetonius says, Galba gave him five denarii. But at that time there were denarii of gold. That writer adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary occasion, was more splendidly served than usual, he could not forbear sighing, and expressing his dissatisfaction in a manner inconsistent with common decency.

† Thus, in the court of Galba appeared all the extortions of Nero's reign. They were equally grievous (says Tacitus), but not equally excused, in a prince of Galba's years and experience. He had himself the greatest integrity of heart; but as the rapacity and other excesses of his ministers were imputed to him, he was no less hated than if he had committed them himself.

not betrayed or hated his master, on account of his bad qualities, and though guilty of no remarkable crime, was, notwithstanding, put to death; while the man who had made Nero unfit to live, and, after he had made him such, deserted and betrayed him, lived and flourished: a proof that there was nothing which Vinius would not sell, and that no man had reason to despair who had money: for there was no sight which the people of Rome so passionately longed for, as that of Tigellinus carried to execution; and in the theatre and the *circus* they continually demanded it, till at last the emperor checked them by an edict, importing that Tigellinus was in a deep consumption, which would destroy him ere long, and that their sovereign entreated them not to turn his government into a tyranny by needless acts of severity.

The people were highly displeased; but the miscreants only laughed at them. Tigellinus offered sacrifice in acknowledgment to the gods for his recovery, and provided a great entertainment; and Vinius rose from the emperor's table to go and carouse with Tigellinus, accompanied by his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus drank to her, and said, "I will make this cup worth two hundred and fifty thousand *drachmas* to you." At the same time he ordered his chief mistress to take off her own necklace, and give it her. This was said to be worth a hundred and fifty thousand more.

From this time the most moderate of Galba's proceedings were misrepresented*. For instance, his lenity to the Gauls, who had conspired with Vindex, did not escape censure: for it was believed that they had not gained a remission of tribute and the freedom of Rome from the emperor's indulgence, but that they purchased them of Vinius. Hence the people had a general aversion to Galba's administration. As for the soldiers, though they did not receive what had been promised them, they let it pass, hoping, that if they had not that gratuity, they should certainly have as much as Nero had given them. But when they began to murmur, and their complaints were brought to Galba, he said, (what well became a great prince), "That it was his custom to choose, not to buy his soldiers." This saying, however, being reported to the troops, filled them with the most deadly and irreconcileable hatred to Galba: for it seemed to them that he not only wanted to deprive

* Though the rest of Galba's conduct was not blameless, yet, (according to Suetonius and Zonaras), he kept the soldiers to their duty; he punished with the utmost severity those who, by their false accusations, had occasioned the death of innocent persons; he delivered up to punishment such slaves as had borne witness against their masters; and he recalled those who had been banished by Nero under pretence of treason.

them of the gratuity himself, but to set a precedent for future emperors.

The disaffection to the government that prevailed in Rome was as yet kept secret in some measure, partly because some remaining reverence for the presence of the emperor prevented the flame of sedition from breaking out, and partly for want of an open occasion to attempt a change. But the troops which had served under Virginius, and were now commanded by Flaccus in Germany, thinking they deserved great things for the battle which they fought with Vindex, and finding that they obtained nothing, began to behave in a very refractory manner, and could not be appeased by their officers. Their general himself they utterly despised, as well on account of his inactivity, (for he had the gout in a violent manner), as his want of experience in military affairs. One day, at some public games, when the tribunes and centurions, according to custom, made vows for the happiness of the emperor, the common soldiers murmured; and when the officers repeated their good wishes, they answered, "If he is worthy."

The legions that were under the command of Tigellinus behaved with equal insolence; of which Galba's agents wrote him an account. He was now apprehensive that it was not only his age, but his want of children, that brought him into contempt; and therefore he formed a design to adopt some young man of noble birth, and declare him his successor. Marcus Otho was of a family by no means obscure; but, at the same time, he was more remarkable from his infancy for luxury and love of pleasure than most of the Roman youth: and, as Homer often calls Paris *the husband of the beauteous* Helen, because he had nothing else to distinguish him, so Otho was noted in Rome as the husband of Poppæa. This was the lady whom Nero fell in love with while she was wife to Crispinus; but retaining as yet some respect for his own wife, and some reverence for his mother, he privately employed Otho to solicit her: for Otho's debauchery had recommended him to Nero as a friend and companion, and he had an agreeable way of rallying him upon what he called his avarice and sordid manner of living.

We are told, that one day when Nero was perfuming himself with a very rich essence, he sprinkled a little of it upon Otho. Otho invited the emperor the day following, when suddenly gold and silver pipes opened on all sides of the apartment, and poured out essences for them in as much plenty as if it had been water. He applied to Poppæa according to Nero's desire, and first seduced her for him, with the flattering idea of having an emperor for her lover; after which he persuaded her to leave her husband: but when he took her

home as his own wife, he was not so happy in having her, as miserable in the thought of sharing her with another. And Poppæa is said not to have been displeased with this jealousy: for, it seems, she refused to admit Nero when Otho was absent; whether it was that she studied to keep Nero's appetite from cloying, or whether, (as some say), she did not choose to receive the emperor as a husband, but, in her wanton way, took more pleasure in having him approach her as a gallant. Otho's life, therefore, was in great danger on account of that marriage; and it is astonishing, that the man who could sacrifice his wife and sister for the sake of Poppæa, should afterwards spare Otho.

But Otho had a friend in Seneca, and it was he who persuaded Nero to send him out governor of Lusitania, upon the borders of the ocean. Otho made himself agreeable to the inhabitants by his lenity; for he knew that this command was given him only as a more honourable exile*. Upon Galba's revolt, he was the first governor of a province that came over to him, and he carried with him all the gold and silver vessels he had, to be melted down and coined for his use. He likewise presented him with such of his servants as knew best how to wait upon an emperor. He behaved to him, indeed, in all respects, with great fidelity; and it appeared, from the specimen he gave, that there was no department in the government for which he had not talents. He accompanied him in his whole journey, and was many days in the same carriage with him; during all which time he lost no opportunity to pay his court to Vinius, either by assiduities or presents: and as he always took care to leave him the first place, he was secure, by his means, of having the second. Besides that, there was nothing invidious in this station; he recommended himself by granting his favours and services without reward, and by his general affability and politeness. He took most pleasure in serving the officers of the army, and obtained governments for many of them, partly by applications to the emperor, and partly to Vinius and his freedmen Icelus and Asiaticus, for these had the chief influence at court.

Whenever Galba visited him, he complimented the company of guards that was upon duty with a piece of gold for each man; thus practising upon, and gaining the soldiers, while he seemed only to be doing honour to their master. When Galba was deliberating on the choice of a successor, Vinius proposed Otho. Nor was this a disinterested overture, for Otho had promised to marry Vinius's daugh-

* On this occasion the following distich was made:

Cur Otho mentito sit quæritis exul honore
Uxoris mœchus cæperat esse suæ.

ter after Galba had adopted him, and appointed him his successor. But Galba always showed that he preferred the good of the public to any private considerations; and in this case he sought not for the man who might be most agreeable to himself, but one who promised to be the greatest blessing to the Romans. Indeed, it can hardly be supposed that he would have appointed Otho heir even to his private patrimony, when he knew how expensive and profuse he was, and that he was loaded with a debt of five millions of drachmas. He therefore gave Vinius a patient hearing, without returning him any answer, and put off the affair to another time. However, as he declared himself consul, and chose Vinius for his colleague, it was supposed that he would appoint a successor at the beginning of the next year, and the soldiers wished that Otho might be the man.

But while Galba delayed the appointment, and continued deliberating, the army mutinied in Germany. All the troops throughout the empire hated Galba, because they had not received the promised donations; but those in Germany had a particular apology for their aversion: they alleged, "That Virginius Rufus, their general, had been removed with ignominy, and that the Gauls, who had fought against them, were the only people that were rewarded; whilst all who had not joined Vindex were punished; and Galba, as if he had obligations to none but him for the imperial diadem, honoured his memory with sacrifices and public libations."

Such speeches as this were common in the camp, when the kalends of January were at hand, and Flaccus assembled the soldiers that they might take the customary oath of fealty to the emperor; but, instead of that, they overturned and broke to pieces the statues of Galba, and having taken an oath of allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, they retired to their tents. Their officers were now as apprehensive of anarchy as rebellion, and the following speech is said to have been made on the occasion: "What are we doing, my fellow-soldiers? We neither appoint another emperor nor keep our allegiance to the present, as if we had renounced, not only Galba, but every other sovereign, and all manner of obedience. It is true, Hordeonius Flaccus is no more than the shadow of Galba. Let us quit him. But, at the distance of one day's march only, there is Vitellius, who commands in the Lower Germany, whose father was censor, and thrice consul, and in a manner colleague to the emperor Claudius: and though his poverty be a circumstance for which some people may despise him, it is a strong proof of his probity and greatness of mind. Let us go and declare him emperor, and show the world that we know how to choose a person for that high dignity better than the Spaniards and Lusitanians."

Some approved, and others rejected this motion. One of the standard-bearers, however, marched off privately, and carried the news to Vitellius that night. He found him at table, for he was giving a great entertainment to his officers. The news soon spread through the army and Fabius Valens, who commanded one of the legions, went next day at the head of a considerable party of horse, and saluted Vitellius emperor. For some days before, he seemed to dread the weight of sovereign power, and totally to decline it; but now, being fortified with the indulgences of the table, to which he had sat down at mid-day, he went out, and accepted the title of Germanicus, which the army conferred upon him, though he refused that of Cæsar. Soon after, Flaccus's troops forgot the republican oaths they had taken to the senate and people, and swore allegiance to Vitellius. Thus Vitellius was proclaimed emperor in Germany.

As soon as Galba was informed of the insurrection there, he resolved, without further delay, to proceed to the adoption. He knew some of his friends were for Dolabella, and a still greater number for Otho; but without being guided by the judgment of either party, or making the least mention of his design, he sent suddenly for Piso, the son of Crassus and Scribonia, who were put to death by Nero; a young man formed by nature for every virtue, and distinguished for his modesty and sobriety of manners. In pursuance of his intentions, he went down with him to the camp to give him the title of Cæsar, and declare him his successor: but he was no sooner out of his palace, than very inauspicious presages appeared. And in the camp, when he delivered a speech to the army, reading some parts, and pronouncing others from memory, the many claps of thunder and flashes of lightning, the violent rain that fell, and the darkness that covered both the camp and the city, plainly announced that the gods did not admit of the adoption, and that the issue would be unfortunate. The countenances of the soldiers, too, were black and lowering, because there was no donation even on that occasion*.

As to Piso, all that were present could not but wonder that, so far as they could conjecture from his voice and look, he was not disconcerted with so great an honour, though he did not receive it without sensibility†: on the contrary, in Otho's countenance there appeared strong marks of resentment, and of the impatience with which he bore the disappointment of his hopes: for his failing of

* Tacitus tells us, that a little exertion of liberality would have gained the army; and that Galba suffered by an unseasonable attention to the purity of ancient times.

† See an excellent speech which Tacitus ascribes to Galba on this occasion.

that honour which he had been thought worthy to aspire to, and which he lately believed himself very near attaining, seemed a proof of Galba's hatred and ill intentions to him. He was not, therefore, without apprehensions of what might befal him afterwards; and dreading Galba, execrating Piso, and full of indignation against Vinius, he retired with this confusion of passions in his heart. But the Chaldeans, and other diviners, whom he had always about him, would not suffer him entirely to give up his hopes, or abandon his design. In particular, he relied on Ptolemy, because he had formerly predicted that he should not fall by the hand of Nero, but survive him, and live to ascend the imperial throne: for as the former part of the prophecy proved true, he thought he had no reason to despair of the latter. None, however, exasperated him more against Galba, than those who condoled with him in private, and pretended that he had been treated with great ingratitude. Besides, there was a number of people that had flourished under Tigellinus and Nymphidius, and now lived in poverty and disgrace, who, to recommend themselves to Otho, expressed great indignation at the slight he had suffered, and urged him to revenge it. Amongst these were Veturius, who was *optio*, or centurion's deputy; and Barbius, who was *tesserarius*, or one of those who carry the word from the tribunes to the centurions*. Onomastus, one of Otho's freedmen, joined them, and went from troop to troop, corrupting some with money, and others with promises. Indeed they were corrupt enough already, and wanted only an opportunity to put their designs in execution. If they had not been extremely disaffected, they could not have been prepared for a revolt in so short a space of time as that of four days, which was all that passed between the adoption and the assassination; for Piso and Galba were both slain the sixth day after, which was the fifteenth of January. Early in the morning Galba sacrificed in the palace, in presence of his friends. Umbricius, the diviner, no sooner took the entrails in his hands, than he declared, not in enigmatical expressions, but plainly, that there were signs of great troubles, and of treason that threatened immediate danger to the emperor. Thus Otho was almost delivered up to Galba by the hand of the gods; for he stood behind the emperor, listening with great attention to the observations made by Umbricius. These put him in great confusion, and his fears were discovered by his change of colour, when his freedman Onomastus came and told him that the architects were come, and waited for him at his house. This

* The way of setting the nightly guard was by a *tessera*, or tally, with a particular inscription, given from one centurion to another quite through the army, till it came again to the tribune who first delivered it.

was the signal for Otho's meeting the soldiers. He pretended, therefore, that he had bought an old house, which these architects were to examine, and going down by what is called Tiberius's palace, went to that part of the *forum* where stands the gilded pillar which terminates all the great roads in Italy*.

The soldiers who received him, and saluted him emperor, are said not to have been more than twenty-three: so that, though he had nothing of that dastardly spirit which the delicacy of his constitution, and the effeminacy of his life, seemed to declare, but, on the contrary, was firm and resolute in time of danger, yet, on this occasion, he was intimidated, and wanted to retire. But the soldiers would not suffer it: they surrounded the chair† with drawn swords, and insisted on its proceeding to the camp. Meantime Otho desired the bearers to make haste, often declaring that he was a lost man. There were some who overheard him, and they rather wondered at the hardiness of the attempt with so small a party, than disturbed themselves about the consequences. As he was carried through the *forum*, about the same number as the first joined him, and others afterwards by three or four at a time. The whole party then saluted him Cæsar, and conducted him to the camp, flourishing their swords before him. Martialis, the tribune who kept guard that day, knowing nothing, (as they tell us), of the conspiracy, was surprised and terrified at so unexpected a sight, and suffered them to enter. When Otho was within the camp, he met with no resistance, for the conspirators gathered about such as were strangers to the design, and made it their business to explain it to them; upon which they joined them by one or two at a time, at first out of fear, and afterwards out of choice.

The news was immediately carried to Galba, while the diviner yet attended, and had the entrails in his hands; so that they who had been most incredulous in matters of divination, and even held it in contempt before, were astonished at the divine interposition in the accomplishment of this presage. People of all sorts now crowding from the *forum* to the palace, Vinius and Laco, with some of the emperor's freedmen, stood before him with drawn swords to defend him. Piso went out to speak to the life-guards, and Marius Celsus, a man of great courage and honour, was sent to secure the Illyrian legion, which lay in Vipsanius's portico.

Galba was inclined to go out to the people. Vinius endeavoured to dissuade him from it; but Celsus and Laco encouraged him to

* This pillar was set up by Augustus when he took the highways under his inspection, and had the distances of places from Rome marked upon it.

† Suetonius says, he got into a woman's sedan in order to be the better concealed.

go, and expressed themselves with some sharpness against Vinius. Meantime a strong report prevailed, that Otho was slain in the camp; soon after which, Julius Atticus, a soldier of some note among the guards, came up, and crying he was the man that had killed Cæsar's enemy, made his way through the crowd, and showed his bloody sword to Galba The emperor, fixing his eye upon him, said, "Who gave you orders?" He answered, "My allegiance, and the oath I had taken;" and the people expressed their approbation in loud plaudits. Galba then went out in a sedan chair, with a design to sacrifice to Jupiter, and show himself to the people: but he had no sooner entered the *forum*, than the rumour changed like the wind, and news met him that Otho was master of the camp. On this occasion, as it was natural amongst a multitude of people, some called to him to advance, and some to retire; some to take courage, and some to be cautious. His chair was tossed backward and forward, as in a tempest, and ready to be overset, when there appeared first a party of horse, and then another of foot, issuing from the *Basilica* of Paulus, and crying out, "Away with this private man!" Numbers were then running about, not to separate by flight, but to possess themselves of the porticoes and eminences about the *forum*, as it were to enjoy some public spectacle. Atilius Virgilio beat down one of Galba's statues, which served as a signal for hostilities, and they attacked the chair on all sides with javelins. As those did not despatch him, they advanced sword in hand. In this time of trial, none stood up in defence but one man, who, indeed, amongst so many millions, was the only one that did honour to the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus*, a centurion, who, without any particular obligations to Galba, and only from a regard to honour and the law, stood forth to defend the chair. First of all he lifted up the vine-branch, with which the centurions chastise such as deserve stripes, and then called out to the soldiers who were pressing on, and commanded them to spare the emperor. They fell upon him notwithstanding, and he drew his sword and fought a long time, till he received a stroke in the ham, which brought him to the ground.

The chair was overturned at what is called the Curtian Lake, and Galba tumbling out of it, they ran to despatch him. At the same time he presented his throat, and said, "Strike, if it be for the good of Rome." He received many strokes upon his arms and legs, for he had a coat of mail upon his body. According to most ac-

* In the Greek text it is *Indistrus;* but that text, (as we observed before), in the life of Galba, is extremely corrupt. We have therefore given *Densus* from Tacitus; as *Vergilio*, instead of *Sercello*, above.

counts, it was Camurius, a soldier of the fifteenth legion, that despatched him; though some say it was Terentius, some Arcadius*, and others Fabius Fabulus. They add, that when Fabius had cut off his head, he wrapt it up in the skirt of his garment, because it was so bald that he could take no hold of it. His associates, however, would not suffer him to conceal it, but insisted that he should let the world see what an exploit he had performed; he therefore fixed it upon his spear, and swinging about the head of a venerable old man and a mild prince, who was both *Pontifex Maximus* and consul, he ran on, (like the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus), brandishing his spear, that was dyed with the blood that trickled from it.

When the head was presented to Otho, he cried out, "This is nothing, my fellow-soldiers; show me the head of Piso." It was brought not long after; for that young prince being wounded, and pursued by one Murcus, was killed by him at the gates of the temple of Vesta. Vinius also was put to the sword, though he declared himself an accomplice in the conspiracy, and protested that it was against Otho's orders that he suffered. However, they cut off his head, and that of Laco, and carrying them to Otho, demanded their reward: for, as Archilocus says,

> We bring seven warriors only to your tent,
> Yet thousands of us kill'd them.

So in this case, many who had no share in the action, bathed their hands and swords in the blood, and, showing them to Otho, petitioned for their reward. It appeared afterwards from the petitions given in, that the number of them was a hundred and twenty; and Vitellius having searched them out, put them all to death. Marius Celsus also coming to the camp, many accused him of having exhorted the soldiers to stand by Galba, and the bulk of the army insisted that he should suffer: but Otho being desirous so save him, and yet afraid of contradicting them, told them, "He did not choose to have him executed so soon, because he had several important questions to put to him." He ordered him, therefore, to be kept in chains, and delivered him to persons in whom he could best confide.

The senate was immediately assembled; and, as if they were become different men, or had other gods to swear by, they took the oath to Otho, which he had before taken to Galba, but had not kept; and they gave him the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, while the bodies of those that had been beheaded lay in their consular robes in the *forum*. As for the heads, the soldiers, after they had

* In Tacitus, *Lecanius*. That historian makes no mention of Fabius.

no further use for them, sold that of Vinius to his daughter for two thousand five hundred *drachmas*. Piso's was given to his wife Verania, at her request*; and Galba's, to the servants of Patrobius and Vitellius†: who, after they had treated it with the utmost insolence and outrage, threw it into a place called *Sestertium*‡, where the bodies of those are cast that are put to death by the emperors. Galba's corpse was carried away by Helvidius Priscus, with Otho's permission, and buried in the night by his freedman Argius.

Such is the history of Galba; a man who, in the points of family and fortune, distinctly considered, was exceeded by few of the Romans, and who, in the union of both, was superior to all. He had lived, too, in great honour, and with the best reputation, under five emperors; and it was rather by his character than by force of arms that he deposed Nero. As to the rest who conspired against the tyrant, some of them were thought unworthy of the imperial diadem by the people, and others thought themselves unworthy: but Galba was invited to accept it, and only followed the sense of those who called him to that high dignity. Nay, when he gave the sanction of his name to Vindex, that which before was called rebellion, was considered only as a civil war, because a man of princely talents was then at the head of it. So that he did not so much want the empire, as the empire wanted him: and with these principles he attempted to govern a people corrupted by Tigellinus and Nymphidius, as Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus, governed the Romans of their times. Notwithstanding his great age, he showed himself a chief worthy of ancient Rome through all the military department: but, in the civil administration, he delivered himself up to Vinius, to Laco, and to his enfranchised slaves, who sold every thing in the same manner as Nero had left all to his insatiable vermin. The consequence of this was, that no man regretted him as an emperor, though almost all were moved with pity at his miserable fate.

* Tacitus, (lib. i.), says she purchased it.

† Galba had put Patrobius to death; but we know not why the servants of Vitellius should desire to treat Galba's remains with any indignity.

‡ Lipsius says, it was so called, *quasi semitertium*, as being two miles and a half from the city.

OTHO.

THE new emperor went early in the morning to the capitol, and sacrificed; after which he ordered Marius Celsus to be brought before him. He received that officer with great marks of his regard, and desired him rather to forget the cause of his confinement, than to remember his release. Celsus neither showed any meanness in his acknowledgments, nor any want of gratitude. He said, "The very charge brought against him bore witness to his character; since he was accused only of having been faithful to Galba, from whom he had never received any personal obligations." All who were present at the audience admired both the emperor and Celsus, and the soldiers in particular testified their approbation*. Otho made a mild and gracious speech to the senate. The remaining time of his consulship he divided with Virginius Rufus, and he left those who had been appointed to that dignity by Nero and Galba to enjoy it in their course. Such as were respectable for their age and character, he promoted to the priesthood; and to those senators who had been banished by Nero, and recalled by Galba, he restored all their goods and estates that he found unsold: so that the first and best of the citizens, who had before not considered him as a man, but dreaded him as a fury or destroying demon that had suddenly seized the seat of government, now entertained more pleasing hopes from so promising a beginning.

But nothing gave the people in general so high a pleasure†, or contributed so much to gain him their affections, as his punishing Tigellinus. It is true, he had long suffered under the fear of punishment, which the Romans demanded as a public debt, and under a complication of incurable distempers. These, together with his infamous connexions with the worst of prostitutes, into which his passions drew him, though almost in the arms of death, were considered by the thinking part of mankind as the greatest of punishments, and worse than many deaths. Yet it was a pain to the common people, that he should see the light of the sun, after so many excellent men

* Otho exempted the soldiers from the fees which they had paid the centurions for furloughs and other immunities; but at the same time promised to satisfy the centurions on all reasonable occasions, out of his own revenue. In consequence of these furloughs, the fourth part of a legion was often absent, and the troops became daily more and more corrupted.

† In the close of the day on which he was inaugurated, he put Laco and Icelus to death.

had been deprived of it through his means. He was then at his country-house near Sinuessa, and had vessels at anchor, ready to carry him on occasion to some distant country. Otho sent to him there; and he first attempted to bribe the messenger with large sums to suffer him to escape. When he found that did not take effect, he gave him the money notwithstanding; and desiring only to be indulged a few moments till he had shaved himself, he took the razor and cut his own throat.

Besides this just satisfaction that Otho gave the people, it was a most agreeable circumstance that he remembered none of his private quarrels. To gratify the populace, he suffered them also at first to give him in the theatres the name of Nero, and he made no opposition to those who erected publicly the statues of that emperor. Nay, Claudius* Rufus tells us, that in the letters with which the couriers were sent to Spain, he joined the name of Nero to that of Otho: but, perceiving that the nobility were offended, he made use of it no more.

After his government was thus established, the prætorian cohorts gave him no small trouble, by exhorting him to beware of many persons of rank, and to forbid them the court: whether it was that their affection made them really apprehensive for him, or whether it was only a colour for raising commotions and wars. One day the emperor himself had sent Crispinus orders to bring the seventeenth cohort from Ostia, and, in order to do it without interruption, that officer began to prepare for it as soon as it grew dark, and to pack up the arms in waggons: upon which some of the most turbulent cried out, that Crispinus was come with no good intention, that the senate had some design against the government, and that the arms he was going to carry were to be made use of against Cæsar, not for him. This notion soon spread, and exasperated numbers; some laid hold on the waggons, while others killed two centurions who endeavoured to quell the mutiny, and Crispinus himself. Then the whole party armed, and exhorting each other to go to the emperor's assistance, they marched strait to Rome. Being informed there that eighty senators supped with him that evening, they hastened to the palace, saying, Then was the time to crush all Cæsar's enemies at once. The city was greatly alarmed, expecting to be plundered immediately. The palace, too, was in the utmost confusion, and Otho himself in unspeakable distress; for he was under fear and concern for the senators, while they were afraid of him, and he saw they kept their eyes fixed upon him in silence and extreme consternation; some having

* This writer, who was a man of consular dignity, and succeeded Galba in the government of Spain, was not called *Claudius*, but *Cluvius* Rufus.

even brought their wives with them to supper. He therefore ordered the principal officers of the guards to go and speak to the soldiers, and endeavour to appease them, and at the same time sent out his guests at another door. They had scarce made their escape, when the soldiers rushed into the room, and asked what was become of the enemies of Cæsar. The emperor then, rising from his couch, used many arguments to satisfy them, and, by entreaties and tears, at last prevailed upon them with much difficulty to desist.

Next day, having presented the soldiers with twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a-man, he entered the camp. On this occasion he commended the troops as in general well affected to his government; but, at the same time, he told them there were some designing men amongst them, who by their cabals brought his moderation and their fidelity both in question: these, he said, deserved their resentment, and he hoped they would assist him in punishing them. They applauded his speech, and desired him to chastise whatever persons he thought proper; but he pitched upon two only for capital punishment, whom no man could possibly regret, and then returned to his palace.

Those who had conceived an affection for Otho, and placed a confidence in him, admired this change in his conduct; but others thought it was no more than a piece of policy which the times necessarily required, and that he assumed a popular behaviour on account of the impending war: for now he had undoubted intelligence that Vitellius had taken the title of emperor, and all the ensigns of supreme power, and couriers daily arrived with news of continual additions to his party. Other messengers also arrived with accounts that the forces in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their generals, had declared for Otho. And a few days after, he received obliging letters from Mucianus and Vespasian, who both commanded numerous armies, the one in Syria, and the other in Judea.

Elated with this intelligence, he wrote to Vitellius, advising him not to aspire to things above his rank, and promised, in case he desisted, to supply him liberally with money, and give him a city in which he might spend his days in pleasure and repose. Vitellius at first gave him an answer, in which ridicule was tempered with civility: but afterwards, being both thoroughly exasperated, they wrote to each other in a style of the bitterest invective: not that their mutual reproaches were groundless, but it was absurd for the one to insult the other with what might with equal justice be objected to both: for their charges consisted of prodigality, effeminacy, incapacity for war, their former poverty, and immense debts; such articles, that it is hard to say which of them had the advantage.

As to the stories of prodigies and apparitions at that time, many of them were founded upon vague reports that could not be traced to their author: but in the capitol there was a Victory mounted upon a chariot, and numbers of people saw her let the reins fall out of her hands, as if she had lost the power to hold them: and in the island of the Tiber, the statue of Julius Cæsar turned from west to east, without either earthquake or whirlwind to move it; a circumstance which is said likewise to have happened when Vespasian openly took upon him the direction of affairs. The inundation of the Tiber, too, was considered by the populace as a bad omen. It was at a time, indeed, when rivers usually overflow their banks; but the flood never rose so high before, nor was so ruinous in its effects; for now it laid great part of the city under water, particularly the corn-market, and caused a famine which continued for some days.

About this time news was brought, that Cecina and Valens, who acted for Vitellius, had seized the passes of the Alps: and in Rome Dolabella, who was of an illustrious family, was suspected by the guards of some disloyal design. Otho, either fearing him, or some other whom he could influence, sent him to Aquinum, with assurances of friendly treatment. When the emperor came to select the officers that were to attend him on his march, he appointed Lucius the brother of Vitellius, to be of the number, without either promoting or lowering him in point of rank. He took also particular care of the mother and wife of Vitellius, and endeavoured to put them in a situation where they had nothing to fear. The government of Rome he gave to Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian; either with an intention to do honour to Nero, (for he had formerly given him that appointment, and Galba had deprived him of it), or else to show his affection to Vespasian, by promoting his brother.

Otho himself stopped at Brixillum, a town in Italy, near the Po, and ordered the army to march on under the conduct of his lieutenants, Marius Celsus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gaulus, and Spurina, officers of great reputation: but they could not pursue the plan of operations they had formed, by reason of the obstinacy and disorderly behaviour of the soldiers, who declared that *they* had made the emperor, and they would be commanded by him only. The enemy's troops were not under much better discipline; they, too, were refractory and disobedient to their officers, and on the same account; yet they had seen service, and were accustomed to fatigue; whereas Otho's men had been used to idleness, and their manner of living was quite different from that in the field: indeed, they had spent most of their time at public spectacles and the entertainments of the theatre, and were come to that degree of insolence, that they did not

pretend to be unable to perform the services they were ordered upon, but affected to be above them. Spurina, who attempted to use compulsion, was in danger of being killed by them. They spared no manner of abuse, calling him traitor, and telling him that it was he who ruined the affairs of Cæsar, and purposely missed the fairest opportunities. Some of them came in the night, intoxicated with liquor, to the tent, and demanded their discharge, "For they had to go," they said, "to Cæsar, to accuse him."

The cause, however, and Spurina with it, received some benefit from the insult which these troops met with at Placentia. Those of Vitellius came up to the walls, and ridiculed Otho's men, who were appointed to defend them; calling them players and dancers, fit only to attend the Pythian and Olympic games, fellows who knew nothing of war, who had not even made one campaign, who were swoln up with pride, merely because they had cut off the head of a poor unarmed old man, (meaning Galba); wretches that durst not look men in the face, or stand any thing like a fair and open battle. They were so cut with these reproaches, and so desirous of revenge, that they threw themselves at Spurina's feet, and begged of him to command and employ them on whatever service he thought proper, assuring him that there was neither danger nor labour which they would decline. After this the enemy made a vigorous attempt upon the town, and plied their battering engines with all their force; but Spurina's men repulsed them with great slaughter, and by that means kept possession of one of the most respectable and most flourishing towns in Italy.

It must be observed of Otho's officers in general, that they were more obliging in their behaviour, both to cities and private persons, than those of Vitellius. Cecina, one of the latter, had nothing popular, either in his address or his figure. He was of a gigantic size, and most uncouth appearance, for he wore breeches and long sleeves, in the manner of the Gauls, even when his standard was Roman, and whilst he gave his instructions to Roman officers. His wife followed him on horseback in a rich dress, and was attended by a select party of cavalry. Fabius Valens, the other general, had a passion for money, which was not to be satisfied by any plunder from the enemy, or exactions and contributions from the allies; insomuch that he was believed to proceed more slowly, for the sake of collecting gold as he went, and therefore was not up at the first action. Some, indeed, accuse Cecina of hastening to give battle before the arrival of Valens, in order that the victory might be all his own; and, besides other less faults, they charged him not only with attacking at an unseasonable time, but with not maintaining the combat so gallantly

as he ought to have done; all which errors nearly ruined the affairs of his party.

Cecina, after his repulse at Placentia, marched against Cremona, another rich and great city. In the mean time, Annius Gallus, who was going to join Spurina at Placentia, had intelligence by the way that he was victorious, and that the siege was raised. But being informed at the same time that Cremona was in danger, he led his forces thither, and encamped very near the enemy. Afterwards other officers brought in reinforcements. Cecina posted a strong body of infantry under cover of some trees and thickets; after which he ordered his cavalry to advance, and, if the enemy attacked them, to give way by degrees, and retire, until they had drawn them into the ambuscade. But Celsus, being informed of his intention by some deserters, advanced with his best cavalry against Cecina's troops; and, upon their retreating, he pursued with so much caution, that he surrounded the corps that lay in ambush. Having thus put them in confusion, he called the legions from the camp; and it appears, that if they had come up in time to support the horse, Cecina's whole army would have been cut in pieces: but, as Paulinus advanced very slowly*, he was censured for having used more precaution than became a general of his character. Nay, the soldiers accused him of treachery, and endeavoured to incense Otho against him, insisting that the victory was in their hands, and that, if it was not complete, it was owing entirely to the mismanagement of their generals. Otho did not so much believe these representations, as he was willing to appear not to disbelieve them. He therefore sent his brother Titianus to the army, with Proculus, the captain of his guard: Titianus had the command in appearance, and Proculus in reality. Celsus and Paulinus had the title of friends and counsellors, but not the least authority in the direction of affairs.

The enemy, too, were not without their dissatisfactions and disorder, particularly amongst the forces of Valens: for when they were informed of what happened at the ambuscade, they expressed their indignation that their general did not put it in their power to be there, that they might have used their endeavours to save so many brave men who perished in that action. They were even inclined to despatch him; but having pacified them with much difficulty, he decamped, and joined Cecina.

* Tacitus tells us, that Paulinus was naturally slow and irresolute. On this occasion he charges him with two errors: the first was, that, instead of advancing immediately to the charge, and supporting his cavalry, he trifled away the time in filling up the trenches; the second, that he did not avail himself of the disorder of the enemy, but sounded much too early a retreat.

In the mean time Otho came to the camp at Bedriacum, a small town near Cremona, and there held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of opinion, "That he ought to give battle while the army retained those high spirits with which the late victory had inspired them, and not suffer that ardour to cool, nor wait till Vitellius came in person from Gaul." But Paulinus was against it. "The enemy," said he, "have received all their troops, and have no further preparations to make for the combat; whereas Otho will have from Mysia and Pannonia forces as numerous as those he has already, if he will wait his own opportunity, instead of giving one to the enemy. And certainly the army he now has, if, with their small numbers, they have so much ardour, will not fight with less but greater spirit, when they see their numbers so much increased: besides, the gaining of time makes for us, because we have every thing in abundance, but delays must greatly distress Cecina and his colleague for necessaries, because they lie in an enemy's country."

Marius Celsus supported the opinion of Paulinus; Annius Gallus could not attend, because he had received some hurt by a fall from his horse, and was under cure. Otho therefore wrote to him, and Gallus advised him not to precipitate matters, but to wait for the army from Mysia, which was already on the way. Otho, however, would not be guided by these counsels, and the opinion of those prevailed who were for hazarding a battle immediately. Different reasons are, indeed, alleged for this resolution. The most probable is, that the prætorian cohorts, which composed the emperor's guards, now coming to taste what real war was, longed to be once more at a distance from it, to return to the ease, the company, and public diversions of Rome; and therefore they could not be restrained in their eagerness for a battle, for they imagined that they could overpower the enemy at the first charge: besides, Otho seems to have been no longer able to support himself in a state of suspense; such an aversion to the thoughts of danger had his dissipation and effeminacy given him! Overburdened then by his cares, he hastened to free himself from their weight; he covered his eyes, and leaped down the precipice; he committed all at once to fortune. Such is the account given of the matter by the orator Secundus, who was Otho's secretary.

Others say, that the two parties were much inclined to lay down their arms, and unite in choosing an emperor out of the best generals they had; or, if they could not agree upon it, to leave the election to the senate. Nor is it improbable, as the two who were called emperors were neither of them men of reputation, that the experienced and prudent part of the soldiers should form such a design: for they

could not but reflect how unhappy and dreadful a thing it would be to plunge themselves into the same calamities which the Romans could not bring upon each other, without aching hearts, in the quarrels of Sylla and Marius, of Cæsar and Pompey: and for what? but to provide an empire to minister to the insatiable appetite and the drunkenness of Vitellius, or to the luxury and debaucheries of Otho. These considerations are supposed to have induced Celsus to endeavour to gain time, in hopes that matters might be compromised without the sword; while Otho, out of fear of such an agreement, hastened the battle.

In the mean time he returned to Brixillum*, which certainly was an additional error; for by that step he deprived the combatants of the reverence and emulation which his presence might have inspired, and took a considerable limb from the body of the army, I mean some of the best and most active men, both horse and foot, for his body-guard. There happened about that time a rencountre upon the Po, while Cecina's troops endeavoured to lay a bridge over that river, and Otho's to prevent it. The latter, finding their efforts ineffectual, put a quantity of torches, well covered with brimstone and pitch, into some boats; which were carried by the wind and current upon the enemy's works. First smoke, and afterwards a bright flame, arose; upon which Cecina's men were so terrified, that they leaped into the river, overset their boats, and were entirely exposed to their enemies, who laughed at their awkward distress.

The German troops, however, beat Otho's gladiators in a little island of the Po, and killed a considerable number of them. Otho's army that was in Bedriacum, resenting this affront, insisted on being led out to battle. Accordingly Proculus marched, and pitched his camp at the distance of fifty furlongs from Bedriacum. But he chose his ground in a very unskilful manner: for though it was in the spring season, and the country afforded many springs and rivulets, his army was distressed for water. Next day, Proculus was for marching against the enemy, who lay not less than a hundred furlongs off; but Paulinus would not agree to it: he said, they ought to keep the post they had taken, rather than fatigue themselves first, and then immediately engage an enemy who could arm and put themselves in order of battle at their leisure, while they were making such a march with all the encumbrance of baggage and servants. The generals disputed the point, till a Numidian horseman came

* It was debated in council, whether the emperor should be present in the action or not. Marius Celsus and Paulinus durst not vote for it, lest they should seem inclined to expose his person. He therefore retired to Brixillum, which was a circumstance that contributed not a little to his ruin.

with letters from Otho, ordering them to make no longer delay, but proceed to the attack without losing a moment's time. They then decamped of course, and went to seek the enemy. The news of their approach threw Cecina into great confusion; and immediately quitting his works and post upon the river, he repaired to the camp, where he found most of the soldiers armed, and the word already given by Valens.

During the time that the infantry were forming, the best of the cavalry were directed to skirmish. At that moment a report was spread, from what cause we cannot tell, amongst Otho's van, that Vitellius's officers were coming over to their party. As soon, therefore, as they approached, they saluted them in a friendly manner, calling them fellow-soldiers: but, instead of receiving the appellation, they answered with a furious and hostile shout. The consequence was, that the persons who made the compliment were dispirited, and the rest suspected them of treason. This was the first thing that disconcerted Otho's troops, for by this time the enemy had charged: besides, they could preserve no order; the intermixture of the baggage, and the nature of the ground, preventing any regular movement: for the ground was so full of ditches and other inequalities, that they were forced to break their ranks and wheel about to avoid them, and could only fight in small parties. There were but two legions, one of Vitellius's called *the devourer*, and one of Otho's called *the succourer*, which could disentangle themselves from the defiles and gain the open plain. These engaged in a regular battle, and fought a long time. Otho's men were vigorous and brave, but they had not seen so much as one action before this; on the other hand, those of Vitellius had much experience in the field, but they were old, and their strength decaying.

Otho's legion coming on with great fury, mowed down the first ranks and took the eagle. The enemy, filled with shame and resentment, advanced to chastise them, slew Orphidius, who commanded the legion, and took several standards. Against the gladiators, who had the reputation of being brave fellows, and excellent at close fighting, Alphenus Varus brought up the Batavians, who came from an island formed by the Rhine, and are the best cavalry in Germany. A few of the gladiators made head against them, but the greatest part fled to the river, and falling in with some of the enemy's infantry that was posted there, were all cut in pieces. But none behaved so ill that day as the prætorian bands: they did not even wait to receive the enemy's charge, and in their flight they broke through the troops that as yet stood their ground, and put them in disorder. Nevertheless, many of Otho's men were irre-

sistible in the quarter where they fought, and opened a way through the victorious enemy to their camp. But Proculus and Paulinus took another way; for they dreaded the soldiers, who already blamed their generals for the loss of the day.

Annius Gallus received into the city all the scattered parties, and endeavoured to encourage them by assurances that the advantage upon the whole was equal, and that their troops had the superiority in many parts of the field. But Marius Celsus assembled the principal officers, and desired them to consider of measures that might save their country.—"After such an expense of Roman blood," said he, "Otho himself, if he has a patriotic principle, would not tempt fortune any more; since Cato and Scipio, in refusing to submit to Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalia, are accused of having unnecessarily sacrificed the lives of so many brave men in Africa, notwithstanding that they fought for the liberties of their country. Fortune, indeed, is capricious, and all men are liable to suffer by her inconstancy; yet good men have one advantage which she cannot deprive them of, and that is, to avail themselves of their reason in whatever may befal them." These arguments prevailed with the officers, and on sounding the private men, they found them desirous of peace. Titianus himself was of opinion that they ought to send ambassadors to treat for a coalition: in pursuance of which, Celsus and Gallus were charged with a commission to Cecina and Valens. As they were upon the road, they met some centurions, who informed them that Vitellius's army was advancing to Bedriacum, and that they were sent before by their generals with proposals for an accommodation. Celsus and Gallus commended their design, and desired them to go back with them to meet Cecina.

When they approached that general's army, Celsus was in great danger: for the cavalry that were beaten in the affair of the ambuscade happened to be in the van; and they no sooner saw Celsus, than they advanced with loud shouts against him. The centurions, however, put themselves before him, and the other officers called out to them to do him no violence. Cecina himself, when he was informed of the tumult, rode up and quelled it; and after he had made his compliments to Celsus in a very obliging manner, accompanied him to Bedriacum.

In the mean time, Titianus, repenting that he had sent the ambassadors, placed the most resolute of the soldiers again upon the walls, and exhorted the rest to be assisting. But when Cecina rode up and offered his hand, not a man of them could resist him. Some saluted his men from the walls, and others opened the gates; after which they went out and mixed with the troops that were coming up.

Instead of acts of hostility, there was nothing but mutual caresses and other demonstrations of friendship; in consequence of which, they all took the oath to Vitellius, and ranged themselves under his banner.

This is the account which most of those that were in the battle give of it; but at the same time they confess that they did not know all the particulars, because of the confused manner in which they fought, and the inequality of the ground. Long after, when I was passing over the field of battle, Mestrius Florus, a person of consular dignity, showed me an old man, who, in his youth, had served under Otho with others of the same age with himself, not from inclination, but by constraint*. He told me also, that on visiting the field after the battle, he saw a large pile of dead bodies as high as the head of a man; and upon inquiring into the reason, he could neither discover it himself, nor get any information about it. It was no wonder that there was a great carnage in case of a general rout, because, in a civil war, they make no prisoners; for such captives would be of no advantage to the conquerors; but it is difficult to assign a reason why the carcases should be piled up in that manner.

An uncertain rumour, (as it commonly happens), was first brought to Otho, and afterwards some of the wounded came and assured him that the battle was lost. On this occasion it was nothing extraordinary that his friends strove to encourage him and keep him

* From this passage Dacier would infer, that the life of Otho was not written by Plutarch. He says, a person who served a young man under Otho could not be old at the time when Plutarch can be supposed to have visited that field of battle. His argument is this: that battle was fought in the year of Christ sixty-nine: Plutarch returned from Italy to Cheronæa about the end of Domitian's reign, in the year of Christ ninety-three or ninety-four, and never left his native city any more. As this retreat of Plutarch's was only twenty-four or twenty-five years after the battle of Bedriacum, he concludes that a person who fought in that battle a young man could not possibly be old when Plutarch made the tour of Italy; and therefore conjectures that this, as well as the life of Galba, must have been written by a son of Plutarch.

But we think no argument, in a matter of such importance, ought to be adduced from a passage manifestly corrupt: for, instead of ουτα παλαιον, we must either read ἐνα ουτα παλαιον, or νον δε παλαιον ἐνα, to make either Greek or sense of it.

Lamprias, in the Catalogue, ascribes these two lives to his father. Nor do we see such a dissimilarity to Plutarch's other writings, either in the style or manner, as warrants us to conclude that they are not of his hand.

Henry Stevens did not, indeed, take them into his edition, because he found them amongst the *opuscula*; and as some of the *opuscula* were supposed to be spurious, he believed too hastily that these were of the number.

We think the loss of Plutarch's other lives of the Emperors a real loss to the world, and should have been glad if they had come down to us, even in the same imperfect condition, as to the text, as those of Galba and Otho.

from desponding; but the attachment of the soldiers to him exceeds all belief. None of them left him, or went over to the enemy, or consulted his own safety, even when their chief despaired of his; on the contrary, they crowded his gates; they called him emperor; they left no form of application untried; they kissed his hands; they fell at his feet, and, with groans and tears, entreated him not to forsake them, nor give them up to their enemies, but to employ their hearts and hands to the last moment of their lives. They all joined in this request: and one of the private men, drawing his sword, thus addressed himself to Otho: "Know, Cæsar, what your soldiers are ready to do for you;" and immediately plunged the steel into his heart.

Otho was not moved at this affecting scene, but, with a cheerful and steady countenance, looking round upon the company, he spoke as follows: "This day, my fellow-soldiers, I consider as a more happy one than that on which you made me emperor, when I see you thus disposed, and am so great in your opinion. But deprive me not of a still greater happiness, that of laying down my life with honour for so many generous Romans. If I am worthy of the Roman empire, I ought to shed my blood for my country. I know the victory my adversaries have gained is by no means decisive. I have intelligence that my army from Mysia is at the distance of but a few days march; Asia, Syria, and Egypt, are pouring their legions upon the Adriatic; the forces in Judea declare for us; the senate is with us; and the very wives and children of our enemies are so many pledges in our hands. But we are not fighting for Italy with Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbrians, our dispute is with the Romans; and whatever party prevails, whether we conquer or are conquered, our country must suffer. Under the victor's joy she bleeds. Believe, then, my friends, that I can die with greater glory than reign: for I know no benefit that Rome can reap from my victory, equal to what I shall confer upon her by sacrificing myself for peace and unanimity, and to prevent Italy from beholding such another day as this!"

After he made this speech, and showed himself immoveable to those who attempted to alter his resolution, he desired his friends, and such senators as were present, to leave him, and provide for their own safety. To those that were absent he sent the same commands, and signified his pleasure to the cities by letters, that they should receive them honourably, and supply them with good convoys.

He then called his nephew Cocceius*, who was yet very young, and bade him compose himself, and not fear Vitellius.—"I have

* Tacitus and Suetonius call him *Coccianus*,

taken the same care," said he, "of his mother, his wife, and children, as if they had been my own; and for the same reason, I mean for your sake, I deferred the adoption which I intended you: for I thought proper to wait the issue of this war, that you might reign with me if I conquered, and not fall with me if I was overcome. The last thing, my son, I have to recommend to you, is, neither entirely to forget, nor yet to remember too well, that you had an emperor for your uncle."

A moment after, he heard a great noise and tumult at his gate. The soldiers, seeing the senators retiring, threatened to kill them if they moved a step farther, or abandoned the emperor. Otho, in great concern for them, showed himself again at the door, but no longer with a mild and supplicating air; on the contrary, he cast such a stern and angry look upon the most turbulent part of them, that they withdrew in great fear and confusion.

In the evening he was thirsty, and drank a little water. Then he had two swords brought him, and having examined the points of both a long time, he sent away the one and put the other under his arm. After this he called his servants, and, with many expressions of kindness, gave them money: not that he chose to be lavish of what would soon be another's; for he gave to some more, and to some less, proportioning his bounty to their merit, and paying a strict regard to propriety.

When he had dismissed them, he dedicated the remainder of the night to repose, and slept so sound that his chamberlains heard him at the door. Early in the morning he called his freedman, who assisted him in the care of the senators, and ordered him to make the proper inquiries about them. The answer he brought was, that they were gone, and had been provided with every thing they desired: upon which he said, "Go you, then, and show yourself to the soldiers, that they may not imagine you have assisted me in despatching myself, and put you to some cruel death for it."

As soon as the freedman was gone out, he fixed the hilt of his sword upon the ground, and holding it with both hands, fell upon it with so much force, that he expired with one groan. The servants who waited without heard the groan, and burst into a loud lamentation, which was echoed through the camp and the city. The soldiers ran to the gates with the most pitiable wailings and most unfeigned grief, reproaching themselves for not guarding their emperor, and preventing his dying for them. Not one of them would leave him to provide for himself, though the enemy was approaching.

They attired the body in a magnificent manner, and prepared a funeral pile; after which they attended the procession in their armour, and happy was the man that could come to support his bier. Some kneeled and kissed his wound, some grasped his hand, and others prostrated themselves on the ground, and adored him at a distance. Nay, there were some who threw their torches upon the pile, and then slew themselves: not that they had received any extraordinary favours from the deceased, or were afraid of suffering under the hands of the conqueror; but it seems that no king or tyrant was ever so passionately fond of governing, as they were of being governed by Otho. Nor did their affection cease with his death; it survived the grave, and terminated in the hatred and destruction of Vitellius. Of that we shall give an account in its proper place.

After they had interred the remains of Otho, they erected a monument over them, which, neither by its size nor any pomp of epitaph, could excite the least envy. I have seen it at Brixillum; it was very modest, and the inscription only thus:

TO THE MEMORY OF MARCUS OTHO.

Otho died at the age of thirty-seven, having reigned only three months. Those who find fault with his life are not more respectable either for their numbers or for their rank than those who applaud his death: for though his life was not much better than that of Nero, yet his death was nobler.

The soldiers were extremely incensed against Pollio, one of the principal officers of the guards, for persuading them to take the oath immediately to Vitellius; and being informed that there were still some senators on the spot, they let the others pass, but solicited Virginius Rufus in a very troublesome manner. They went in arms to his house, and insisted that he should take the imperial title, or at least be their mediator with the conqueror: but he who had refused to accept that title from them when they were victorious, thought it would be the greatest madness to embrace it after they were beaten; and he was afraid of applying to the Germans in their behalf, because he had obliged that people to do many things contrary to their inclination. He therefore went out privately at another door. When the soldiers found that he had left them, they took the oath to Vitellius, and, having obtained their pardon, were enrolled among the troops of Cecina.

THE END.

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AN ACCOUNT

OF

WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND DENOMINATIONS OF MONEY.

FROM THE

TABLES OF DR. ARBUTHNOT.

WEIGHTS.

	lb.	*oz.*	*dwt.*	*gr.*
THE Roman libra, or pound	0	10	18	$13\frac{3}{7}$
The Attic mina, or pound	0	11	7	$16\frac{2}{7}$
The Attic talent, equal to sixty minæ	56	11	0	$17\frac{1}{7}$

DRY MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	peck.	*gal.*	*pts.*
The Roman modius	1	0	$0\frac{2}{5}$
The Attic chœnix, one pint, $15{,}705\frac{4}{5}$ solid inches.....nearly	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$
The Attic medimnus	4	0	$6\frac{1}{16}$

LIQUID MEASURES OF CAPACITY.

	pts.	*solid in.*
The cotyle	$\frac{1}{2}$	$2{,}141\frac{1}{2}$
The cyathus	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$0{,}356\frac{1}{16}$
The chous	6	25,698

MEASURES OF LENGTH.

	Eng. paces.	*ft.*	*in.*
The Roman foot	0	0	$11\frac{3}{5}$
The Roman cubit	0	1	$5\frac{2}{3}$
The Roman pace	0	4	10
The Roman furlong	120	4	4
The Roman mile	967	0	0
The Grecian cubit	0	1	$6\frac{1}{8}$
The Grecian furlong	100	4	$4\frac{1}{3}$
The Grecian mile	805	5	0

N. B. In this computation the English pace is five feet.

MONEY.

	L.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
The quadrans, about	0	0	0	$0\frac{1}{4}$
The as	0	0	0	$0\frac{3}{10}$
The sestertius	0	0	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
The sestertium equal to 1000 sestertii	8	1	5	2
The denarius	0	0	7	3
The Attic obolus	0	0	1	$1\frac{1}{6}$
The drachma	0	0	7	3
The mina = 100 drachmæ	3	4	7	0
The talent = 60 minæ	193	15	0	0
The stater-aureus of the Greeks, weighing two Attic drachms	0	16	1	3
The stater-daricus	1	12	3	0
The Roman aureus was of different value at different periods. According to the proportion mentioned by Tacitus, when it exchanged for 25 denarii, it was of the same value as the Grecian stater	0	16	1	3

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

FROM

DACIER

AND

OTHER WRITERS.

Ann. Mun.	Before the Olympiads.	Memorable Actions and Events,	Ant. Rom.	Yrs. B.C.
2437	737	DEUCALION's deluge	761	1511
2547	627	Minos I. son of Jupiter and Europa	651	1401
2698	486	Minos II. grandson of the first	500	1250
2720	454	THESEUS.—The expedition of the Argonauts. Theseus attended Jason in it	473	1228
2768	406	Troy taken. Demophon the son of Theseus was at the siege	430	1180
2847	327	The return of the Heraclidæ to Peloponnesus	351	1101
2880	294	The first war of the Athenians against Sparta. Codrus devotes himself	318	1068
2894	288	The Helots subdued by Agis	304	1055
2908	266	The Ionic migration	290	1040
3045	129	LYCURGUS flourishes	153	904
	Olympiads.			
3174	I.	THE FIRST OLYMPIAD.	25	774
3198	vii. 1.	ROMULUS.—Rome built		750
3201	vii. 4.	The rape of the Sabine virgins	4	747
3235	xvi. 1.	The death of Romulus	38	713
3236	xvi. 3.	NUMA elected king	39	712
3279	xxvii. 2.	He dies	82	669
3350	xlv. 1.	SOLON flourishes	153	598
3350		Cylon's conspiracy		
3354	xlvi. 1.	Epimenides goes to Athens, and expiates the city. He dies soon after, at the age of 154. The seven wise men: Æsop and Anacharsis flourish	157	594
3356	xlvi. 3.	Solon archon. Crœsus king of Lydia	159	592
3370	l. 1.	Pythagoras goes into Italy. Pisistratus sets up his tyranny	173	578
3391	lv. 2.	Cyrus king of Persia	194	557
3401	lvii. 4	Crœsus taken	204	547
3442	lxviii. 1.	PUBLICOLA is chosen consul in the room of Collatinus. Brutus fights Arruns, the eldest son of Tarquin. Both are killed	245	506

Ann. Mun.	Olympiads.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Yrs. Rome.	Yrs. B.C.
3344	lxviii. 3.	Publicola consul the third time. His colleague Horatius Pulvillus dedicates the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Horatius Cocles defends the Sublician bridge against the Tuscans	247	504
3448	lxix. 3.	Publicola dies	251	500
		Zeno Eleates flourished	.....	499
3459	lxxii. 1.	The battle of Marathon	262	489
3461	lxxii. 2.	CORIOLANUS is banished, and retires to the Volsci	263	488
3462	lxxiii. 1.	Herodotus is born	265	486
3463	lxxiii. 2.	Coriolanus besieges Rome; but being prevailed upon by his mother to retire, is stoned to death by the Volsci	266	485
3467	lxxiv. 2.	ARISTIDES is banished for ten years, but recalled at the expiration of three	270	481
3470	lxxv. 1.	THEMISTOCLES.—The battle of Salamis	273	478
3471	lxxv. 2	The battle of Platæa	274	477
3474	lxxvi. 1.	Thucydides is born	277	474
3479	lxxvii. 2	Themistocles is banished by the Ostracism	282	469
3480	lxxvii. 3.	CIMON beats the Persians both at sea and land	283	468
3481	lxxvii. 4.	Socrates is born, he lived 71 years	284	467
3500	lxxxii. 3.	Cimon dies. Alcibiades born the same year. Herodotus and Thucydides flourish: the latter is twelve or thirteen years younger than the former	303	448
.....	.....	Pindar dies, eighty years old	.....	440
3519	lxxxvii.2.	PERICLES stirs up the Peloponnesian war, which lasts 27 years. He was very young when the Romans sent the Decemviri to Athens for Solon's laws	322	429
3521	lxxxvii.4.	Pericles dies	324	427
3522	lxxxviii.1	Plato born. Xerxes killed by Artabanus	325	426
3535	xci. 2.	NICIAS.—The Athenians undertake the Sicilian war	338	413
3537	xci. 4.	Nicias beaten and put to death in Sicily	340	411
3538	xcii. 1.	ALCIBIADES takes refuge at Sparta, and afterwards amongst the Persians	.....	.....
3539	xcii. 2.	Dionysius the elder, now tyrant of Sicily	342	409
.....	.....	Sophocles dies, aged 91	.....	407
.....	.....	Euripides dies, aged 75	.....	406
3545	xciii. 4.	LYSANDER puts an end to the Peloponnesian war, and establishes the thirty tyrants at Athens	348	403
.....	.....	Thrasybulus expels them	.....	401
3546	xciv. 1.	Alcibiades put to death by order of Pharnabazus	349	402
3549	xciv. 4.	ARTAXERXES MNEMON overthrows his brother Cyrus in a great battle. The retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, conducted by Xenophon	352	399
3550	xcv. 1.	Socrates dies	353	398
3553	xcv. 4.	AGESILAUS ascends the Spartan throne	356	395
3554	xcvi. 1.	Lysander sent to the Hellespont	357	394
3555	xcvi. 2.	Agesilaus defeats the Persian cavalry. Lysander dies.	.....	.....
3561	xcvii. 4.	The Romans lose the battle of Allia	364	387
3562	xcviii. 1.	CAMILLUS retires to Ardea	365	386
3566	xcix. 1.	Aristotle born	369	382
3569	xcix. 4.	Demosthenes born	372	379

Ann. Mun.	Olympiads.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Yrs. Rome.	Yrs. B.C.
3574	ci. 1.	Chabrias defeats the Lacedæmonians	377	374
3579	cii. 2.	Peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The important battle of Leuctra	382	369
3580	cii. 3.	PELOPIDAS, general of the Thebans. He headed the sacred band the year before at Leuctra, where Epaminondas commanded in chief	383	368
3582	ciii. 1.	Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Sicily, dies, and is succeeded by his son	385	366
3584	ciii. 3.	Isocrates flourishes	387	364
3585	ciii. 4.	TIMOLEON kills his brother Timophanes, who was setting himself up tyrant in Corinth	388	363
3586	civ. 1.	Pelopidas defeats Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ, but falls in the battle	.....	.....
3587	civ. 2.	The famous battle of Mantinea, in which Epaminondas though victorious, is killed by the son of Xenophon	390	361
3588	civ. 3.	Camillus dies	391	360
3589	civ. 4.	Artaxerxes dies. So does Agesilaus	392	359
3593	cv. 4.	DION expels Dionysius the younger	396	355
3594	cvi. 1.	Alexander the Great born	397	354
3596	cvi. 3.	Dion is killed by Calippus	399	352
3598	cvii. 1.	DEMOSTHENES begins to thunder against Philip. Xenophon dies, aged 90	401	350
3602	cviii. 1.	Plato dies, aged 80 or 81	405	346
3605	cviii. 4.	Timoleon sent to assist the Syracusans	408	343
3607	cix. 2.	Dionysius the younger sent off to Corinth	410	341
3609	cix. 4.	Epicurus born	412	339
3612	cx. 3.	The battle of Chæronea, in which Philip beats the Athenians and Thebans	415	336
3613	cx. 4.	Timoleon dies	416	335
3614	cxi. 1.	ALEXANDER THE GREAT is declared general of all Greece against the Persians, upon the death of his father Philip	417	334
3616	cxi. 3.	The battle of Granicus	419	333
3619	cxii. 2.	The battle of Arbela	422	325
3623	cxiii. 2.	Porus beaten	426	325
3627	cxiv. 1.	Alexander dies, aged 33. Diogenes dies aged 90	430	321
.....	.....	Aristotle dies, aged 63	.....	319
3632	cxv. 3.	PHOCION retires to Polyperchon, but is delivered up by him to the Athenians, who put him to death	435	316
3634	cxvi. 1.	EUMENES, who had attained to a considerable rank amongst the successors of Alexander the Great, is betrayed to Antigonus, and put to death	437	314
3636	cxvi. 4.	DEMETRIUS, surnamed Poliocertes, permitted by his father Antigonus to command the army in Syria, when only twenty-two years of age	439	312
3643	cxviii. 2.	He restores the Athenians to their liberty, but they choose to remain in the worst of chains, those of servility and meanness. Dionysius, the tyrant, dies at Heraclea, aged 55. In the year before Christ 288, died Theophrastus, aged 85. And in the year before Christ 285, Theocritus flourished	446	305
3670	cxxv. 1.	PYRRHUS, king of Epirus, passes over into Italy, where he is defeated by Lævinus	473	272

Ann. Mun.	Olympiads.	Memorable Actions and Events.	Yrs. Rome.	Yrs. B.C.
3685	cxxviii. 4.	The first Punic war, which lasted 24 years	488	263
3696	cxxxi. 3.	Philopœmen born	499	252
3699	cxxxii. 1.	ARATUS of Sicyon, delivered his native city from the tyranny of Nicocles	502	249
3723	cxxxviii. 2.	AGIS AND CLEOMENES cotemporaries with Aratus; for Aratus, being beaten by Cleomenes, calls in Antigonus from Macedonia, which proves the ruin of Greece	526	225
3727	cxxxix. 2.	PHILOPŒMEN, thirty years old when Cleomenes took Megalopolis. About this time lived Hannibal, Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, and Scipio Africanus	530	221
3731	cxl. 2.	The second Punic war, which lasted eighteen years	534	217
3733	cxl. 4	Hannibal beats the consul Flaminius at the Thrasymenean lake	536	215
3734	cxli. 1	And the consuls Varro and Æmilius at Cannæ	537	214
3736	cxli. 3.	He is beaten by Marcellus at Nola	539	212
3738	cxlii. 1.	Marcellus takes Syracuse	541	210
3741	cxlii. 4.	Fabius Maximus seizes Tarentum	544	207
3747	cxliv. 2.	Fabius Maximus dies	550	201
3749	cxliv. 4.	Scipio triumphs for his conquests in Africa	552	199
3752	cxlv 3.	TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS elected consul at the age of 30	555	196
.....	.....	CATO THE CENSOR was 21 or 22 years old when Fabius Maximus took Tarentum. See above	.....	.....
3754	cxlvi. 1.	All Greece restored to her liberty, by T. Q. Flaminius. Flaminius triumphs; Demetrius, the son of Philip, and Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, follow his chariot.	557	194
3755	cxlvi. 2.	Cato triumphs for his conquests in Spain	558	193
3766	cxlix. 1.	Scipio Africanus dies	569	182
3767	cxlix. 2.	Philopœmen dies	570	181
3767	cxlix. 2.	PAULUS ÆMILIUS, then first consul, was beaten by Hannibal at Cannæ	570	181
3782	cliii. 1.	When consul the second time, he conquered Perseus, and brought him in chains to Rome. Terence flourished	585	166
3490	clv. 1.	Paulus Æmilius dies	593	158
3794	clvi. 1.	Marius born	597	154
3801	clvii. 4.	The third Punic war, which continued four years. Cato the Censor dies	604	147
3804	clviii. 3.	Scipio Æmilianus destroys Carthage; and Mummius sacks and burns Corinth	607	144
.....	.....	Carneades dies, aged 85	.....	129
.....	.....	Polybius dies, aged 81	.....	123
3827	clxiv. 2.	TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.—The laws of Caius Gracchus	630	121
3845	clxvii. 2.	MARIUS marches against Jugurtha. Cicero born	646	105
3844	clxviii. 3	Pompey born	647	104
3847	clxix. 1.	Marius, now consul the second time, marches against the Cimbri	649	102
3850	clxxi. 2.	Julius Cæsar is born in the sixth consulship of Marius	653	98
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3855	clxxii. 2.	SYLLA, after his prætorship, sent into Cappadocia	658	93
3862	clxxiii. 1.	Makes himself master of Rome	665	86

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3868	clxxiii. 2.	Takes Athens. Marius dies the same year	666	85
3867	clxxiv. 2.	SERTORIUS sent into Spain	670	81
3868	clxxiv. 3.	The younger Marius beaten by Sylla; yet soon after he defeats Pontius Telesinus at the gates of Rome. Sylla enters the city, and being created dictator, exercises all manner of cruelties	671	80
.....	.....	CRASSUS enriches himself with buying the estates of persons proscribed	.....	.....
3869	clxxiv. 4.	POMPEY, at the age of 25, is sent into Africa against Domitius, and beats him	672	79
.....	.....	CATO OF UTICA was younger than Pompey; for he was but 14 years old when Sylla's proscriptions were in their utmost rage	.....	.....
3870	clxxv. 1.	CICERO defends Roscius against the practices of Sylla. This was his first public pleading. After this he retires to Athens to finish his studies	673	78
3871	clxxv. 2.	Sylla, after having destroyed above 100,000 Roman citizens, proscribed 90 senators, and 2600 knights, resigns his dictatorship, and dies the year following.	674	77
3874	clxxvi. 1.	Pompey manages the war in Spain, against Sertorius	677	74
3877	clxxvi. 4.	LUCULLUS, after his consulship, is sent against Mithridates	680	71
3879	clxxvii. 2.	Sertorius assassinated in Spain. Crassus consul with Pompey	682	69
3881	clxxvii. 4.	Tigranes conquered by Lucullus	684	67
3887	clxxix. 2.	Mithridates dies. Pompey forces the temple of Jerusalem. Augustus Cæsar born	690	61
3891	clxxx. 2.	JULIUS CÆSAR appointed consul with Bibulus; obtains Illyria and the two Gauls, with four legions. He marries his daughter Julia to Pompey	690	57
3897	clxxxi. 4.	Crassus is taken by the Parthians, and slain	700	51
3902	clxxxiii. 1.	Cæsar defeats Pompey at Pharsalia. Pompey flies into Egypt, and is assassinated there	705	46
3903	clxxxiii. 2.	Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria, and subdues Egypt, after which he marches into Syria, and soon reduces Pharnaces	706	45
3904	clxxxiii. 3.	He conquers Juba, Scipio, and Petreius, in Africa, and leads up four triumphs. Previous to which Cato kills himself	707	44
3905	clxxxiii. 4.	Cæsar defeats the sons of Pompey at Munda. Cneius falls in the action, and Sextus flies into Sicily. Cæsar triumphs the fifth time	708	43
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3918	clxxxvii. 1.	Augustus and Antony again embroiled	721	30
3919	clxxxvii. 3.	The battle of Actium. Antony is beaten, and flies into Egypt with Cleopatra	722	29
3920	clxxxvii. 4.	Augustus makes himself master of Alexandria. Antony and Cleopatra destroy themselves	723	28
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3981	ccii. 4.	Galba appointed consul	784	34
3982	cciii. 1.	The revolt of Vindex	785	35
4018	ccxi. 4	Nero killed and Galba declared emperor	820	70
4019	ccxii. 1.	OTHO revolts and persuades the soldiers to despatch Galba; upon which he is proclaimed emperor; and three months after, being defeated by Vitellius, despatches himself	821	71

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Antigonus, the most powerful of Alexander's successors, iii. 309. A saying of his before the sea-fight near Andros, i. 473. Said, Pyrrhus would be the greatest general in the world, if he lived to be old, ii. 13. Refuses to establish Eumenes in Cappadocia, 314. Commissioned by the Macedonians, along with Antipater, to manage the war against Eumenes, 317. Disperses papers in the camp of Eumenes, setting a price upon his head, 320. His saying on Eumenes's forbearing to seize his baggage, 321. Besieges that general in the castle of Nora, ib. Offers him peace, ib. Defeated by Eumenes near the Pasitigris, 325. His saying on Eumenes's being carried in a litter through the ranks, 326 and *n*. Is deceived by a stratagem of Eumenes, 328. Takes the baggage of the Argyraspides, who acted under Eumenes, 329. Offers to restore it, if they will deliver him up, 329. Puts Eumenes to death, 331. Punishes the Argyraspides for their treachery, ib. Desires certain ambassadors to tell their masters how happily he and his son Demetrius lived together, iii. 282. Suspects Mithridates, one of his own courtiers, on account of a dream, 283. His wars with Ptolemy, ib. His raillery upon his son, 293. Reproves his son for inquiring into his councils, 300. Killed in the battle of Ipsus, 301. What a peasant of Phrygia said with regard to him, iii. 80. Story of one of his soldiers, i. 471.——Gonatas, son of Demetrius, reigns in Macedon, ii. 32. Defeated by Pyrrhus, ib. Called in to Argos by Aristippus, ib. The answer he sent Pyrrhus upon the challenge, 38. Reproves his son Alcyoneus for bringing Pyrrhus's head to him, 42. Burns the body of Pyrrhus honourably, ib. His obliging behaviour to Helenus, the son of Pyrrhus, and to his officers, ib. Offers to surrender himself to Seleucus, on condition that he would set his father at liberty, ib. Endeavours to gain Aratus, or make Ptolemy suspect him, iii. 505. His passion for making himself master of Acrocorinth, ib. His success and joy thereupon, 486. His death, 174.——III. surnamed Doson, i. 442. Invited by the Achæans to be general of the league, iii. 163, but insists first on having Acrocorinth put in his hands, 505. The respect he showed Aratus, ib. The honours paid him by the Achæans, 506. Returns into Macedonia, where he declares his kinsman Philip his successor, 507. Dies immediately after a battle, ib.——King of Judea, beheaded by Antony, is the first king who suffered in that manner, i. 343.

Antilibanus, mount, ii. 469.

Antilochus writes a panegyric on Lysander, ii. 97.

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Antioch, Epidaphne, ii. 190.——In Mygdonia, by the barbarians called Nisibis, ii. 203.

Antiochis, tribe of, i. 534.

Antiochus the Great, at war with the Romans, i. 609. Defeated by the Romans, ib. Marries a young girl at Chalcis, ib. Hannibal at his court, 623. Aims at universal monarchy, ib. Is defeated at Thermopylæ, and returns to Asia, 626.——Son of Seleucus by Apama, iii. 303. Falls in love with Stratonice, his father's wife, 308. Seleucus gives her up to him, ib.——King of Commagene, besieged by Ventidius, iii. 341. ——An Athenian pilot, recommends himself to Alcibiades by a trifling service, i. 338. Is intrusted with the fleet in his absence, 365. Fights contrary to orders, and is killed by Lysander, ib.——Of Ascalon, first teaches the doctrines of the old academy, ii. 212. Quits them for the new, iii. 241. Leaves that, and adopts the doctrines of the Stoics, ib. Brutus a great admirer of him, 415. Cicero one of his hearers, ii. 212. iii. 242.

Antiope the Amazon, given to Theseus, i. 57.

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Antipho, the Rhamusian, ii. 223. Accused by Demosthenes, and condemned, 253.——His invective against Alcibiades, i. 333.

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Antisenatorian band, an abandoned set of men, a kind of guards to Sulpitius, ii. 71, 118.

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Antisthia, married to Pompey, iii. 373. Divorced, 375.——Wife of Appius Claudius, and mother of Claudia, iij. 184.

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Antonia, daughter of Mark Antony by Octavia, married to Drusus, iii. 375.

Antonias, Cleopatra's admiral galley so called, iii. 359.

Antonius, Caius, consul with Cicero, iii. 248. Marches against Catiline, 250. Defeats and kills him, 252. Father of Mark Antony's first wife, 325.——Creticus, father to Mark Antony, his character, iii. 321.—— Caius, brother of Mark Antony defeated by Cicero's son, iii. 429. Surrendered to Brutus, and kept close prisoner, 430. Put to death after the proscription of Cicero and Brutus Albinus.——Lucius, brother of Antony, created tribune, iii. 330.——Lucius, rebels against Domitian, i. 438.—— Publius, Cæsar accuses him, iii. 5.

Antony, Mark, grandson of Mark Antony the orator, and son of Antonius Creticus, iii. 320. His mother Julia has Cornelius Lentulus for her second husband, 321. Antony is educated under her auspices, ib. He conceives a strong resentment against Cicero for his putting Lentulus to death, ib. Engaging in his person, but unfortunate in his connexions, ib. Forms a friendship first with Curio, and afterwards with Clodius, persons of the most profligate character, ib. Runs deeply in debt, ib. During the troubles which Clodius had brought upon the state, retires into Greece, ib. Employs himself there in military exercises, and the study of eloquence, ib. Adopts the Asiatic style, ib. Goes with Gabinius into Syria, with a command of cavalry, ib. In besieging Aristobulus is the first to scale the wall, ib. Takes Aristobulus and his son prisoners, ib. Gabinius and he restore Ptolemy to his kingdom, 322. Antony prevents Ptolemy from putting the citizens of Pelusium to death, ib. His humane care of the body of Archelaus, ib. His person described, ib. His free manner engaging to the soldiers, ib. His great liberality, ib.— Through Curio's means is elected tribune of the people, and is very serviceable to Cæsar against Pompey, 323. After some equitable proposals in behalf of Cæsar to the senate, he is commanded by Lentulus the consul to leave the house, 324. Disguises himself like a servant, and goes immediately to Cæsar, ib. Upon this, Cæsar enters Italy, ib. Leaves the command of the army in Italy to Antony, during his expedition to Spain, and at his return connives at his irregularities, ib. and 325. Cæsar, having passed the Ionian with a small number of troops, sends back his ships for more forces, ib. Antony beats off Libo, and carries a considerable reinforcement to Cæsar, ib. Antony distinguishes himself in every engagement, ib. Has the command of Cæsar's left wing in the battle

of Pharsalia, ib. When Cæsar is appointed dictator, and goes upon the pursuit of Pompey, he sends Antony to Rome, in character of the general of the horse, ib. Dolabella, one of the tribunes, proposes a decree for abolishing debts, 326. Antony suspects him of a criminal commerce with his wife, and opposes him, not only by advice of the senate, but from personal resentment. ib. He dismisses his wife, who was daughter of Caius Antonius, ib. All sober people are offended at his excessive irregularities, ib. Cæsar, to show his dislike to these proceedings, takes Lepidus, and not Antony, for his colleague in the consulship, 327. Cæsar orders him to pay for Pompey's house, which he had. He marries Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, a woman of most ambitious spirit, ib. Cæsar, at his return from Spain, takes Antony for his colleague, ib. Is inclined to substitute Dolabella in his own room; but Antony, as augur, pretends that the omens are against it, ib. Antony, in the feast of the Lupercalia, attempts to put a diadem on the head of Cæsar, who was seated in a triumphal robe on the rostrum, 328. Cæsar seems to decline it, and is applauded by the people, who can bear every thing of sovereignty, except the title of king, ib. The diadem is put upon one of Cæsar's statues, but two of the tribunes take it off, ib. Cæsar turns those tribunes out of office, ib. This circumstance encourages Brutus and Cassius in the conspiracy, ib. Some propose that Antony should be taken off with Cæsar, but Brutus objects, ib. Antony is amused without, while Cæsar is despatched in the senate-house, 329. He absconds in the habit of a slave, ib. Sends his son to the conspirators in the capitol as an hostage, ib. Proposes an amnesty to the senate, ib. Ambition draws him from these moderate counsels, ib. In making Cæsar's funeral oration, he exasperates the people against the conspirators, ib. Brutus and his party leave the city, and Cæsar's friends join Antony, ib. Calpurnia, Cæsar's relict, intrusts him with her treasure, ib. The advantage Antony makes of Cæsar's papers, ib. Octavius, the relation and heir of Cæsar, arrives at Rome from Apollonia, 330. As Cæsar's executor, he applies to Antony for his effects, and is refused, ib. Joins Cicero, and the rest of Antony's enemies, obtains an interest in the senate, and assembles Cæsar's veterans, ib. An accommodation between Octavius and Antony takes place, but is soon destroyed, ib. They both prepare for war, ib. Cicero persuades the senate to declare Antony a public enemy, and to commission Hirtius and Pansa to drive him out of Italy, ib. The consuls are slain near Modena, but Antony is defeated, ib. Antony and his troops are distressed by famine, ib. He is a pattern of fortitude, ib. Passes the Alps and draws over the troops of Lepidus, but attempts nothing against his life or honour, 331. Munatius Plancus joins him, ib. He leaves a sufficient force in Gaul, and returns to Italy with a great army, ib. Octavius finding Cicero resolved to restore the commonwealth, abandons him, and comes to an accommodation with Antony, ib. They and Lepidus meet in a little river-island, and divide the empire of the world amongst them, 332. They proscribe no fewer than three hundred Romans, ib. Antony gives up his uncle Lucius Cæsar, and Octavius sacrifices Cicero, ib. Octavius agrees to marry Claudia, the daughter of Fulvia, ib. Antony orders Cicero's head, and the hand with which he had written the Phillippics, to be placed on the *rostra*, ib. The mother of Antony saves Lucius Cæsar, ib. The triumvirate is extremely oppressive, ib. Antony disgraces Pompey's house with the vilest excesses, 333. Octavius insists on a division of the treasure and army, ib. They go against Brutus and Cassius, and leave Lepidus governor of Rome, ib. Octavius is defeated by Brutus in the first engagement, and escapes by flight, ib. Cassius is defeated by Antony, and puts an end to his life, ib. Brutus is beaten in a second battle, and slays himself, ib. The honour of this victory, too, falls to Antony, ib. Antony slays Hortensius on the tomb of his brother Caius, ib. Throws a purple robe over the body of Brutus, and orders him an honourable funeral, ib. Cæsar is conveyed to Rome sick, 334. Antony raises contributions in Asia; having promised five thousand drachmas to each private man, ib. Returns to Greece, where his behaviour at first is very acceptable, ib. Passes again into Asia, where he lives in the most luxurious manner, ib. Is celebrated at Ephesus in the character of Bacchus, ib. Disgraces his jollity and freedom with the most savage cruelty and extortion, 335. His real character more developed, ib. Cleopatra comes into Cilicia to answer a charge laid against her, and the flexible Antony falls into her snares, ib. Sails along the Cydnus in the character of Venus, 336. Their mutual invitations, ib. Her address and versatility, ib. Sings admirably, and speaks most languages, ib. While Fulvia is supporting the interests of Antony in Rome, he is revelling with Cleopatra at Alexandria, 337. Antony's son makes a magnificent present to Philotas the physician, ib. Cleopatra attends him in his night rambles, in the habit of a slave, 338. His fishing story, ib. He receives disagreeable news from different quarters;

Fulvia and his brother Lucius, after they had opposed Cæsar some time, are obliged to quit Italy: the Parthians reduce great part of Asia, ib. He awakes from his intoxication, marches to Phœnicia, and from thence sails towards Italy, 339. Fulvia dies at Sicyon, ib. This event opens a way to reconciliation between him and Cæsar, ib. The triumvirate settle their respective claims and powers, ib. Cæsar gives his sister Octavia to Antony in marriage, ib. Sextus, the son of Pompey, having gained a considerable maritime power, is allowed to keep Sicily and Sardinia, ib. Sextus has an opportunity to destroy Antony and Cæsar at an entertainment on board his galley, but forbears it, 340. Antony sends Ventidius into Asia, against the Parthians, ib. Takes upon himself the office of high-priest to Cæsar the dictator, ib. The star of Octavius's fortune superior to that of Antony, ib. Antony leaves Italy, and takes Octavia with him into Greece, ib. Celebrates Gymnastic games at Athens, on news that Ventidius was successful against the Parthians, 341. Ventidius engages Pacorus, son of the king of Parthia, in Syria, and kills him, ib. He brings Antiochus, the king of Commagene, to terms, ib. Goes to Rome, and triumphs over the Parthians, ib. Antony, as well as Octavius, more successful by their lieutenants, than when they acted in person, 342. Upon some disagreeable news concerning Cæsar's designs, Antony sails with three hundred ships for Italy, ib. Octavia interposes and reconciles them, ib. Cæsar goes to war with Pompey, for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony leaving his wife and children in the care of Cæsar, sets out for Asia, ib. On his arrival there he sends for Cleopatra, 343. He gives her several considerable provinces, ib. Gives the surname of the Sun and Moon to the twins he had by Cleopatra, ib. Phraates slays his father Orodes; upon which many of the Parthian chiefs fly to Antony, ib. He gives Moneses three cities, ib. Reviews his army in Armenia, which consists of a hundred thousand men, 344. His attachment to Cleopatra precipitates his measures, ib. He lays siege to Phraata without his battering-engines, ib. Phraates falls upon Statianus, who was conducting the engines, kills ten thousand of his men, and destroys the engines, ib. Artavasdes, king of Armenia, withdraws in despair, ib. Antony attempts to bring the Parthians to a pitched battle, but does not succeed, 345. The Parthians gall the Romans in their return to their camp, ib. Antony finds that his troops had fled in his presence from before Phraata, and punishes them with decimation, ib. Phraates pretends to come to terms with Antony, but intends all the time to harass him in his retreat, 346. Antony designs to take his route through an open country, but is advised by a certain Mardian to take the safer road of the mountains, ib. The Parthians make their appearance the third day, and attack the Romans, 347. Antony, after this, marches in so judicious a form, that the enemy can make little impression, and think of retiring, ib. Flavius Gallus proposes to perform some considerable exploit with a select party; but drawing too far from the main body, is surrounded, ib. Sends for succours, which are injudiciously sent in small detachments, 348. Antony himself at last beats the enemy off, ib. The Romans in this action have three thousand slain, and five thousand wounded, ib. The great affection of the troops for Antony, ib. His address to the army on that occasion concluded with a prayer, that if the gods had some ill-fortune in reserve, it might fall upon him, and not upon his men, 349. The Romans, when attacked again, assume the form of a pent-house, ib. Famine prevails among them, ib. They eat an herb which brings on madness and death, ib. Antony often cries out, "O the ten thousand!" 350. Mithridates, cousin to Moneses, comes in the night, and warns Antony not to descend into the plain, ib. The Parthians, contrary to custom, pursue him in the night, ib. The Romans have to contend with thirst, and with the Parthians at the same time, 351. They come up to a river, whose water is acrimonious, and drink of it too freely, ib. The Mardian acquaints them that there is another river at no great distance, whose water is sweet and salubrious, ib. Mithridates comes again, and advises the Romans to hasten to that river, because it would terminate the pursuit, ib. Antony accordingly moves on; but a strange disorder happens in his army, and his tent is plundered, ib. The Romans pass the last-mentioned river in peace, 352. Six days after this they reach the Araxes, and when they have passed it, kiss the ground in Armenia with great avidity, ib. The new plenty throws them into the dropsy and the colic, ib. They were twenty-seven days in their return from Phraatæ, and had beaten the Parthians in 18 engagements; but none of them were decisive, because Artavasdes had made off with the Armenian horse, 353. Antony does not chastise the Armenian at present, but seizes him afterwards, and leads him in triumph into Alexandria, ib. Antony, who had lost 20,000 men already in his retreat, loses 8000 more through the severity of the weather in the remainder of his march, ib. Waits for Cleopatra at a fort between Berytus and

Sidon, ib. The Parthians and the Medes quarrel about the Roman spoil, and the Mede offers his assistance to Antony, ib. Octavia expresses a desire to visit Antony, and Cæsar gives her his leave, in hopes that some event would lead to a quarrel, ib. She is commanded by Antony to stop at Athens, but sends, however, Niger to him, with an account of the many valuable presents she had brought him, ib. Cleopatra affects to be dying for the love of Antony, ib. He returns to Egypt, and puts off the Mede till summer, ib. Betrothes one of Cleopatra's sons to a daughter of the Mede, ib. Cæsar appears to be, and, indeed the Romans in general are offended at his neglect of Octavia, and his disposing of kingdoms in favour of the children of Cleopatra, ib. Cæsar accuses him in the senate, 355. Antony recriminates, ib. Cæsar replies, ib. Antony sends Canidius to the sea-cost with sixteen legions, 356. Goes to Ephesus, attended by Cleopatra, ib. Assembles a fleet of 800 ships, 200 of which were supplied by Cleopatra, ib. Cleopatra jealous of the mediation of Octavia, bribes Canidius to persuade Antony to permit her to attend him in the war, ib. They spend their time in all manner of revelry at Samos, ib. Visit Athens, where Cleopatra endeavours to outdo Octavia in her favours to the people, 357. He sends some of his people to turn Octavia out of his house at Rome, ib. Antony, instead of attacking Cæsar immediately, gives him time to prepare himself, ib. Titius and Plancus are ill-used by Cleopatra, for opposing her stay in the army, and they go over to Cæsar, ib. Cæsar takes Antony's will from the vestals, and reads it in the senate, ib. and 358. Antony's friends, and Geminius in particular, point out to him his true interest, but they are driven away by the creatures of Cleopatra, ib. Cæsar declares war against Cleopatra, ib. Prodigies announcing the event of the war, 359. An account of their respective forces, ib. Antony, notwithstanding his strength at land, is persuaded by Cleopatra to decide the dispute at sea, 360. Circumstances previous to the battle of Actium, ib. Domitius, Amyntas, and Deiotarus, go over to Cæsar, 361. Canidius gives Antony salutary counsel; but the fascinations of Cleopatra prevent his listening to it, ib. An old soldier remonstrates against a sea fight, ib. Cæsar has omens of victory, 362. The battle described, ib. Cleopatra flies before the battle is lost, and Antony is infatuated enough to follow her, ib. He enters Cleopatra's galley, and sits three days in sombrous silence, 363 and 364. Has intelligence that his army is safe in Macedonia, but, instead of going to it, sends orders to Canidius to conduct it into Asia, ib. Divides a ship load of treasure amongst his friends, and dismisses them, ib. The gallant resistance which his fleet made, after he deserted it, ib. His land forces remain embodied seven days, and do not surrender to Cæsar, till their officers desert them, ib. Cæsar relieves the cities of Greece, which had been much oppressed, ib. Antony lands in Lybia, and sends Cleopatra from Parætonium into Egypt, 365. Retires into a melancholy desert, with only two attendants, ib. The commander of his troops in Lybia revolts, and he attempts to kill himself, ib. Is prevented by his friends, and conveyed to Alexandria, ib. Finds Cleopatra engaged in an attempt to draw her ships over the Isthmus, into the Red sea, and, with all her wealth and forces, to seek some remote country, ib. But the first galleys that are carried over, are burnt by the Arabians at Petræa, ib. Antony takes to a kind of Timonian retirement, near Pharos, ib. After he is informed that his army and all his allies had deserted him, he abandons his hopes and his cares together, and returns to Alexandria, 366. Cleopatra and he form the society of the *Companions in Death*, as they had before instituted that of the *Inimitable Livers*, 366. They pass their time in mutual treats and diversions, ib. Cleopatra makes experiment of several poisons, and gives the preference to the asp, 367. They send Euphronius, their children's tutor, on an embassy to Cæsar, ib. Cæsar encourages Cleopatra to hope every thing, provided that she gave up Antony; and amuses her with a pretence of love, ib. Antony causes Thyreus, Cæsar's freedman, to be whipped, ib. Cleopatra redoubles her attentions to Antony, 368. Cæsar renews the war, takes Pelusium, and advances to Alexandria, ib. Is apprehensive that Cleopatra will destroy her treasures, and sends messengers to her continually, ib. Antony makes a brisk sally, and repulses the enemy, ib. Sends a challenge to Cæsar, which is as much disregarded as one that he had sent formerly. A noise of departing Bacchanals presages the fate of Antony, ib. Antony designs to attack Cæsar both by sea and land; but the fleet and cavalry desert him, ib. His infantry are routed, and he exclaims that Cleopatra has betrayed him, ib. The queen retires to her monument, and orders that Antony should be informed she is dead, ib. He commands his servant Eros to despatch him, but Eros despatches himself, ib. Plunges his sword into his bowels, but the stroke does not prove mortal, 370. Cleopatra sends for him, and she and her women draw him up into the monument, ib. Their affecting meeting, ib. Antony dies, ib. Pro-

culeius is sent to her by Cæsar, and she makes a requisition of the kingdom for her children, ib. Proculeius forms a scheme to get into the monument, and succeeds, ib. Cleopatra attempts to stab herself, but is prevented, ib. Cæsar's entry into Alexandria, 372. Antyllus, son of Antony by Fulvia, is put to death, ib. Theodorus, who betrayed him, is crucified for theft, ib. Cæsario is likewise betrayed by his governor, and afterwards put to death, ib. Cleopatra is permitted to bury Antony, which she does in a magnificent manner, ib. She resolves to starve herself, but is prevented, ib. Cæsar pays her a visit, ib. She puts an inventory of her goods in his hands, ib. Dolabella informs her that she is to be sent away with her children, ib. Her last oblations and speech at Antony's tomb, ib. A peasant brings her an asp in a basket of figs, ib. She dies, 375. The descendants of Antony come to be emperors, 376.——Son of Antony by Fulvia, iii. 30.——The first who lays violent hands on Sertorius, ii. 311.——Mark, the orator, discovered by the simplicity of a servant, ii. 80. Marius sends a party to despatch him, ib. His eloquence disarms the soldiers, ib. Killed by Annius, ib.

Antyllius, the lictor, killed in the capitol, iii. 207.

Antyllus, son of Antony by Fulvia, iii. 366. Is put to death, 372.

Anytus, son of Anthemion, Alcibiades's frolic at his house, i. 335. The first that bribed the judges at Athens, 380.

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Apama, daughter of Artaxerxes, married to Pharnabazus, iii. 471.——Daughter of Artabazus, ii. 313.——Wife of Seleucus, iii. 303.

Apelles draws Alexander's picture, ii. 448. Does not succeed as to his complexion, ib. Surprised at Protogenes's painting, iii. 296. Enters himself of the school of Sicyon, 483.——In the court of the younger Philip of Macedon, iii. 508.

Apellicon, the Teian, his library carried by Sylla to Rome, ii. 135.

Apemantus; what he said to Timon, and Timon's answer, iii. 366.

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Aphepsion, archon at Athens, ii. 158.

Aphidnæ, Theseus sends Helen thither, i. 61. Taken by Castor and Pollux, 61.

Aphidnus, a friend of Theseus's, i. 60.

Aphytis, a city of Thrace, ii. 99.

Apis, the ox worshipped by the Egyptians, iii. 135.

Apolia, daughter of Agesilaus by Cleora, iii. 348.

Apollo, Delphinius, i. 47.——The laurelled, i. 224.——Ismenius, i. 459——Lycius, ii. 40.——Pythius, ii. 127.——Tegyræus, i. 240.——Thurius, ii. 127.——His temples plundered by the pirates, iii. 3.——The name of one of Lucullus's dining-rooms, ii. 211.

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Apollonides, sent by Seleucus to Demetrius, iii. 317.——The Stoic, is with Cato at Utica, iii. 134.

Apollonius Molo, teaches rhetoric at Rhodes, iii. 4. Cæsar and Cicero his scholars, ib. His speech to Cicero, ib.

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Callippus, an acquaintance of Dion's, with whom he lodged at Athens, iii. 387. Goes with Dion to Syracuse, 395. Murders him, 412. Killed, ib.

Calliades, an Athenian officer, defeated in Thrace, ii. 222.

Callias the Athenian, makes a declaration in form, that if he died without children, Alcibiades, his brother-in-law, should be his heir, i. 338. Takes the Persian gold, and kills the person that directed him to it, 562. First cousin to Aristides, and accused of suffering him to want necessaries,

563. Vindicates himself against that charge, ib. Marries Elpinice, ii. 151.——The Syracusan, iii. 241.

Callibius appointed governor of the citadel of Athens by Lysander, ii. 95.

Callicles the usurer, iii. 63.——The son of Arenides, iii. 235.

Callicrates, a Spartan officer, wounded at the approach of the battle of Platæa, ii. 553. What he said just before he expired, ib.——The Syracusan general, challenges Lamachus, and they die by each other's hand, ii. 236.——And Ictinus, the architects who built the Parthenon, i. 281.——Of the posterity of Anticrates, enjoys the privilege of exemption from taxes in the time of Plutarch, iii. 365.

Callicratidas, the Spartan general, sent to succeed Lysander, ii. 86. Not a popular nor courtly man, but brave and virtuous, ib. Fails in his application to Cyrus for money, 87. Defeated and slain at the battle of Arginusæ, ib.

Callidromus, Mount, i. 577.

Callimachus, an excellent engineer in the service of Mithridates, ii. 187. Sets fire to the city of Amisus, when he can no longer defend it, ib. and 188. Taken prisoner by Lucullus at Nisibis, and kept in chains, 203.

Callimedon, surnamed Carabus, iii. 77. 235. Flies from Athens, 85. Sentence of death passed against him, ib.

Calliphon, an Athenian exile, intercedes with Sylla for Athens, ii. 123.

Callipedes, the tragedian, i. 361, iii. 351. His vanity, ib.

Callisthenes, one of Lucullus's freedmen, gives him a potion which affects his brain, ii. 213.——The philosopher, endeavours to sooth Alexander, when he had killed Clitus, ii. 496. His sarcasm on Anaxarchus, ib. His character. His oration in praise of the Macedonians, and another in their dispraise, 496. Aristotle's observation on him hereby justified, That he was an excellent orator, but wanted prudence, ib. Nephew to Aristotle, 498. Refuses to worship Alexander, ib. What he was accused of saying to Hermolaus, ib. His death, ib.——One of the orators whom Alexander demanded of the Athenians, iii. 232.——The historian, iii. 364, 471.

Callistratus, secretary to Mithridates, ii. 187.——The orator, iii. 95, 218.

Callistus, the grandfather of Nymphidius, iii. 515.

Calpurnia, daughter of Piso, and wife of Cæsar, iii. 13. Her dream, 51. Puts herself under the protection of Antony, iii. 329.

Calpurnii, from Calpus, the son of Numa, i. 149.

Calpurnius Bibulus. See *Bibulus*.

Calpurnius Lanarius assassinates Julius Salinator, ii. 294.

Calpurnius Piso. See *Piso*.

Calpus said to be the son of Numa, which was probably an invention of the Calpurnii, i. 149.

Calvinus, Lucius, iii. 429.

Calvisius, a retainer of Augustus, accuses Antony, iii. 357.

Calvisius Sabinus, a Roman general, iii. 520.

Calydon, iii. 485.

Calydonian boar, killed by Meleager, with the assistance of Theseus, i. 53.

Camarineans, iii. 395.

Cambyses, fifty thousand of his men buried in the sands of Africa, ii. 471.

Camels, when first said to be seen by the Romans, ii. 180.

Camel's house, a place so called, ii. 475.

Camerians, admitted citizens of Rome by Marius, contrary to law, ii. 66.

Camerium, taken by Romulus, i. 87.

Camillus or *Casmillus*, a name given to the youth that serves in the temple of Jupiter, i. 133. Camillus never consul, because in his time military tribunes were appointed instead of consuls, 237. The first who raised the family of the Furii to distinction, 238. A great action of his in the wars with the Æqui and Volsci, ib. Raised to the censorship, ib. Obliges the men who live single to marry the widows of those who fell in the wars, ib. Makes orphans, as well as others, contribute to the supplies, ib. A second time military tribune, ib. Defeats the Falisci and Capenates, while his colleagues carry on the siege of Veii, 239. In the tenth year of the siege appointed dictator, 240. He takes Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse, ib. His vows, 240. He takes Veii by mining, 241. Weeps over the miseries of that great city, ib. His generous prayer, ib. Falls in turning, after his prayer, ib. Removes the statue of Juno to Rome, ib. Leads up his triumph, in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which sort of carriage had been appropriated to the service of the gods, 242. Opposes the removing half the people of Rome to Veii. His vow of the tenth of the spoils to Apollo, and absurd proceeding thereupon, 243. In these three last articles he highly offended the people, ib. The matrons contribute their golden ornaments, and a large vase is sent to Delphi, ib. Chosen a military tribune a third time, 244. Besieges Falerii, ib. The treachery of the schoolmaster, and his chastisement, ib. The Falerians, struck with the generous behaviour of Camillus, surrender their city, 245. He loses his son, ib. Is accused of fraud with regard

to the Tuscan spoils, ib. Quits Rome a voluntary exile, 246. Imprecates vengeance on the Romans, ib. Is fined fifteen thousand *ases*, ib. Tokens of the approaching calamities, ib. What led the Gauls first into Italy, ib. They now besiege Clusium, 247. A Roman ambassador unjustly mixes with the combatants, upon which the Gauls march towards Rome, 248. Defeat the Romans near the river Allia, 249. The Romans give up the rest of the city, and retire into the Capitol, 251. Rome is taken and burnt, 253. Provisions beginning to fail the Gauls, part remains before the Capitol, and part goes out, to forage and plunder, ib. Camillus, who had taken up his residence near Ardea, cuts in pieces a considerable corps near that place, 254. The Romans in Veii desire Camillus to take the command of them, which he refuses till commissioned by the senate, ib. and 255. Declared dictator the second time, ib. Finds twenty thousand men in arms at Veii, and adds them to his army, ib. The Gauls climb the rocks by the way which one of the Romans had ascended, but are discovered by some geese kept near Juno's temple, and repulsed by Manlius, 256, and 257. Provisions grow scarce in the Gaulish camp, and sickness prevails in it, ib. The besieged treat with Brennus, and offer him a thousand pounds weight of gold, 258. While that is weighing, Camillus comes to Rome, ib. His discourse with Brennus, ib. Thay come to blows amongst the ruins, ib. Brennus marches in the night, and encamps on the road to Gabii, ib. Camillus attacks and defeats them, and makes himself master of their camp, ib. Enters Rome in triumph, 259. Restores the temples, and builds one to a new deity, Aius Locutius, ib. Prepares to rebuild the city, but the people hanker after Veii, ib. The senate appoints him dictator the third time, ib. The city is rebuilt in the compass of a year, but in an irregular manner, 260. The *Lituus*, or augural staff of Romulus, is found under the rubbish, 261. The Romans are attacked by several of the neighbouring states, and the military tribunes surrounded on Mount Marcius by the Latins, ib. Appointed dictator the fourth time, ib. Burns the enemy's works, and gives them an entire defeat, 262. Finds the city of Sutrium taken, and retakes it the same day, 263. Triumphs for these great actions, ib. Envied by Manlius Capitolinus, who, courting the populace, endeavours to raise himself to absolute power. Manlius is condemned and executed, ib. With difficulty prevailed upon to accept the military tribuneship the sixth time, 264. Marches against the Prænestines and the Volscians, ib. Succours his colleagues, who had rashly ventured upon an action, and routs the enemy the day following, 265. Retakes Satricum, a Roman colony, and puts the Tuscans he found there to the sword, ib. How he dealt with the people of Tusculum, 266. A sedition prevails in Rome; the people insisting that one of the consuls should be a plebeian, ib. Is appointed dictator the fifth time, but soon resigns that office under pretence of sickness, 266, 267. Another dictator, and an Agrarian law, ib. The Gauls march again towards Rome, and Camillus, being appointed dictator the sixth time, defeats them near the river Anio, though now very old, 267, 268. Reconciles the senate and people, by allowing one of the consuls to be chosen out of the plebeians, 269. Builds a temple to Concord, ib. Dies of the plague, extremely regretted, ib.

Campania, i. 308.

Campus Martius had been most of it the property of Tarquin, i. 193.

Camulatus, a soldier who goes over from Brutus to Augustus, iii. 443.

Camurius, iii. 267.

Canathrum, a Lacedæmonian chariot, described, iii. 347.

Candidates loosely clad, that they might more easily show the wounds they had received, i. 379. An agreement made amongst them to prevent bribery, ib.

Canethus, Sciron his son by Henioche the daughter of Pittheus, i. 56.

Canes, javelins made of Cretan canes, ii. 106.

Canidius, tribune of the people proposes to send Pompey ambassador to Ptolemy, iii. 412.——Or *Caninius*, employed in Cyprus, iii. 111.——Antony's lieutenant bribed by Cleopatra to persuade Antony to a thing that proves his ruin, iii. 357. Advises Antony to fight at the head of his land-forces and not of the fleet, 360. Quits his camp after Antony's flight, 364. Brings Antony word that his army is dispersed, 366.

Caninus Rebilius, consul for part of a day, iii. 47.

Canopus, iii. 169.

Cannæ, i. 317, and 509.

Cannicius, Caius, and Castus revolt from Spartacus, ii. 259.

Cantharus, iii. 77.

Canuleia, a vestal virgin consecrated by Numa, i. 74.

Canus, a musician, Galba's present to him, iii. 523.

Canusium, i. 509.

Canutius, a celebrated actor, iii. 427.

Capaneus, i. 474.

Capenates, conquered by Camillus, i. 239.

Caphesius, a friend of Aratus, iii. 393.

Caphis, sent by Sylla to seize the treasures of Delphi, ii. 121. Conducts Hortensius with his reinforcement, 124.

Caphyæ, iii. 155, and 508.

Capito. See *Fonteius*.

Capitol, taken by the Sabines, 179. Besieged by the Gauls, ii. 53. Manlius's judges could not condemn him while they had that in sight, 263.

Capitolinus Q. Catulus, iii. 515.——Quintius, ib.

Cappadocia, ii. 130, 309.

Cappadocians, their goddess, ii. 118.

Caprarii, i. 197.

Capua, surrenders to Hannibal, i. 319.

Captives sacrificed to Bacchus Omnestes. See *Bacchus*.

Carabus. See *Callimedon*.

Caranus, Alexander descended from him, ii. 446.

Carbo, defeated by the Teutones and Ambrones, ii. 55.——*Papirius*, commits great outrages in Rome, iii. 374. Flies into Lybia, 186. On the death of Cinna, he usurps the government, 374. Put to death by Pompey, 376.

Cardians.

Curian soldier kills Cyrus; but as Artaxerxes claimed that honour to himself, the soldier suffers for his unadvised ambition, iii. 456.

Caria, i. 45, 364.

Carians, by the Persians called Cocks, iii. 457.

Carinna one of Carbo's officers, iii. 214.

Carmania, ii, 509.

Carmenta, the goddess, i. 65. *n*. 83.

Carmentalia, feast of, i. 83.

Carmental-Gate, i. 83, 254.

Carneades, founder of the new academy, ii. 212, 269. Sent ambassador by the Athenians to Rome, 584. Much admired there for his eloquence, ib.

Carneus, a Syracusan month, called by the Athenians Metageitnion, ii. 246.

Carnutes and Arverni, a warlike people amongst the Gauls, iii. 23. Vercingetorix, their general, defeated by Cæsar, ib.

Carthage, colonized by Cæsar, iii. 47. Called Junonia by Caius Gracchus when he rebuilt it, 205.——New, ii. 294.

Carthaginians appear before Sicily with a numerous fleet, i. 408. Join Icetes against Timoleon, 409. Send twenty galleys to Rhegium to oppose Timoleon's passage to Sicily, 410. He disappoints them by his superior policy, 412. They send a great army into Sicily under Asdrubal and Hamilcar, 424. Pass the river Crimesus, 426. Defeated by Timoleon, 427. Enter into league with Mamercus and Icetes, 428. Send Gisco with another army into Sicily, in which for the first time, they employ Greek mercenaries, ib. Make peace with Timoleon, 430.

Carvilius, Spurius, the first Roman that divorced his wife, i. 97.

Caryatides, their dance, iii. 463.

Carystus, a city of Eubœa, iii. 428.

Casca, Publius, the first that gave Cæsar a blow in the senate-house, iii. 53, 423.

Casinum, i. 309.

Caspian sea, its water sweet, ii. 489.

Cassandra, daughter of Priamus, iii. 141.

Cassander takes care of the education of Philopœmen, i. 596.——The enemy of Æacides, demands Pyrrhus, when an infant from Glaucias, i. 563.——Son of Antipater, laughs at the barbarians who adore Alexander, ii. 514. Causes Demades to be put to death for calling his father Antipater an old rotten stalk, and despatches his son at the same time, iii. 239. His army defeated by Demetrius, 296.

Cassandria, iii. 314.

Cassilinum, i. 308.

Cassius Sabaco, a friend to Marius, why expelled the senate, ii. 48.——Defeated by Spartacus, ii. 257.——Quæstor to Crassus, advises his general to keep to the heights beyond the Euphrates, ii. 268. Expostulates with the traitor Ariamnes, 271. Marries Junia, the sister of Brutus, iii. 333. His enmity to Cæsar, ib. His conversation with Brutus, iii. 418. Addresses the statue of Pompey (though of Epicurean principles) before he gives Cæsar the blow, 428. Africa allotted as his province, 425. Delivers a third part of his treasure to Brutus, 432. Behaves cruelly at Rhodes, ib. Discourses with Brutus upon apparitions, 436. An unlucky omen happens to him, 437. Gives his opinion against a battle, ib. His discourse with Messala, 439, and with Brutus, ib. The wing which he commanded routed, and his camp plundered, 440. A mistake in reconnoitering makes him resolve upon death, ib. Pindarus, his freedman, dispatches him with the same sword that he dipt in the blood of Cæsar, 441.——Quintus, iii. 325.

Castor and *Pollux* make war upon Athens for their sister Helen, whom Theseus had carried off, i. 61. Received into Athens, and adopted by Aphidnus, in order to their being initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, ib. Appear in the battle by the lake Regillus, and immediately after are seen at Rome giving notice of the victory, 371, 457. Their temple in Samothracia, 455. At Rome, ii. 118, iii. 105. Thought to assist Lysander in a sea-fight, ii. 90. Stars of gold dedicated to them by Lysander, 97.

Castulo, a city of the Celtiberians, ii. 290.

Castus, one of the officers of Spartacus, ii. 251.

Catabates, Demetrius so entitled by the Athenians in one of their acts of worship, iii. 288.

Catana, a city in Sicily, i. 348. ii. 234.

Catiline, Lucius, murders his own brother, and persuades Sylla to put him amongst the proscribed, iii. 142. Attempts to subvert the government, and is near executing it, ib. Account of his conspiracy, ib. His accomplices, ib. The proceedings consequent thereupon, ib. His character, 247. Stands for the consulship, and loses it, ib. His resolution to kill Cicero, 249. His insolent saying in the senate, ib. Fails in his application for the consulship again, ib. Is commanded to quit Rome, and assembles an army, 251. He and his army destroyed by Caius Antonius, 256.

Cato the Censor said to be born at Tusculum, i. 564. Lives in his youth on a paternal estate near the country of the Sabines, ib. His third name originally Porcius, 565. Why changed to Cato, ib. His hair red, and eyes grey, ib. Healthy and strong, for he was inured to labour and temperance, ib. Considers eloquence as an additional body, ib. Pleads causes in the villages and boroughs, but pleads without fee or reward, ib. Military glory still a greater object with him, ib. Makes his first campaign at the age of seventeen, when Hannibal was at the height of his prosperity in Italy, ib. His behaviour in battle, ib. Marches on foot, and carries his own arms, 566. Never angry with his servant for his manner of dressing his victuals, ib. Water his common drink, ib. In this respect he followed the example of Manius Curius, ib. Serves under Fabius Maximus at the siege of Tarentum, and forms a connexion there with Nearchus the Pythagorean, ib. Learns Greek at a late period, 567. What were his favourite authors, ib. Valerius Flaccus, who had a country house in his neighbourhood, takes him into his protection, and advises him to go to Rome, ib. His pleadings, and the interest of Valerius procure him friends there, ib. He is appointed a legionary tribune, and afterwards quæstor, ib. Rises to the highest honours in time, and is the colleague of Valerius both in the consulate and censorship, ib. Takes Fabius Maximus for his model, ib. When quæstor to Scipio in the African expedition, comes home to accuse him of lavishing the public money, 568. Called the Roman Demosthenes, ib. The Romans comparatively corrupt in his time, ib. His extreme temperance and frugality, ib.—Plutarch's reflections on his selling his old slaves, 569. When governor of Sardinia, he puts the people of that country to no manner of charge, 570. Inexorable in whatever relates to public justice, ib. The nature of his style, ib. His remarkable sayings, ib. Sent into the Hither Spain, 573. Hires troops of the Celtiberians, 574. Gains a great battle, ib. Takes four hundred towns, ib. Gives every soldier a pound weight of silver over and above his booty, ib. Keeps not only himself but all his dependents, from extortion, ib. Scipio gets himself appointed his successor near the conclusion of the war; a measure that reflects dishonour on him rather than on Cato, ib. and 575. Cato is honoured with a triumph, 575. He is equally industrious in the public service afterwards, ib. Goes a volunteer with Tiberius Sempronius into Thrace, and with Acilius Glabrio into Greece, ib. Several Grecian cities revolt, but Cato retains Corinth, Patræ, and Ægium, in their duty, ib. The purport of his speech to the Athenians, 576. Antiochus thinks himself secure in defending the pass of Thermopylæ, but Cato takes a circuit, and falls upon his rear, ib. and 577. Manius attacks him in front, and he is put to flight, ib. Cato carries the first news of the victory to Rome, 578. Considers it as a great political duty to prosecute offenders, ib. Impeaches Scipio Africanus, and his brother Lucius, ib. Often impeached himself, and once when he was very old, ib. and 579. What he said thereupon, ib. Is candidate for the censorship, ib. What the power of that office was, ib. Chosen, notwithstanding his declarations that he will be a severe censor, 580. Valerius Flaccus is appointed his colleague at his request, ib. He enrols Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate ib. Expels Lucius Quintus and Manilius, ib. Degrades Lucius the brother of Scipio, ib. What he did with respect to articles of luxury, 581. He demolishes the houses that jutted out into the street, ib. Is fined two talents, ib. Censured for building the Porcian hall at the public charge, ib. The people erect his statue in the temple of *Health*, ib. The inscription on that statue, 582. What he had said before concerning statues, ib. Of all men the most forward to commend himself, ib. Chooses a wife rather for family than fortune, ib. Prefers the character of a good husband to that of a great senator, ib. Takes upon himself the education of his son, 583. His son's constitution and qualities, ib. That son marries Tertia, the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, ib. Cato's management of his slaves, 584. Turns his thoughts from agriculture to more certain dependencies, ib. Practises usury upon ships in

the most blameable manner, ib. Lends money to his slaves, ib. In what manner repaid, 585. The extravagant praise he gave to economy, ib. Displeased at the influence which the eloquence of Carneades had on the Roman youth, 585. His unjust reflection on Socrates, 586. His prediction, ib. An enemy to the Grecian physicians, ib. A quack himself, ib. Marries a young wife in his old age, 587. Has a son by that wife, to whom he gives the surname of Salonius, 588. Bears the death of his son Marcus with the moderation of a philosopher, ib. Writes histories and books on country affairs, ib. Keeps a better table in the country than in town, ib. His conversation, what, ib. Goes ambassador to Carthage, 589. Causes the third Punic war, ib. Dies in the beginning of it, ib. A verse of Homer's which he applied to Scipio, afterwards the second Africanus, 590. Comparison between him and Aristides, 591. ——Of Utica, great-grandson of Cato the Censor, iii. 86. Left an orphan, together with his brother Cæpio and his sister Porcia, ib. Brought up in the house of Livius Drusus, his mother's brother, ib. Had great firmness and solidity when a child, 87. Extraordinary instances of his intrepidity, and love of justice, in that period, ib. and 88. He asks his preceptor for a sword to kill Sylla, 89. His answer to those who asked him whom he loved most, ib. His affection for his brother Cæpio very great, ib. He takes upon him the priesthood of Apollo, ib. Forms a connexion with Antipater of Tyre, for the sake of studying the Stoic philosophy, ib. Cultivates the eloquence which was fit for popular assemblies, 89. The first occasion of his speaking in public, 90. The nature of his eloquence described, ib. He strengthens his constitution by exercise, ib. Travels always on foot, 90. Is remarkably patient and abstemious in sickness, ib. Drinks at first only one glass after his meals, but in time loves to sit over a bottle, for the sake of philosophical conversation, ib. Very inattentive to his dress, even when he appeared in public, 91. Lends his money to his friends without interest, ib. Knows no woman before his marriage, ib. Pays his first addresses to Lepida, and disappointed, ib. Writes iambics against his rival, whose proceedings were unfair, ib. Marries Attilia, the daughter of Soranus, ib. Serves as volunteer under Gellius, in the war with Spartacus, ib. A law being made against the use of nomenclators, he commits the names of the citizens to memory, 92. Goes with a tribune's commission under Rubrius into Macedonia, ib. Rubrius gives him the command of a legion, which he forms in the most excellent manner to military virtue, ib. He goes to Pergamus, and prevails upon Athenodorus, the Stoic, to return with him, 93. His brother Cæpio dies at Ænus in Thrace. On this occasion he shows rather the sensibility of a brother, than the fortitude of a philosopher, ib. Is left co-heir with Cæpio's daughter, 94. Cæsar's calumny against him, ib. Great expressions of affection from his troops at his departure, ib. He visits Asia, and Deiotarus, invites him to his court, ib. His manner of travelling, and care not to be troublesome, ib. Meets with a pleasant adventure on entering Antioch, 95. Pompey gives him an honourable reception at Ephesus, ib. What Curio said to Cato with respect to his travelling, 96. Deiotarus strongly importunes him to receive his presents, and he makes a very short stay at his court, on account of that importunity, ib. He sails from Brundusium to Rome in the ship that carried Cæpio's remains, and has a bad passage, ib. When quæstor, makes a great reformation in that department, 97. Calls the assassins employed by Sylla to account, 98. Prevents his colleague Marcellus from making an unjust grant, 99. Always attends the meetings of the senate, ib. Watches over the conduct of Pompey, ib. Opposes the pernicious practices of Clodius, ib. His veracity becomes proverbial, ib. Not inclined to offer himself for tribune of the people, but puts a force upon himself when he finds that Metellus Nepos stands for that office, 100. Being appointed tribune, he gives the people a severe charge with respect to corruption in the consular elections, 101. Prosecutes Muræna for offending in that way, ib. Muræna, notwithstanding, consults him during his consulship, ib. Cato supports the supreme magistrate by many excellent measures during the turbulent times of Catiline, 102. He prevails with the senate to decree that the conspirators should be capitally punished, 103. A billet is brought to Cæsar in the senate-house, and Cato insists on having it read publicly, ib. The billet is from Cato's sister Servilia, ib. Unfortunate amongst the women, ib. The conduct of his own wife Attilia not unexceptionable, ib. He divorces her, ib. Marries Marcia the daughter of Philip, ib. Hortensius desires to have her, and Cato gives her up to him, ib. He persuades the senate to grant the people a free gift of corn, in order to counterwork the popularity of Cæsar, ib. The ill policy of that proceeding, ib. *n.* Metellus proposes an edict to call Pompey and his troops into Italy, intending to give up the state into his hands, ib. Cato opposes him at the

hazard of his life, and succeeds 105, 106. Prevents the senate from voting Metellus infamous, 107. Procures Lucullus his triumph, which Memmius had attempted to deprive him of. Prevents the senate from granting Pompey's requisition to defer the election of consuls till his arrival, ib. Pompey demands two of Cato's nieces in marriage, the elder for himself, and the younger for his son; and Cato refuses him, ib. Pompey is soon after guilty of open bribery, 108. What Cato said to the women upon it, ib. Cato's bad policy in rejecting the alliance of Pompey throws him into the arms of Cæsar, ib. Cato supports Lucullus against Pompey, ib. Opposes the Agrarian law proposed by Pompey and Cæsar, ib. They carry it against him by violence, 109. The senate is commanded to swear to the observance of the law, ib. Cato is prevailed upon by Cicero to take the oath, ib. He opposes Cæsar with respect to the distribution of lands in Campania, and Cæsar leads him to prison, ib. Cæsar perceives the bad policy of that measure, and engages one of the tribunes to rescue him, 110. The people vote Cæsar the provinces of Illyricum and the Gauls for five years; upon which Cato tells them, they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome, ib. Cato is sent into Cyprus, that Clodius might be able to banish Cicero, ib. Cato, before his departure, exhorts Cicero to yield to the necessity of the times, 111. Brings Ptolemy king of Cyprus to submit by negotiation, ib. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who was on his way to Rome, to solicit his re-establishment in that kingdom, waits on Cato at Rhodes, ib. The good advice that Cato gave him, ib. Ptolemy of Cyprus poisons himself, 112. Cato restores the Byzantine exiles, and reconciles them to their fellow-citizens, ib. Offends Munatius by his minute attention to the sale of Ptolemy's goods, ib. Munatius is reconciled to him through the mediation of Marcia, 113. Cato returns near seven thousand talents of silver to Rome, ib. 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ryptolemus, ib. His great attachment to her while she lives, and sorrow for her death, ib. Equal in courage to Miltiades, and in prudence to Themistocles; and an honester man than either of them, ib. One of the first to try the fortune of Athens at sea, upon the invasion of Xerxes, 155. Distinguishes himself in the battle of Salamis, ib. The people begin to be weary of Themistocles, and with pleasure receive Cimon into the administration, ib. Aristides contributes to his advancement, ib. Commands at sea for the Athenians, and draws the allies from Pausanias, not by force, but by his obliging manners, ib. Defeats the Persians in Thrace, and reduces their general Butes to such extremity, that he burns the city of Eion, and perishes in the flames, 156. Plants there a colony of Athenians, and erects three marble hermæ in memory of his victory. The inscriptions upon the hermæ, ib. Colonises Amphipolis, 157. Takes Scyros, and clears the Ægean sea of pirates, ib. Discovers the remains of Theseus in Scyros, and carries them with great solemnity to Athens, 158. Games instituted at Athens on that occasion, ib. Cimon's talent for singing, ib. His division of the booty taken at Sestos and Byzantium, ib. His hospitality and bounty to the poor citizens of Athens, 159. Revives the memory of the golden age, 160. Though so kind to the people, yet is of aristocratic principles, 160. Opposes Ephialtes in his attempt to abolish the court of Areopagus, ib. His noble answer to Rhœsaces the Persian, who offered him money. He takes money, and ships unmanned, of the allies, instead of obliging them to serve in person, 161. This naturally gives the Athenians the superiority, ib. He reduces the king of Persia so effectually that, from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not a Persian standard to be seen, ib. Reduces the Phaselites, ib. Defeats the Persian fleet in the river Eurymedon, and takes two hundred ships, 162. Beats the Persian land-forces the same day, ib. Meets the Phœnician reinforcements, and takes all their ships, ib. Obliges the king of Persia, by treaty, not to come within the Chelidonian islands with his ships, nor within a day's journey of the Grecian sea with his land-forces, ib. With the treasures he brings home, builds the wall on the south side of the citadel, and performs other public works, 163. Reduces all the Thracian Chersonesus, defeats the Thracians, and secures the golden mines to the Athenians, 164. Is accused for not invading Macedonia, when he had so fair an opportunity, ib. Acquitted through Elpinice's application to Pericles, ib. Pericles, during the absence of Cimon, contracts the jurisdiction of the Areopagites, and brings almost all causes before the people, ib. Cimon, at his return, attempts to restore that jurisdiction, but in vain, 165. The friendship that subsisted between Cimon and the Lacedæmonians, ib. The names he gave his sons, ib. The Lacedæmonians, after the earthquake, apply to the Athenians for succours against the Helots and Messenians, 166. Cimon marches to their relief, ib. His adventure on his return at Corinth, ib. The Lacedæmonians call in the Athenians a second time, and afterwards dismiss their troops, without employing them, 167. The Athenians banish Cimon and declare war against the Lacedæmonians, ib. Cimon's friends distinguish themselves in the battle of Tanagra, and he is recalled, 167. He makes peace between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, ib. Fits out a fleet of two hundred sail to carry the war a second time into Egypt and Cyprus, ib. Presages of his death, 168. Defeats the Persian fleet on the Asiatic coast, 169. Conceives a design to overturn that whole empire, ib. Casts anchor before Cyprus, ib. Sends persons to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, ib. The god declares that Cimon is already with him, ib. He dies during the siege of Citium, ib. Had given orders that the officers should sail home with the fleet, and in the mean time conceal his death, ib. The last of the Grecian generals who did any thing considerable against the barbarians, ib. His monument, where, 170.

Cimonia, what, ii. 170.

Cineas, his conversation with Pyrrhus concerning happiness, ii. 20. Sent by Pyrrhus to Rome with proposals of peace, which are rejected, 24. Calls the senate of Rome an assembly of kings, 25. Gives Fabricius an account of the Epicurean philosophy, ib. Sent with other offers to Rome, ib. Sent into Sicily, 28.

Cineas, father of Thallus, iii. 66.

Cingonius Varro, a friend of Nymphidius, iii. 522. Put to death by Galba, 523.

Cinna, Lucius, though of the opposite party, named consul by Sylla, upon a promise to be true to his interest, ii. 120. Forfeits his oath, ib. Driven out of Rome by Octavius, 353. Hires a person to assassinate Pompey and his father, iii. 371. Killed by one of his own officers, 373. ——One of the conspirators against Cæsar, iii. 54.——Helvius, a poet, and friend of Cæsar's, dreams that Cæsar, after his death, invites him to supper, iii. 426. Goes to attend his obsequies; and, being taken by the rabble for the other Cinna, is torn in pieces, ib.

Cius, one of the cities offered to Phocion by Alexander, iii. 71.

Circæum, ii. 73, iii. 36.
Circe, ii. 65.
Circeii, i. 390, iii. 47.
Circus Flaminius, ii. 208.——*Maximus*, i. 76.
Cirræatum, a village in the territory of Arpinum, where Marius originally lived, ii. 44.
Cirrha, i. 164.
Cissus and Ephialtes imprisoned by Alexander, ii. 484.
Cissusa, a fountain whose water was like wine; Bacchus said to have been washed in it immediately after his birth, ii. 106.
Citaris, or Turban, iii. 470. *n.*
Cithæron, Mount, i. 546.
Citium, ii. 169.
Civic Crown, the reward amongst the Romans for saving the life of a citizen, i. 372.
Clœlia, swims the Tiber on horseback, i. 208. An equestrian statue of her in the Via Sacra, 204.
Clarius, river, i. 181.
Claros, temple there plundered by the pirates, iii. 389.
Clastidium, i. 505.
Claudia, daughter of Appius Claudius, betrothed to Tiberius Gracchus, iii. 184.——Daughter of Fulvia, married to Augustus Cæsar, iii 332.
Claudii, account of that family, i 205.
Claudius, the emperor sets earthen vessels before Vinius, after he had stolen one of plate, iii. 520.——See *Appius*.
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Clazomenæ, i. 117, ii. 25.
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Cleandrides, Pericles bribes him to withdraw the Lacedæmonian forces, i. 289. Is sentenced to death, and flies from Lacedæmon, ib. Father of Gylippus.
Cleanthes, his observation upon Socrates and Alcibiades, i. 336.——Freedman and physician of Cato the younger, iii. 137.
Clearchus, sent ambassador by Philip to Thebes, iii. 229.——The Lacedæmonian general, ordered to obey Cyrus, iii. 454. His over-cautious advice to Cyrus, 456. Ruins the whole affair by a bad disposition of the Greeks, ib.
Clemency, a temple dedicated to that virtue in honour of Cæsar, iii. 46.
Cleobis and Biton, preferred in point of happiness, by Solon, to Crœsus, i. 182.
Cleobule, daughter of Gylon, and mother of Demosthenes, iii. 218. *n.*
Cleocritus compromises the dispute between the Athenians and Spartans, as to erecting a trophy, i. 303, 316.
Cleodes, son of Hyllus, ii. 7.
Cleomantis the Lacedæmonian, one of Alexander's diviners, ii. 494.
Cleombrotus, king of Sparta in the room of his father-in-law, Leonidas, who is deposed, iii. 409. Takes refuge in the temple of Neptune, 411. His wife Chelonis, who had before attended her father in his banishment, now goes into exile with him, 413.——Succeeds Agesipolis, and is sent with an army into Bœotia, i. 483, 487. Killed in the battle of Leuctra, iii. 359.
Cleomedes the Astypalensian, account of his gigantic strength, i. 89. Of his body's vanishing after his death, ib. The priestess of Apollo calls him the last of the heroes, 90.
Cleomedon, fined by the Athenians, iii. 382.
Cleomenes the Athenian, ii. 82.——The Spartan, one of the arbitrators between the Athenians and Megarensians, i. 163.——Son of Leonidas, marries Agiatis the widow of Agis, iii. 153. His character, ib. Dissatisfied at the prevailing manners of Sparta, ib. Instructed in the Stoic philosophy by Sphærus, ib. Sounds Xenares about bringing back the Spartan constitution to its first principles, 154. Thinks war would furnish the best opportunity for the execution of his designs, ib. Seizes Athenæum, 155. Watches the motions of Aratus, ib. He is recalled from Arcadia by the ephori, ib. Sent out again, ib. Takes Methydrium, in the territories of Argos, ib. The Achæans march against him with an army greatly superior to his, under the command of Aristomachus, ib. Yet Aratus prevents their fighting, ib. Cleomenes goes to the assistance of the Eleans against the Achæans and defeats the latter at Lycæum, 156. Aratus makes a sudden movement to Mantinea, and takes it, ib. Cleomenes recalls Archidamus from exile, who is soon after treacherously slain, ib. Bribes the ephori to permit him to renew the war, ib. Defeats the Achæans near Leuctra, and kills Lysiades, 157. Persuades his father-in-law Megistonus to join him in endeavouring to break the yoke of the ephori, and to procure an equal division of lands, ib. Remarkable dream of one of the ephori in the temple of Pasiphæ, ib. Cleomenes takes Heræa and Alsæa, two cities belonging to the Achæan league, ib. Returns suddenly with a small party, and kills all the ephori except one, 158. Agesilaus, who was the surviving one, makes his appearance the next day, and is spared, ib. Cleomenes banishes eighty of the most obnoxious citizens, 159. His speech to the people in justification of his proceedings, ib. He surrenders his own estate into the public stock, 160. Divides the lands, ib. Fills up the number of cities, ib. Forms the youth according to the discipline of Lycurgus, ib. Takes his brother Euclidas for his partner in the throne, ib. Ravages the territories

of Megalopolis, without any opposition from the Achæans, ib. Is a pattern of sobriety, 161. What kind of table he kept for strangers, ib. The Mantineans put themselves under his protection, 162. He defeats the Achæans at Dymeæ, ib. Insists on being appointed to the command of the league, ib. His sickness breaks his measures, 163. Aratus, out of envy to Cleomenes, invites Antigonus into Peloponnesus, ib. Cleomenes, declares war against the Achæans, 164. Takes Pellene, Pheneum, and Penteleum; comes upon Argos at the time of the Nemean games, and takes it, ib. and 165. Makes himself master of Cleonæ and Phlius, ib. The Corinthians invite him into their city, ib. He invests the citadel, which was in the hands of the Achæans, ib. Fortifies the Onean mountains, 166. Antigonus, after several vain attempts, gets into Peloponnesus, by means of a defection of the Argives, 167, Cleomenes retires to defend Laconia, ib. His wife Agiatis dies, 168. Ptolemy promises him succours, ib. His mother and children are sent hostages into Egypt, ib. He enfranchises a number of the helots, 169. Makes a diversion against the progress of the Macedonian arms, by surprising Megalopolis, 170. Makes two excursions into the territories of Argos, 171. Is forced to action for want of money, 173. Defeated and ruined in the battle of Sellasia, ib. Takes ship at Gythium, ib. and 174. Antigonus behaves to the Spartans with great humanity, ib. Therycion exhorts Cleomenes to kill himself, and soon after sets the example, ib. Cleomenes's answer, 175. He sails to Egypt, where Ptolemy Euergetes treats him with some degree of generosity, ib. Ptolemy's successor, being a weak prince, soon begins to look upon him with an evil eye, 176. He desires only a ship to carry him to Peloponnesus, and is refused it, ib. and 177. The great injury done him by Nicagoras the Messenian, 177 and 178. He is confined to his apartment, ib. He gets out of confinement by a stratagem, 179. After great exertions of valour in the streets, he finds it impossible to escape, and therefore kills himself, ib. His friends despatch themselves with him, ib. Ptolemy puts his mother and children to death, 180.

Cleon the Athenian accuses Pericles, i. 298. His extravagant action in speaking iii. 223. His character, 224. Reflects on Nicias, and having the command given him, returns victorious, 225. Troublesome in the administration, ib. Is killed in battle, 226.——Of Halicarnassus, composes an oration for Lysander, containing arguments for making the kings of Sparta elective, ii. 104.——The Byzantine, his esteem for Phocion, iii. 67——One of the tyrants of Sicyon, iii. 475.——i. 321, 400, and iii. 166.

Cleonides, iii. 291.

Cleonyce, of Byzantium, comes with great reluctance towards the bed of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and is inadvertently killed by him, ii. 153. He seeks means of expiation, and invokes her ghost, ib. The answer she made him, ib.

Cleonymus, of Sparta, stirs up the Thebans against Demetrius, but on that prince's approach, withdraws, iii. 309. His wife unfaithful to him, i. 35. Calls in Pyrrhus, and advises him to attack Sparta immediately; but that advice is not listened to, and Pyrrhus fails, 33 and 35.——Son of Sphodrias, favourite of Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, iii. 355. His valour and death, 539.——Father of Leonidas, iii. 139.

Cleopater, commands for Aratus in Acrocorinth, iii. 504.

Cleopatra, Cæsar undertakes the Ægyptian war for her sake, iii. 40. Cæsar sends for her, and she contrives to be conveyed to him in a carpet, ib. Cæsar reconciles her to her brother, ib. Her brother is lost in an action upon the Nile, 41. Cæsar declares her queen of Egypt, and has a son by her, named Cæsario, ib. Commanded to appear before Antony, 335. Her magnificent sprit, and the charms of her conversation, 336. On a fishing party, puts a salt fish on Antony's hook, and tells him that kings, not fish, were his game, 338. Dresses in the habit of the goddess Isis, 356. Supplies Antony with ships, money, and provisions, ib. Jealous of the honours paid Octavia at Athens, 357. Antony loses many friends on her account, ib. Persuades Antony to fight Octavius by sea, 360. Ruins Antony by her flight, for she draws him after her, 362. Forms a scheme to retire into the farthest parts of the east, 365. Makes an experiment of several poisonous drugs, ib. and venomous animals, ib. Builds several monuments as repositories of her wealth, ib. Draws up Antony half dead into one of them, 370. Seized by Proculeius, 371. Her intention to starve herself to death, ib. Augustus visits her, ib. Her address to the gods at Antony's tomb, 372-3. Writes a letter to Augustus, and dies, ib.——And Alexander, twins of Antony by Cleopatra, iii. 342. Cleopatra marries prince Juba, the historian, 375.——Daughter of Mithridates, and wife of Tigranes, ii. 191.——Wife of Philip, ii. 452.——Sister to Alexander the Great, ii. 319.

Cleophanes, the Athenian, distinguishes himself by his bravery, iii. 67.

Cleophantus, one of the sons of Themistocles, i. 236.

Cleophylus, Homer's poems preserved by his posterity, i. 100.

Cleoptolymus, Antiochus marries his daughter in Eubœa, i. 386.

Cleora, wife of Agesilaus, iii. 348.

Clepsydra, a fountain in the citadel of Athens, iii. 341.

Clidemus, the historian, i. 50, and 555.

Clients, the people distinguished into patrons and clients by Romulus, i. 74.

Climax, cliffs of, under which Alexander marches by the Pamphylian sea, ii. 461.

Clineas, a friend of Solon's, i. 169.

Clinias, father of Alcibiades, gains honour in the sea fight near Artemisium, i. 62. *n.* 332. Falls in the battle of Coronea, ib.——Father of Aratus, one of the two chief magistrates of Sicyon, iii. 506, Killed by Abantidas, ib.

Clisthenes, son of Alcmæon, expels the Pisistratidæ, and establishes the democracy at Athens, i. 271.

Clitomachus, iii. 241.

Clitorians, how Soüs acquits himself of his promise to them, i. 97.

Clitus saves the life of Alexander, ii. 459. Ill omen while he is sacrificing, 494. Behaves rudely to Alexander, and is killed by him, ib. The king inconsolable for his death, 495, and 496.——Carries Phocion and his friends as prisoners to Athens, iii. 83.——Servant to Brutus, iii. 446.

Cloaks and hats of purple, the most honourable marks of the prince's regard amongst the Macedonians, ii. 320.

Clodia, sister of Clodius and wife of Lucullus, divorced for injuring her husband's bed, iii. 181.——Called Quadrantaria, and why, iii. 261.

Clodius, Publius, raises a mutiny in the army against Lucullus, ii. 204. His infamous character, iii. 260. Insults Pompey, iii. 408. Intrigues with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, or attempts at least to do it, iii. 9. Accused of impiety and incest, but acquitted, iii. 13, and 261. Elected tribune of the people, ib. Causes great disturbance in Rome, 100. and 262. For the sake of being made tribune, descends from a patrician into a plebeian family, 108. Sends Cato to Cyprus, 110. Prosecutes and banishes Cicero, 264. Burns Cicero's houses, 264. Killed by Milo 266.

Clodius Glaber, the prætor, sent against Spartacus, ii. 256.

Clodius, the husband of Fulvia, who afterwards was married to Antony, iii. 327.——Goes in disguise from Lepidus's camp to Antony, iii. 331.——*Celsus*, the Antiochian, his advice to Nymphidius, iii. 521.——*Macer* commands in Africa, iii. 517. Deliberates about assuming the imperial title, ib. Slain by Trebonianus, 523.

Clodones, a name of the Bacchanals, ii. 447.

Clœlia. See *Cœlia*.

Clusians, besieged by the Gauls, i. 247. The Roman ambassador on that occasion unjustly commits hostilities against the Gauls, 248.

Clymene, i. 62.

Cnacion, a river in Sparta, near which the senate used to meet, called also Oenus, i. 102.

Cnidians, ii. 61.

Cnidus, i. 357.

Cnieus. *See all the* CNEII *under their family names.*

Coalemos, a name given to Cimon, the grandfather of Cimon the Athenian general, ii. 153.

Coccius, Otho's brother's son, iii. 547.

Cock, on what occasion the Lacedæmonians offered one in sacrifice, iii. 363. A golden cock carried on the point of a spear, 457.

Cocles. See *Horatius*.

Codrus, i. 56. *n.* Solon descended from him, 230.

Cœlosyria, given by Antony to Cleopatra, i. 157.

Cœlia, wife of Sylla, divorced, because she was barren, ii. 116.

Cœlius, one of Carbo's officers, iii. 374. ——The orator, iii. 268.

Coffins, two of stone made for Numa, one for his body, and the other for his books, i. 149.

Cohorts. See *Prætorian*.

Coin, that of Persia stamped with the figure of an archer; hence Agesilaus says he was driven out of Asia by thirty thousand archers, iii. 345.

Colchis, iii. 397.

Colias, i. 160.

Collatinus, Tarquinius, the husband of Lucretia, chosen consul, i. 189. Accused of favouring Tarquin, 193. Lays down the consulate, ib.

Colline Gate, i. 136 and 252.

Colonies, the advantage of those sent out by Pericles, i. 50.

Colonis, a town so called, i. 610. Probably should be written Coronis, ib. *n.*

Colophonians, restored to liberty by Lucullus, ii. 172.

Colossus of Hercules. i. 324.

Colt sacrificed by the Thebans, i. 487.

Colyttus, iii. 225.

Comedy, iii. 427. The ancient, 285. *n.*

Comet, a large one appeared for seven nights after the death of Cæsar, iii. 56.

Comias, archon when Pisistratus erected his tyranny, i. 187.

Cominius, the consul, besieges Corioli, i. 374. Beats the Volscians, ib. Speaks in praise of Caius Marcius, 376. Gives him the surname of Coriolanus, 377.

Comitium, a place in Rome where elections were held, and other public business transacted, i. 72. Why so called, 82.

Commagene, iii. 341, and 407.

Community of goods in Saturn's time; Cimon's liberality resembled it, ii. 160.

Companies, the people of Rome distributed into companies by Numa, according to their trades, i. 144.

Comparisons and *Similies;* of the forming of a commonwealth to the stopping and uniting of small bodies in the water, i. 601. Of Pyrrhus to a gamester, ii. 32. Of ambitious men to Ixion, iii. 138. The rage of tyranny dissolved in the ardour of youthful indulgences, as iron is softened in the fire, iii 383. The precipitate steps of returning freedom compared to the rash use of returning health, 11. The severe though necessary measures of administration compared to the bandages of surgeons, ii. 216. Alcibiades compared to the land of Egypt, 225. Of biography, to portrait painting, ii. 446. Of the Macedonian army, after the death of Alexander, to Polyphemus, after his eye was put out, 514. The great councils of a state compared to anchors, i. 174. The constituent parts of an army to those of the human body, i. 437. Over-cautious generals to timorous physicians, 524. The Spartan phalanx to a fierce animal erecting his bristles, 554.

Concave mirrors, the vestal virgins recovered fire by them, when theirs happened to be extinguished, i. 137.

Conception and delivery supposed to be assisted by being struck with thongs in the feast of the Lupercalia. See *Lupercalia*.

Concord, a temple built to her, i. 269, iii. 211.

Conidas, tutor to Theseus, i. 43.

Conon, the Athenian general, defeated by Lysander at Ægos Potamos, i. 367. Defeats the Spartans near Cnidus, ii. 466. Kills their admiral Pisander, iii. 347. Rebuilds the long walls of Athens with the Persian money, 353.——Takes an unfair advantage, with respect to the public, of Solon's friendship for him, i. 168.

Conopion burns the body of Phocion, iii. 84.

Conscience, terrors of, upon Marius, ii. 79. On Pausanias, iii. 155.

Considius tells Cæsar he is secure in the armour of old age, iii. 13.

Conspiracy against Cæsar, iii. 423. Of Catiline, 41, and 102.

Consualia, a feast amongst the Romans, i. 77.

Consuls, when one of them was first chosen out of the plebeians, i. 197, *n*.

Consus, the god of counsel, whose altar Romulus pretended to find under ground, i. 76. Kept covered, except during the equestrian games, ib.

Copillus, chief of the Tectosagæ, taken prisoner by Sylla, ii. 112.

Coos, ii. 358.

Coponius, governor for the Romans in Carræ, ii. 278. Receives Crassus into the town after his defeat, ib.

Corcyne, Ariadne's nurse, i. 52.

Corcyra, an island of considerable strength, i. 294. Pyrrhus gains it by marriage, iii. 568. The dispute between its inhabitants and the city of Corinth determined by Themistocles, 230.

Corduba,

Cordylio, iii. 93.

Core, daughter of Aidoneus, king of the Molossians, i. 61.

Corfinium, iii. 30.

Corinth, its regard for liberty, i. 333. Why called the *Fetters of Greece*, iii. 486. Colonised by Cæsar, 46.

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Coriolanus, Caius Marcius, of an illustrious family, i. 369. Brought up by his mother in her widowhood, ib. His excellent genius not sufficiently cultivated, ib. His heroic strength improved by exercise, ib. Makes his first campaign when Tarquin was endeavouring to re-establish himself, ib. Gains a civic crown in the decisive battle, 370. His affectionate attention to his mother Volumnia, 371. Lives in the same house with her after he is married, ib. The commons apply to the senate for relief against the usurers, ib. Relief is promised them before the Sabine war, but denied after it; and Coriolanus, in particular, is severe against them, 372. The people secede to the sacred mount, 373. The senate send to them the most venerable men of their body, and at the head of them Menenius Agrippa, who addresses them with a fable that brings them to temper, ib. Before they are reconciled to the senate, they obtain tribunes to defend their rights, ib. The plebeians now readily give in their names for the war, ib. Corioli is taken, chiefly by the valour of Marcius, 374. He hastens to assist the consul Cominius in the battle with the Volscians, 375. The Volscians are entirely defeated, ib. Cominius offers Marcius the tenth of the spoils, 376. Marcius refuses the offer, and only desires to have a Volscian released to whom he was bound by the ties of hospitality, ib. Cominius gives him the surname

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Cornelius Merula, made consul by Octavius in the room of Cinna, ii. 77.

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Cronius, the same with the month Hecatombœon, i. 46.

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Culleo, advises Pompey to divorce Julia, and exchange Cæsar's friendship for that of the senate, iii. 110.

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Euclidas, the Lacedæmonian, Artaxerxes's answer to his insolence, iii. 453.——Brother of Cleomenes, assumed by him into partnership of the throne, iii. 160. Commands one wing of the Spartan army against Antigonus, i. 599. Defeated and killed in the battle of Sellasia, iii. 173.

Euclides, the Athenian, opposes Aratus, iii. 504.——One of the Corinthian officers sent by Timoleon to take possession of the castle of Syracuse, i. 415.

Euctus, one of Perseus's treasurers, i. 457. Perseus stabs him for remonstrating against his conduct, ib.

Eudæus, one of Perseus's treasurers, i. 437.

Eudamidas, king of Sparta, father of Agis, iii. 140.

Eudamus, master of the elephants, informs Eumenes of a conspiracy against his life, because he was in his debt, iii. 328.

Eudemus, the Pergamenian, brings Attalus's will to Rome, iii. 192.

Eudoxus, the first that applied geometry to mechanical purposes, i. 512.

Euergetes. See *Ptolemy Euergetes*.

Evius, one of the names of Bacchus, i. 527.——The musician, ii. 313.

Eumenes, a native of Cardia in the Thracian Chersonesus, said by some to be the son of a poor waggoner; but more probably the son of a person with whom Philip, king of Macedon, had connexions of hospitality, ii. 312. Philip is pleased with his performances in the public exercises, and takes him into his train, ib. Secretary to Alexander the Great, ib. Upon the death of Hephæstion, and the promotion of Perdiccas, succeeds Perdiccas in his command of cavalry, ib. Has the sole direction of an Indian expedition, ib. Alexander honours him with his alliance by giving him Barsine, 313. Hephæstion takes his quarters from him, and gives them to a musician, ib. Eumenes reports it to Alexander, but only does himself harm by complaining of a favourite, ib. Alexander, wanting to fit out a fleet, asks Eumenes for three hundred talents: Eumenes excuses himself; and Alexander burns his tent; upon which great treasures are found melted down, ib. He continued Eumenes as his secretary notwithstanding, ib. Another dispute between Eumenes and Hephæstion, ib. Hephæstion dies, and Eumenes exerts all his art to celebrate his memory, 314. Upon the death of Alexander, a dispute arises between the late king's friends and the phalanx, ib. Eumenes pretends to stand neuter, but privately takes part with the phalanx, ib. On the division of Alexander's dominions, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia are assigned to Eumenes, ib. Leonatus and Antigonus are appointed to put him in possession, ib. Antigonus despises the commission, ib. Eumenes gets Leonatus's secret from him, as to his designs on Macedonia, and flies with it to Perdiccas, 315. Perdiccas establishes him in Cappadocia, ib. Perdiccas is desirous that Eumenes should secure the adjoining province of Armenia, against the practices of Neoptolemus, ib. Eumenes raises and trains a body of cavalry, to be a counterpoise against the Mace-

donian infantry, ib. Craterus and Antipater pass into Asia to humble Perdiccas, 316. Their first design is upon Eumenes and Cappadocia, ib. Meantime Neoptolemus falls upon him with the Macedonian phalanx, but is defeated, ib. Craterus and Neoptolemus advance against Eumenes, 317. Eumenes fights them, and yet finds means to conceal from his troops that they had to act against Craterus, ib. His dream previous to the battle, ib. He kills both Craterus and Neoptolemus; the latter with his own hand, 318. Weeps over Craterus, 319. The Macedonians, upon the death of Craterus, who was their particular favourite, resolve upon the death of Eumenes, and desire Antigonus and Antipater to take the direction of the war, ib. Eumenes takes some of the king's horses from Mount Ida, and gives a receipt for them, ib. Intends to make Lydia the seat of war, but, at the request of Cleopatra, winters in the Upper Phrygia, ib. Alcetas and others contend with him for the command, ib. His saying upon it, 320. Having not money to pay his troops, he appoints the officers castles and lands, out of which they were to pay their men, ib. By this he gains the hearts of the Macedonians, so that they discourage all treasonable attempts against him, and appoint him a strong guard, ib. He distributes amongst them the badges of honour which they used to receive from their king, ib. Loses a battle to Antigonus, by the treachery of one of his officers; but hangs the traitor, and, by an artful movement, returns to the field of battle, and buries the dead, 321. Passes by an opportunity to take Antigonus's baggage, ib. That prince's saying upon it, ib. Eumenes retires to the castle of Nora with only five hundred horse and two hundred foot, ib. Antigonus proposes a conference, 322. Eumenes's spirited answer, ib. Antigonus draws a line of circumvallation about the place, and leaves troops to carry on the siege, ib. The castle affords only corn, water, and salt; yet Eumenes furnishes out an agreeable entertainment to his friends, ib. His invention for exercising the horses as well as men, 323. Antigonus, on the death of Antipater, forms the design of establishing himself in Macedonia; and therefore gives Eumenes his liberty, on condition of his taking the oath he proposed, ib. Eumenes makes an alteration in the oath, but obtains his liberty, ib. Olympias invites him into Macedonia, in order to his taking the tuition of Alexander's son, 324. Philip, Aridæus, and Polyperchon empower him to take what sums he pleased out of the royal treasures at Quinda, to enable him to carry on the war against Antigonus, ib. They likewise order Antigenes and Teutamus to support him with the Argyraspides, ib. These officers being unwilling to submit to Eumenes, he pretends that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and ordered them to erect a royal pavilion, and place in it a throne of gold, which was to be honoured with their obedience, ib. He is joined by Peucestas and other governors of provinces, 325. The inconveniences he experiences from those governors, ib. He borrows money of heads of the army, to prevent their conspiring against his life, ib. On the approach of an enemy, all the grandees and officers give him the first place, ib. He defeats Antigonus, on his attempt to pass the Pasitigris, ib. Peucestas feasts the army, and hopes to be indulged with the command; but on the appearance of Antigonus and his troops, they call for Eumenes, though he was sick and carried in a litter, ib. Antigonus no sooner spies the litter moving from rank to rank, than he sounds a retreat, ib. The Macedonians again grow mutinous, and spread themselves all over the province of Gabene, 327. Antigonus marches against them; but the cold is so intense, that he is forced to light many fires, which discover his motions, ib. Eumenes undertakes to retard his march, till the troops could be assembled, and effects it by a stratagem, 328. The chiefs of the Argyraspides agree with other officers to make use of Eumenes in the ensuing battle, and afterwards to assassinate him, ib. This plot is discovered to him by persons to whom he owed money, ib. He makes his will, and destroys his other papers, 328. The veterans beat Antigonus's infantry, but his cavalry in the mean time takes their baggage, ib. Antigonus offers to restore the Argyraspides their baggage, on condition that they would put Eumenes in his hands, 329. His speech to the Macedonians, before he is delivered up, ib. and 330. Antigonus deliberates some time in what manner he should dispose of him, and at last gives orders for his execution, 331. After which he punishes the Argyraspides in the most signal manner for their treachery, ib. Comparison between him and Sertorius, ib.——King of Pergamus, honours paid him at Rome by all but Cato the Censor, i. 571.

Eumenides. See *Furies.*

Eumolpidæ had the direction of the mysteries of Ceres, i. 364. Ordered to absolve Alcibiades, 365.

Euneos, one of Theseus's companions in his expedition against the Amazons, i. 56.

Eunomus, the father of Lycurgus, i. 98.

Killed by a kitchen knife, ib.——The Thracian, advises Demosthenes not to be discouraged by his ill success in his first attempts to speak in public, iii. 220.

Eunus, a fugitive slave, stirs up the servile war in Sicily, ii. 129. Dies of the lousy disease, ib.

Euphorion, said by some writers to be the father of Solon, i. 156.

Euphranor prepares the scaling-ladders for Aratus, iii. 478.

Euphrantides, the diviner, advises the sacrificing of the three children of Xerxes's sister, Sandace, to Bacchus Omestes, ii. 156.

Euphrates, river, ii. 194, and 475.

Euphronius, tutor to Antony's children by Cleopatra, sent ambassador to Augustus, iii. 325.

Eupolemus, son of the tyrant Icetes, taken and put to death, i. 43.

Eupolis, second wife of Archidamus, and mother of Agesilaus, ii. 333.

Eupolis, ii. 271, 340.

Euripides, his account of the Minotaurs, i. 48. His ode in praise of Alcibiades, i. 339. His epitaph on the Athenians, ii. 236. One of his verses saves Athens from being destroyed by Lysander and the confederate Greeks, 96. His verses save the lives of many Athenians in Sicily, 248. Mariners of Caunus admitted into port in Sicily, because they could repeat some of his verses, ib. His tomb struck by lightning, and by that supposed to be rendered sacred, i. 112.

Eurotas, river ii. 347.

Euribiades, admiral of the confederate fleet against the Persians, charged with want of courage, i. 217. Offers to strike Themistocles, 220. Themistocles's answer thereupon, ib.

Eurycles, the Syracusan orator, proposes to send the Athenians to the quarries, and to put their two generals to death, ii. 246. ——The Lacedæmonian, commands a ship for Augustus against Antony, iii. 361. What he said to Antony, 364.

Eurycleidas, sent by Cleomenes to the ephori, iii. 158.

Eurydice, descended from Miltiades, iii. 290. Married to Demetrius, ib. Has a son by him named Corrhæbus, ib.—— Sister of Phila, and wife of Ptolemy, iii. 314.

Eurylochus, the Ægean, Alexander assists him in his passion for Telesippa, ii. 487.

Eurymedon, the Athenian general, sent to Sicily with reinforcements for Nicias, ii. 238. Killed in battle, 243.——River, ii. 161.

Euryptolemus, son of Pericles's sister, i. 275 ——Son of Megacles. Cimon marries his daughter Isodice, ii. 153.

Eurysaces, son of Ajax, i. 332.

Eurytion, son of Soüs, king of Sparta, i. 99. From him the Eurytionidæ, 100, and ii. 108. Slackens the reins of government, and finds the ill consequences of it, i. 99.

Eurytus, the Œchalian, i. 45.

Euterpe, according to some writers, the name of Themistocles's mother, i. 213.

Euthippus, the Anaphlytian, exerts himself greatly to recover the reputation of Cimon, and is killed in battle, together with Cimon's other friends, ii. 167.

Euthydemus, an officer who served under Nicias, joined in commission with him, ii. 238. Defeated in an action at sea, 239.

Euthymus, the Leucadian, an ambush laid for him at Hieræ in Sicily, by which his men are cut off, i. 428.——General of horse for Icetes, brought in chains to Timoleon, and put to death, i. 429.

Euthynus, the Thespian, ii. 364.

Eutychidas, i. 334.

Eutychus, iii. 362.

Euxine sea, ii. 488.

Example, the force of it, i. 150.

Execestides, father of Solon, i. 156.

Execrable, Athenian magistrates so called, who violated the privilege of the sanctuary, i. 165.

Execrations. See *Imprecations*.

Exile, Lycurgus a voluntary one from Sparta. See *Lycurgus*.

Exiles from Thebes assist in restoring that city to liberty, i. 476, *et seq.*——Of Achaia, disputes about them in the senate of Rome, i. 573.

Exodium, amongst the Greeks, means the conclusion of a tragedy; amongst the Romans a farce, ii. 283.

F.

FABIA, a vestal virgin, sister to Terentia, Cicero's wife, iii. 100.

Fabii, whence the name, i. 303. Their descent from Hercules, ib. Three hundred of them cut off by the Tuscans, 249.

Fabius Maximus, the origin of his family from Hercules, i. 303. The family very numerous, as well as illustrious, 304 and *n*. He was the fourth in descent from Fabius Rullus, who first acquired the surname of Maximus, ib. Has the surnames of Verrucosus and Ovicula, ib. Appears slow of apprehension, and stupid, when a boy; but his powers unfold themselves by degrees, ib. He prepares his body by exercise for the service of the state, and his mind by improving his powers of persuasion, ib. An oration, which he pronounced at the funeral of his son, extant in Plu-

tarch's time, 305. Five times consul, ib. Triumph's for his victory over the Ligurians ib. After Hannibal had gained the battle of Trebia, Fabius advised the Romans to stand upon the defensive in their walled towns, ib. Notwithstanding that advice, and the most alarming prodigies, Flaminius fights the battle of Thrasymenus, and falls with great part of his army, 306. Fabius Maximus is chosen dictator, 307. Appoints Minucius his general of the horse, ib. Is preceded by twenty-four lictors, ib. Begins his office with acts of religion, ib. Amongst other things vows a *ver sacrum*, 308. Takes slow and cautious measures against Hannibal, ib. None but Hannibal sensible of his prudence in that respect, ib. His general of the cavalry gives him much trouble, and brings the soldiers to consider him in a contemptible light, 309. He keeps to his first scheme notwithstanding, ib. Hannibal, by a mistake of his guides, is led into the defiles of Casilinum, instead of the plains of Casinum, ib. 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A Roman scene betwixt the father and the son, ib. He loses his son, and bears that loss with great moderation, 327. Publishes the funeral oration, which he had delivered himself, ib. Scipio proposes to remove the war into Africa, and has every kind of opposition thrown in his way by Fabius, 327, and 328. Scipio performs great achievements, and finishes them with the conquest of Hannibal, 329. Fabius does not live to see the reduction of the Carthaginians, ib. The citizens of Rome express their regard to him, by defraying the expenses of his funeral, ib. Comparison between him and Pericles, ib.——*Maximus*, son of Paulus Æmilius, adopted into the family of the Fabii, i. 438.——*Ambustus*, Quintus, sent ambassador to the Gauls before Clusium, violates the law of nations, i. 248. Sent to Delphi, 239.——Chief pontiff when Brennus, king of the Gauls, took Rome, i. 251 ——*Buteo*, chosen dictator at Rome, for the purpose of creating new senators only, while Marcus Junius was dictator with the army, i. 311.——*Pictor*, i. 66. Sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, 321.—— *Rullus*, or *Rutilianus Quintus*, acquired the name of Maximus, iii. 379. He was great-grandfather of Fabius Maximus the dictator, ib. Followed the triumphal chariot of his son, i. 91.——Lucullus's lieutenant, defeated by Mithridates, ii. 205.——Proprætor of

Spain, his government renders the Romans obnoxious to the provinces, iii. 203.——*Fabulus*, said to be the person that despatched Galba, iii. 583.——*Valens*, commander of a legion, the first officer who takes the oath of allegiance to Galba, iii. 520. Salutes Vitellius emperor, 529. Employed as one of his generals, 537. His extreme avarice, 538.

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Fabricius, Caius, said the Romans were not overcome by the Epirots, but Lævinus by Pyrrhus ii. 22. Sent to treat with Pyrrhus about the prisoners, 25. Refuses to accept Pyrrhus's presents, ib. Cineas gives him an account of the Epicurean philosophy, and he wishes that the enemies of Rome may embrace it, ib. Informs Pyrrhus of his physician's offer to poison him, 26. His letter on that occasion, ib.

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Fathers, the law that empowered them to sell their children corrected in some respect by Numa, i. 245.

Father of his country, Cicero the first that was honoured with that title, iii 257.

Faunus, the demigod, fable of his being taken, together with Picus, by Numa, and of Numa's learning charms and other secrets of them, i. 142. Supposed to have married the *Bona Dea*, iii. 8.

Favonius, Marcus, his witticisms on Pompey, ii. 422. Pompey fights in consequence of the raillery of Favonius and other officers, and is beaten, 415, and 420. He flies with Pompey, and treats him with great respect, 422. Is a friend and zealous imitator of Cato, iii. 118. Opposes in Cato's absence the decrees of the senate in favour of Cæsar, but in vain, 259. Is chosen ædile, ib. Brutus sounds him as to the conspiracy against Cæsar, iii. 420. His adventure with Brutus and Cassius, 485.

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Februata, the feast of Lupercalia, anciently so called, i. 84.

Feciales, an order of priests instituted by Numa, i. 138. Their office to act as heralds, to declare war and peace, i. 139.

Feretrius, Jupiter, whence the term, i. 78.

Fidenæ, in what manner taken by Romulus, i. 86.

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Fimbria besieges Mithridates in Pitane, from whence Mithridates makes his escape by sea, ii. 123. Invites Lucullus to his assistance, ib. Assassinates Flaccus, 134. His men desert him, and he kills himself, ib.

Fimbrians, the untractable bands that mutinied against Fimbria, ii. 175.

Fire, the sacred fire, attended by th

vestals at Rome, i. 85. The holy fire at Athens and Delphi, guarded by widows, 135. To be lighted by the sun-beams at Rome, in case of its happening to be extinguished, ib. Called *Vesta* and *Unity* by the Pythagoreans, 137. Worshipped as the first principle of all things, 250. An emblem of purity, 135.

Fire-hearth, sacred to the domestic gods, ii 498.

Firmians, a company of brave men who attended Cato the Censor in his operations against Antiochus, i. 576.

Flaccus, Valerius. See *Valerius*.—— The consul marches against Sylla, ii. 129. Assassinated by Fimbria, 134.——Hordeonius, sent by Galba, to succeed Virginius, iii. 520. The army refuse to take the oath of allegiance to Galba, which Flaccus proposes, 528.

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Flaminius, Caius, the consul, rashly fights Hannibal near the Thrasimenian lake, and is killed in the action, i. 306. ——Caius Quintius, the same with the former, during his consulate defeats the Gauls, i. 306. Named general of horse to Minucius the dictator, and disqualified, because a rat was heard to cry while he was naming him, i. 505.——Titus Quintius, or Quinctius, jealous of the glory of Philopœmen, i. 607. Quick both to resent an injury, and to do a service, 614. A legionary tribune under Marcellus in the war with Hannibal, ib. Appointed governor of Tarentum and its dependencies, ib. And chief director of the colonies sent to Narnia and Cossa, 615. Offers himself a candidate for the consulship, without ascending by the previous steps, ib. Two of the tribunes oppose him, ib. The senate refer the matter to the people, and Flaminius is elected consul, though not yet thirty years old, ib. Macedonia and the war with Philip falls to his lot, ib. This a happy circumstance for Rome, because the forming a connexion with Greece required a man of his temper and abilities, ib. Finds that his predecessors had entered Macedonia too late in the season, and remedies that defect, ib. On his arrival in Epirus, finds Publius Villius encamped over against Philip, who had long been defending the fords of the Apsus, 616. As a passage there seemed impracticable, he is advised to go through Dassaretis along the Lycus, ib. But he does not choose to remove too far from the sea, lest he should be in want of provisions, ib. Resolves to force his way up the mountains, ib. Sharp contests ensue, ib. Some shepherds discover to him a winding way, neglected by the enemy, ib. He sends a tribune with four thousand men up that way, ib. Attacks the Macedonians, when he believed the tribune had gained the top, 617. The Macedonians, perceiving the party at the top of the hill, take to flight, ib. Flaminius traverses Epirus with good order and discipline, ib. As soon as he enters Thessaly, it declares for him, ib. The Achæans renounce their alliance with Philip, and declare for the Romans, 618. Pyrrhus's saying concerning the Romans, ib. Flaminius and Philip come to an interview, in which the Roman insists that Philip should withdraw his garrisons from the Grecian cities, which he refuses, ib. The rest of Greece declares for the Romans, ib. The magistrates of Thebes come to meet Flaminius, and he enters the city with them, ib. Bœotia takes part with the Romans, ib. Flaminius sends his agents to Rome, to procure the continuation of his commission, 619. Meets Philip near Scotusa, and defeats him entirely in a pitched battle at Cynoscephalæ, 620. The battle described, ib. Philip's escape owing to the haste of the Ætolians to plunder his camp, 620. The Ætolians claim the honour of the victory, ib. Verses of Alcæus suitable to their pretensions, ib. Flaminius is hurt by those verses; but Philip parodies them, 621. Philip goes in person, and makes his submission to Flaminius and the Romans, ib. The conditions on which peace is granted him, ib. The prudence of Flaminius, in making that peace before Antiochus declared himself, ib. The ten commissioners sent by the senate to assist Flaminius, advise him to keep garrisons in three of the principal cities of Greece; but he prevails with them to set Greece entirely free, 622. He proclaims liberty to the Greeks at the Isthmian games, ib. Their shouts of joy and applause bring down the crows from the air, ib. Their reflections upon Flaminius's generosity, after they were retired to their houses, 623. He despatches Lentulus to the Bargyllians in Asia, Stertinius into Thrace, P. Villius to Antiochus, and goes himself to Chalcis and Magnesia, for the purpose of extending liberty, ib. Appointed director of the Nemean games, 624. Recommends the social virtues to the Greeks, ib. The behaviour of the Romans on this occasion adds greatly to their power, and paves the way to universal empire, ib. Flaminius dedicates shields to Castor and Pollux, and a crown of gold to Apollo, at Delphi, ib. The inscriptions upon them, ib. Commences hostilities against Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, but soon compromises the matter with him, 625. The Achæans redeem the Roman captives that were dispersed in

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Lysiadas, of Megalopolis, sets himself up tyrant there, in hopes of finding superior happiness in power, iii. 496. Is disappointed, and quits the sovereignty, ib. Joins his city to the Achæan league, ib. and 156. Is chosen general of that league, and declares war against the Spartans, ib. Quarrels with Aratus, and loses his interest, ib. and 496. Forms a scheme to have all the honour of bringing Aristomachus, tyrant of Argos, into the league, but is disappointed, 499. Aratus neglects to support him with the infantry, and he is killed by Cleomenes, ib.

Lysicles, a man in a low sphere of life, by the instructions of Aspasia, becomes one of the principal and most polite men in Athens, i. 290.

Lysidice daughter of Pelops, and mother of Alcmene, i. 44.

Lysimachus, king, forges a letter to Pyrrhus, as from Ptolemy, ii. 12. Ravages Upper Macedonia, 16. Divides the kingdom of Macedonia with Pyrrhus, 17. Marches against him as far as Edessa, upon which Pyrrhus, retires, and loses his share of Macedonia, 18. Says to Onesicritus, the historian, who read to him an account of the Amazon's visit to Alexander, "Where was I at that time?" ii. 490. Suspected by his allies on account of his great power, iii. 156. Taken prisoner by Dromichætes, 160.——The Acarnanian, preceptor to Alexander, ii. 449. Desires to go with his master against the Arabians on Antilibanus, by which Alexander runs no small risk of his life, 469. ——Father of Aristides, i. 534.——Son of Aristides, experiences the bounty of the Athenians, i. 322.——Grandson of Aristides, turns interpreter of dreams for his bread, i. 322.

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MACARIA, daughter of Hercules, i. 487.

Macedonia, subdued by the Romans in the time of Perseus, i. 459.

Macedonians, great lovers of their kings, i. 454.

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Machanidas, the Lacedæmonian tyrant, killed in battle by Philopœmen, i. 604.

Machares, son of Mithridates, sends Lucullus a crown of gold, and desires to be admitted into the friendship and alliance of the Romans, ii. 193.

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Mælius, Spurius, stabbed by Servilius Ahala, for aspiring to the monarchy, iii. 421.

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Mago, the Carthaginian admiral, joins Icetes in his attempt upon Syracuse, i. 418. Miscarries and returns to Africa, 422.

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Malchus, king of Arabia, sends forces to the assistance of Antony, iii. 359.

Malcites and Diogiton, sent by the Thebans into Thessaly to revenge the death of Pelopidas, i. 503.

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Malli, Alexander's danger in the attack of their city, i. 505.

Mallius, or *Manlius*, Lucius, an assistant to Cato the elder in attempting the heights near Thermopylæ, i. 576.

Mamerci pretend to be descendants of Mamercus the son of Numa, i. 149.

Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, forms an alliance with Timoleon, i. 413. Envies his achievements, and enters into league with the Carthaginians, 428. Is beaten by Timoleon, and flies to Hippo, tyrant of Messana, 429. Surrenders to Timoleon, and is sent to Syracuse, where, upon his trial for breach of faith and other crimes, he attempts to kill himself, but is prevented, and put to a severer death, 430.

Mamertines, a warlike people, inhabitants of Messana, ii. 29, 361.

Mamurius Veturius makes eleven brazen shields, in resemblance of that which Numa pretended to have fallen from heaven. See *Veturius*.

Mancinus, Caius, the consul, is beaten by the Numantines, and makes a peace,

for which he is disgraced and imprisoned, and the peace annulled, iii. 185.

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Mandricidus, the Spartan, tells Pyrrhus, "If he is a god he will do them no injustice; if a man, there will be found as good a one as he," ii. 34.

Mandroclidas, the son of Ecphanes, assists Agis in his schemes for restoring the Spartan constitution to its original purity, iii. 141. Called to account for it by the ephori, 143.

Manilius expelled the senate by Cato, i. 580.——The tribune, his law in favour of Pompey, iii. 393. Accused of having robbed the public, and defended by Cicero, 247.

Manius Acilius Glabrio, sent against Antiochus, whom he defeats at Thermopylæ, i. 675, and 685.

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Manius Curius Dentatus triumphs thrice, i. 566. Cato the elder often visits his little farm, ib. He defeats Pyrrhus, ib. His answer to the Samnite ambassadors, who offered him gold, ib.

Manlius, Titus, the temple of Janus shut in his consulship, i. 148.

Manlius, with Sylla's veterans, engaged in Catiline's conspiracy, iii. 249.——Torquatus causes his own son to be beheaded for fighting without orders, though he gained the victory, i. 312.——Saves the capitol, i. 256. Put to death for aspiring to the supreme power in Rome, 263.——The tribune, opposes Flaminius in his solicitation for the consulship, i. 615.——Defeated by the Ambrones, ii. 58.——Lucius, defeated by Sertorius's lieutenant, ii. 299.——Lucius. See *Mallius*.——Conspires against Serterius, ii. 310.——His application to Tiberius, iii. 189.

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Marathus, to fulfil an oracle, offers himself up at the head of the army, i. 61.

Marcellinus and Domitius demand of Pompey, whether he will stand for the consulship or not; ii. 265, iii. 414.

Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, the original of his family, i. 501. Whence the surname of Marcellus, ib. His great skill in war, particularly in single combat, 502. He rescues his brother Otacilius, ib. Appointed ædile and augur, ib. Some time after the first Punic war, Rome is engaged in a war with the Gauls, ib. They are defeated by Flaminius 503. Flaminius and his colleague being deposed, Marcellus is appointed consul, and takes Cneius Cornelius for his colleague, 505. The Romans besiege Acerræ, ib. Viridomarus, king of the Gesatæ, lays waste the country about the Po, ib. Marcellus comes up with him near Clastidium, ib. A battle ensues, in which Marcellus, with numbers greatly inferior, defeats the enemy, and kills their king Viridomarus, 506. Consecrates the Spolia Opima to Jupiter Feretrius, ib. Is honoured with a triumph, ib. The Gauls obtain reasonable conditions of peace, 507. The Romans make an offering to Apollo on this occasion, and send a present to Hiero, king of Syracuse, 508. Hannibal enters Italy, and Marcellus is sent with a fleet to Sicily, ib. After the great blow at Cannæ, Marcellus sends fifteen hundred men to assist in the defence of Rome, ib. Is ordered to head the remainder of the Roman army, which had retired to Canusium, ib. The Romans wisely join the boldness of Marcellus with the caution of Fabius Maximus. What Hannibal said of them, ib. Marcellus marches to the relief of Naples and Nola, ib. Recovers Bandius to the Roman interest, 509. Hannibal marches against Nola, in confidence of assistance from the inhabitants; but Marcellus is prepared, and the Romans sally out upon the enemy at three different gates, ib. The Carthaginians are defeated for the first time, 510. Marcellus is called to the consulate, but lays it down, upon the omens being declared inauspicious, ib. Attacks Hannibal, when he had sent out large detachments for plunder, and defeats him again, 511. Three hundred of Hannibal's cavalry come over to him, ib. On the death of Hieronymus, the Carthaginians assert their claim to Sicily again, and Marcellus, now consul the third time, is sent into that island, ib. With much difficulty he procures leave from the senate to employ the fugitives from Cannæ, 512. Hippocrates, the Syracusan general, hoping, by means of the Carthaginians, to set himself up tyrant, attacks the Romans in the district of Leontium, ib. Marcellus takes Leontium. Hippocrates, by representing Marcellus as a sanguinary man, gains admission into Syracuse, and bids defiance to Marcellus, ib. Marcellus attacks it both by sea and land, 513. Prepares a prodigious machine upon eight galleys fastened together, 914. Archimedes despises his preparations, ib. The great destruction which the philosopher's engines made amongst the Roman ships, ib. Marcellus's great machine, called Sambuca, is broken to pieces, 515. Archimedes has scorpions and other engines, to act at a less distance, ib. Marcellus calls him the mathematical Briareus, ib. During

the siege of Syracuse, Marcellus takes Megara in Sicily, 517. Attacks Hippocrates at Acrillæ, and kills eight thousand of his men, ib. In the conferences held with the Syracusans about the ransom of Damippus, Marcellus takes notice of a tower which might be gained, ib. In the night of Diana's festival, he gets into the city, and forcibly enters the Hexapylum, ib. The subsequent operations, 518, *n*. His officers compliment him on his taking the city, but he weeps at the thought of what it was to suffer, ib. He is much afflicted at the unhappy fate of Archimedes, 519. His mercy to the people of Enguium, 520, 521. He is called home to carry on the war against Hannibal, ib. Carries with him the most valuable of the statues and paintings from Syracuse, 521. Is satisfied on this occasion with an ovation, 522. Accused by the Syracusans before the senate, but honourably acquitted, ib. and 523. Continues his protection to them notwithstanding, and their liberty and laws by his means are confirmed to them, ib. Marches against Hannibal, and acts with more vigour than the officers before him, ib. Recovers the best towns of the Samnites, and makes three thousand of Hannibal's men prisoners, 524, 525. Cneius Fulvius, the proconsul, with eleven tribunes, and great part of his army, is slain in Apulia, 525. Marcellus revenges his death, ib. Hannibal lays many snares for him, but he escapes them, ib. Called home to declare Quintus Fulvius dictator; his colleague having refused to nominate him, ib. Watches the motions of Hannibal, while Fabius Maximus besieges Tarentum, 526. A battle is fought at Canusium, in which Marcellus is beaten, ib. He renews the charge the next day, and amply redeems the Roman honour, 527. Marcellus retires to Sinuessa, for the refreshment of his wounded soldiers, ib. Hannibal ravages the country, ib. Bibulus accuses Marcellus of neglect of duty, 528. He is honourably acquitted, and chosen consul a fifth time, ib. Allays a dangerous commotion in Tuscany, ib. Does not succeed in his desire to dedicate his temple to *Honour* and *Virtue*, ib. Several prodigies happen. He is extremely desirous to fight a decisive battle with Hannibal, 529. Fixes his camp between Bantia and Venusia, ib. Hannibal cuts in pieces some troops that were marching against the western Locrians, ib. Hannibal takes advantage of a hill that lay between the two camps to form a stratagem, ib. Marcellus goes with a few horse to reconnoitre the hill, in order to encamp upon it, ib. His colleague Crispinus, and his son Marcellus, attend him, 530. Hannibal's ambush rises out of the woody hollows, kills Marcellus, and mortally wounds Crispinus, ib. Young Marcellus is carried off wounded, ib. and Crispinus, who dies of his wounds some time after, ib. Hannibal, after having taken Marcellus's signet, gives the body a magnificent funeral, and sends the ashes in a silver urn to his son, ib. and 531. Marcellus's public donations, ib. The inscription on the pedestal of his statue in the temple of Minerva at Lindus, ib. His posterity continues in great splendour down to Marcellus, the nephew and son-in-law of Augustus, ib. Comparison between him and Pelopidas, 352.——Brother-in-law to Cæsar Octavianus, iii. 273. ——Marcus, goes with Crassus to Cicero's house at midnight, with letters relating to Catiline's conspiracy, ii. 250.——The tribune, son of the conqueror of Syracuse, i. 528.——Son of Caius, his mother Octavia dedicates a library, and Augustus a theatre, to his memory, i. 530.——The consul, attended by the senate, commands Pompey to prepare for the defence of his country, iii. 421. Opposes Cæsar's demands, and marches out to the army, ib. ——The quæstor, iii. 99. Colleague with Cato, ib.

Marcia, daughter of Philip, and wife of Cato the philosopher, iii. 103. He lets Hortensius have her, and takes her again when a rich widow, 104, 123.

Marcius, or *Martius*, Numa's kinsman, persuades him to accept the crown which the Romans offered him, i. 131. Starves himself to death, 148.——Son of Marcius, marries Pompilia, the daughter of Numa, i. 149. Is the father of Ancus Marcius, ib. Publius and Quintus Marcius supply Rome with water, 371.——Caius Marcius See *Coriolanus*.——*Philippus*, i. 467.—— Employed by Catiline to kill Cicero, iii, 250.——Mount, i. 260.

Marcus Crassus. See *Crassus*.

Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, declared chief of the senate by Paulus Æmilius, i. 467.

See all the other MARCI *under their family names.*

Mardian conducts the Romans out of Parthia. iii. 347. *et seq.*

Mardion, the eunuch, iii. 358.

Mardonius, Xerxes's general, Pausanias acts as commander-in-chief against him, i. 547, and Aristides at the head of the Athenians, ib. He is killed in the battle of Platæa, 555.

Mares, the graves of those of Cimon near his own, i. 569.

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Margites, why Demosthenes called Alexander by that name, iii. 232, *n*.

Marica, a comedy of Eupolis so called, ii. 219.

Marician grove, dedicated to the nymph Marica, ii. 75.

Marius, Caius, had no third name, ii. 43. His statue at Ravenna, 44. Stern in his countenance, and untractable in his disposition, ib. The disadvantage of his having no knowledge of the Greek literature, ib. His parents obscure and indigent people, ib. His father's name the same with his, and his mother's Fulcinia, ib. Born at a village in the territory of Arpinum, ib. Makes his first campaign under Scipio at the siege of Numantia, ib. Scipio foretells that he would one day be a great general, 45. When tribune of the people, he proposes a law which lessened the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature, and carries it against the consul, ib. Opposes the plebeians with respect to a distribution of corn, 46. Applies for the office of ædile, and loses it, ib. Is accused of bribery in his application for the prætorship, and gains it with great difficulty, ib. Goes proprætor to the Farther Spain, and clears it of robbers, ib. Marries Julia, of the family of the Cæsars, 47, iii. 3. Instance of his fortitude in bearing an operation in surgery, ib. Metellus takes him as one of his lieutenants in the war against Jugurtha, ib. He practises against Metellus, and takes every method to recommend himself to the common soldiers, ib. Prevails upon Metellus to pass sentence of death on his friend Turpilius, who had lost the town of Vacca, and then insults him for it, 48. Applies to Metellus for leave to go and stand for the consulship, which he gains, only twelve days before the election, ib. On his arrival at Rome, by false charges against Metellus, and great promises to the people, he prevails on them to elect him, 49. His insolent speeches against the nobility, ib. Metellus leaves his lieutenant Rutilius to deliver up the forces to Marius, ib. Bocchus, father-in-law to Jugurtha, delivers up that prince to Sylla, Marius's quæstor; who thence endeavours to rob Marius of the honour of his exploits in Africa, as he had done Metellus, 50. Marius is elected consul again, though absent, in order to his going general against the Teutones and Cimbri, who were marching towards Italy with an army of three hundred thousand men, ib. and 51, 52. He triumphs for the conquest of Jugurtha, who is led captive, 53. After the triumph, Jugurtha is thrust down naked into a dungeon, and starved to death, ib. Marius enters the senate in his triumphal robe, ib. He trains his soldiers to labour while upon the road, ib. The barbarians, instead of coming upon him immediately, invade Spain, ib. He disciplines his troops in an excellent manner, ib. He obtains a third and a fourth consulship, because the Romans did not choose to meet the barbarians under any other general, ib. The part the tribune Saturninus acted on that occasion, 54. Lutatius Catulus is appointed colleague to Marius, ib. Marius encamps by the river Rhone, and makes a cut in the mouth of that river, in order to the supplying his camp the better with provisions, ib. The Cimbri march through Noricum against Catulus, and the Teutones and Ambrones through Liguria against Marius, 54. Marius accustoms his men to the uncouth and terrible looks of the enemy, 55. The troops complain of his restraining them from action, ib. He makes great use of the pretended prophecies of a Syrian woman, named Martha, 56. Two vultures, which the soldiers had taken and adorned with brazen collars, commonly appear before any great success, ib. Prodigies that happened before the battle, ib. What happened to Aulus Pompeius, on his endeavouring to discredit the prediction of Batabaces, ib. The Teutones attempt Marius's intrenchments, and lose a number of men, ib. They march by, and ask the Romans, whether they have any commands to Rome, 57. Marius follows, and prepares for battle near Aquæ Sextiæ, ib. Pitches upon a camp that afforded little water, ib. The attempts of the servants of the army to get water bring on an action, ib. The Ambrones and Ligurians are the first that engage, ib. The Ambrones are defeated, 59. The Romans pass a disagreeable night notwithstanding, ib. Marius despatches Claudius Marcellus to lie in ambush behind the enemy with three thousand men, ib. The battle described, ib. The troops vote Marius such of the tents as were not plundered, ib. As he is preparing to set fire to piles of the enemy's arms, news is brought him of his being elected consul a fifth time, 60. Catulus gives up the Alps to the Cimbri, and posts himself behind the river Athesis, 61. The Romans fly, and Catulus, when unable to stop them, puts himself at their head, ib. Marius goes to Rome, but refuses the triumph that was offered him, 62. He joins Catulus, ib. What passed between Marius and the ambassadors of the Cimbri, ib. He contrives a new form for the javelin, ib. The battle with the Cimbri, 63, 64. The desperate behaviour of the Cimbri, and their women, on the defeat, 64. Marius gains the honour of the day, though Catulus did most service, 65. He is called the third founder of Rome, ib. He courts the people for a sixth consulship, ib. Timid in popular assemblies, ib. Obtains the consulship by the assist-

ance of Glaucias and Saturninus, throws out Metellus, and gets Valerius Flaccus elected his colleague, 66. Abets Saturninus in his Agrarian law; in the murder of Nonius; and in a clause obliging the senate to confirm whatever the people should enact, ib. and 67. By means of the snare that lurked in that clause, and Marius's prevarication, Metellus is banished, 68. Marius acts a double part between the nobility and the seditious tribunes, 69. Saturninus, and the rest of the cabal, fly into the Capitol, but are forced to submit for want of water, ib. The members of the cabal are despatched by the people, on their coming down into the forum, ib. Marius declines offering himself for the censorship, through fear of a repulse, ib. On the recal of Metellus, Marius takes a voyage into Asia, and endeavours to stir up Mithridates to war, in hopes of being appointed general against him, ib. Bocchus, king of Numidia, erects in the Capitol a set of figures comprising the history of his delivering up Jugurtha to Sylla, 70. This inflames the jealousy of Marius, ib. A civil war is prevented for the present, by the breaking out of the Marsian war, or the war of the allies, ib. Marius does not distinguish himself in that war like Sylla, ib. Yet he kills six thousand of the enemy in one battle, and suffers not Popedius Silo, one of their best generals, to take any advantage of him, ib. He lays down his command, under pretence of inability, ib. Yet he solicits the chief command against Mithridates through the tribune Sulpitius, ib. Takes his exercises in the Campus Martius like a young man, 71. Sulpitius gets six hundred of the equestrian order about him, whom he calls his anti-senate, ib. That tribune kills the son of Pompeius Rufus, one of the consuls, and puts Sylla, the other consul, to flight, ib. Then he decrees the command to Marius, 72. Marius sends two officers to Sylla, with orders that he should deliver up the army, ib. Sylla puts those officers to death, and marches immediately towards Rome, ib. Marius, after some cruelties, and a vain attempt to raise forces, flies, ib. His friends desert him, ib. He retires to Salonium, a little villa of his; and from thence to Ostia, where he embarks, attended only by Granius, ib. Young Marius is in danger, but is saved by a bailiff of his father-in-law Mutius, and carried towards Rome in a cart-load of beans, ib. Young Marius sails for Africa, ib. The elder Marius coasts Italy, ib. Distressed by fear of his old enemies, his infirmities, and bad weather, he goes on shore at Circæum, 73. In great want of provisions, and hunted by Sylla's soldiers; yet encourages his little company by a prophecy that he should gain a seventh consulship, ib. He espies a troop of horse making towards him, and with much difficulty gets on board a vessel, ib. The mariners, after having refused to surrender him to the horsemen, set him ashore near the mouth of the river Liris, and there desert him, ib. He applies to a cottager to hide him, 74. On the noise of persons sent by Geminius to search for him, he leaves the cave where he was lurking, and plunges into one of the marshes, 75. He is discovered, and carried to Minturnæ, ib. The magistrates place him at the house of Fannia, who had an inveterate aversion to him, ib. She forgets her resentment, and entertains Marius in the best manner, ib. He is encouraged by an omen, ib. The magistrates of Minturnæ pass sentence of death upon him, ib. The executioner, who was either a Gaul or a Cimbrian, trembles at the voice of Marius, and at a light which darted from his eyes, 76. The soldier reports this to the people, and they resolve to conduct him wherever he pleased, ib. They lead him even through the Marcian grove, ib. He goes on board a vessel, provided by one Belæus, ib. Finds his son-in-law Granius in the isle of Ænaria, ib. Touches at Sicily, from whence he escapes with difficulty, ib. Is informed in the island of Meninx that his son Marius had escaped to Africa, and was gone to implore succour of Hiempsal, ib. Lands in Africa, and receives a message from the prætor Sextilius, commanding him to depart, ib. His noble answer, 77. The king of Numidia detains young Marius at his court; but a love adventure sets him free, and he returns to his father, ib. The omen of two scorpions fighting puts Marius upon escaping to a neighbouring island, and soon after he sees a party of Numidian horse in pursuit of him, ib. He is informed of the quarrel between the consuls Cinna and Octavius, ib. Octavius having expelled Cinna, and appointed another consul in his room, Cinna collects forces, and maintains the war against them, ib. Marius sails to join him with only a thousand men, ib. He arrives at Telemon, a port of Tuscany, and proclaims liberty to the slaves, ib. Collects a considerable force, and fills forty ships, 78. Makes Cinna an offer of his assistance, which is accepted, ib. Cinna declares him proconsul, and sends him the fasces, which he rejects, ib. He cuts off the enemy's convoys at sea, and makes himself master of the maritime towns, ib. Ostia is betrayed to him, ib. The consul Octavius is slain, 79. He enters Rome, after having demurred, under pretence of

being an exile, ib. Marius selects a guarrd from the slaves, and calls them his Bardiæns, ib. These put all to death whose salutation Marius does not return, ib. Account of the dreadful massacres, ib. Cornutus escapes through the fidelity of his slaves, 80. Mark Antony, the orator, is discovered in his retreat, and slain, ib. Lutatius Catulus, formerly the colleague of Marius, in despair puts an end to his life, 81. The Bardiæans are cut off by Cinna and Sertorius, ib. News is brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and was returning to Rome, ib. This gives a short respite to the miseries of Rome, ib. Marius is elected consul the seventh time, and the very day he enters on his office, orders Sextus Lucinus to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, ib. Finds his faculties fail, ib. Has recourse to the bottle, ib. Becomes delirious, 82. Dies at the age of seventy, with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he wanted, ib. His death productive of the greatest joy in Rome, ib. His son treads in the footsteps of his cruelty, and comes to an untimely end, ib.——Son of Caius Marius, ii. 72. Goes to beg succours of Hiempsal king of Numidia, 77. Is detained at his court, but makes his escape by the assistance of a young woman that fell in love with him, ib. Is beaten by Sylla, ii. 136. Behaves with cruelty, i. 82. Flies to Præneste, i. 38. Kills himself, iii. 142.——*Celsus.* See *Celsus.*——Marcus, proscribed by Sylla, ii. 135.——Marcus, a Roman officer, sent by Sertorius to act as general for Mithridates, ii. 177, 309.

Marius's mules, who so called, ii. 52.

Marphadates, a Cappadocian prince, husband to Psyche, with whom young Cato had an intrigue, iii. 137.

Marriage, customs and ceremonies relating to it at Rome, i. 75. Romulus's laws concerning it, 85. Regulations of Lycurgus, 110, and of Solon about it, 174.

Marrucinians, i. 454.

Mars, given out as the father of Romulus and Remus, i. 67.

Marseilles, city of, founded by a merchant, i. 158.

Marsi, Sylla persuades them to declare for the Romans, ii. 111.

Marsyas, put to death by Dionysius the elder for a dream, iii. 383.

Martha, a Syrian prophetess, dressed up by Marius with great pomp; she attends him in his expeditions, and he makes great use of her predictions, ii. 55.

Martia. See *Marcia.*

Martialis, iii. 531.

Martianus, a gladiator, iii. 519.

Martius Rex marries Tertia, the sister of Clodius, iii. 261.

Martius, iii. 269.

Marullus, a tribune of the people, tears the royal diadems from the statues of Cæsar, iii. 50. Deposed by Cæsar, ib.

Masinissa, king of Numidia, his wars with the Carthaginians, i. 348. A steady friend to the Romans, ib.

Masistius, a Persian officer, behaves with great courage, ii. 549. Is killed in battle by the Athenians, 550.

Massilians enclose their vineyards with the bones of those who fell in the battle between the Romans and the Teutones, ii. 60.

Matronalia, a feast in honour of the Roman matrons, for their putting an end to the war between the Sabines and the Romans, i. 84.

Matuta Mater, the temple of a goddess so called by the Romans, ii. 86.

Mauriscus, what he said to the senate of Rome, iii. 519.

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Mazæus, upon the impression made on Parmenio by the Bactrian horse, sends a party round to fall on those who guarded Alexander's baggage, ii. 480. Alexander's munificence to the son of Mazæus, 485.

Meal; no sacrifice to be made without it, i. 203.

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Mechanics, first cultivated as a branch of philosophy by Eudoxus and Archytas, i. 513.

Medea, wife of Ægeus, i. 46. Supposed to have anointed with naphtha the crown and veil which she gave Creon's daughter, ii. 482.

Medes, their habits, ii. 489.

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Medimnus, a sheep and a medimnus of corn, each valued at a drachma in Solon's time, i. 172. Of wheat, sold for a thousand drachmas in time of famine, ii. 125.

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Mediterranean Sea, iii. 361.

Medius, a friend of Antigonus, his dream, iii. 294.

Megabacchus famed for his strength and courage, a friend of young Crassus, ii. 292, Kills himself, 297.

Megabates, son of Spithridates, a favourite of Agesilaus, ii. 342.

Megabyzus, Alexander's letter to him, ii. 487.

Megacles, archon of Athens, involves the city in the guilt of sacrilege, in the affair of Cylon, i. 463.——Father of Dinomache, and grandfather of Alcibiades, i. 332.——Son of Alchmæon, heads a party of the Athenians, on their breaking into

factions after the departure of Solon, i. 185. Pisistratus obtains a guard, and Megacles flies. ib.——A friend of Pyrrhus, tells him that the order of the Roman army has nothing of the barbarian in it, i. 21. Pyrrhus changes his dress with him, upon which he is attacked and killed, 22.——Brother to Dion, joined in commission with Dion by the Syracusans, iii. 395.

Megalacus belonged to the court of Philip the son of Demetrius, iii. 509.

Megalopolis taken by Cleomenes, i. 597. Its inhabitants saved and restored by Philopœmen, 599. Hard pressed by Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, 605.

Megara in Sicily, i. 288.——Restored to liberty by Demetrius, iii. 287.

Megarensians take Nisæa, and recover Salamis from the Athenians, i. 162. Salamis is recovered by Solon, ib. Their manner of sepulture, 163. The Athenians forbid them to set foot on their territories, 296. They are united to the Athenians by Phocion, iii. 68.

Megaræ, in Macedonia, ii. 8.

Megellus and *Pheristus* migrate from Elea to Agrigentum, which had been ruined by the Carthaginians during the Athenian war, ii. 45.

Megistonus marries the mother of Cleomenes, iii. 157. Taken prisoner by Aratus, 504.

Melancholy, Aristotle observes that persons of genius have something of it, ii. 83.

Melanippus, son of Theseus by Pereguine, i. 45.

Melanopus the orator, iii. 225.

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Melanthius, the elegiac poet, ii. 153.

Melanthus of Sicyon, the celebrated painter, iii. 483, *it.*

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Melas, river, navigable from its source, ii. 130. Swells about the summer solstice like the Nile, and produces the same plants, ib.

Meleager, Theseus assists him in killing the Calydonian boar, i. 53.

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Melicertes, ceremonies in the worship of him, i. 56.

Melisippidas, ii. 333.

Melissus, the philosopher, Themistocles studies under him, i. 213.——Admiral of Samos, beats the Athenians, i. 292. But is afterwards defeated by Pericles, ib.

Melians, inhabitants of Melos, one of the Cyclades, Alcibiades the chief cause of the slaughter amongst them; yet he thinks he does the island great honour by coliabiting with one of its women, i. 345. Lysander re-establishes them, ii. 95.

Melita, an Athenian borough, i. 262. iii. 71.

Melitea, city of, ii. 129.

Melitus, ii. 414.

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Mellirens. See *Iren.*

Melon, one of the associates of Pelopidas in delivering Thebes, i. 476.

Memmius, Caius, accuses the two Luculli, ii. 207, iii. 107.——Pompey's sister's husband; Pompey, after he had reduced Sicily for Sylla left him governor there, iii. 377.——Pompey's lieutenant, killed in battle by Sertorius, ii. 306.

Memnon, the most able of Darius's generals, ii. 461. His death, ib. He was husband of Barsine, 465.

Memphis, one of the wonders of Egypt, ii. 172.

Menander, one of the Athenian generals defeated by Lysander at Ægos Potamos, i. 365.——An officer sent by Mithridates to intercept one of Lucullus's convoys, ii. 186.——Joined in commission with Nicias, ii. 238. His fatal ambition to fight, 239.——Had the care of Antigonus's baggage, ii. 321. Eumenes has an opportunity to take it, and forbears, ib.——Put to death by Alexander, for deserting a fortress of which he had the command, ii. 498.——The poet, alludes to Alexander passing through the Pamphylian sea, ii. 462.

Menas, sea-officer under Sextus Pompeius, proposes to him a method to make the world his own, iii. 340.

Mende, castle of, ii. 288.

Mendes, in Egypt, the prince of it solicits the favour of Agesilaus, ii. 367.

Menecleidas, from a principle of envy, endeavours to set up another against Epaminondas and Pelopidas, i. 491. Is fined by the Thebans, ib.

Menecrates, an officer in the navy of Sextus Pompeius, iii. 339.——The physician, assumes the surname of Jupiter, ii. 352.——The historian, i. 56.

Menedemus, an officer of the bedchamber to Lucullus, saves his master from an attempt of Olthacus upon his life, ii. 185.

Menelaus's haven in Africa; Agesilaus dies there, ii. 367.

Menelaus, brother to Ptolemy king of Egypt, is defeated, and surrenders to Demetrius, iii. 291.

Menemachus and *Myro* sent by Mithridates to intercept a Roman convoy; but their troops are almost totally cut off by Adrianus. ii. 186.

Menenius Agrippa appeases a sedition by reciting a fable to the people, i. 373.

Menesthes, one of the young men sent with Theseus by way of tribute to Crete, i. 50.

Menestheus, stirs up the Athenians against Theseus, and takes the reins of government, i. 61.——The orator, iii. 325.

Menes. See *Menas.*

Meninx, an island at which Marius touches in his flight to Africa, ii. 77.

Menippus has a principal command under Pericles, i. 283.——The Carian, a rhetorician, visited by Cicero, iii. 241.

Menœceus, son of Creon, devotes himself to death for his country, i. 487. *n.*

Menon, Phidias's scholar, accuses him, and Phidias dies in prison, i. 296.——Commands the Thessalian horse in the Persian expedition, iii. 454, *n.* 464. The father of Phthia, ii. 7.

Mentor, brother of Memnon, goes with Eumenes to Alexander, when he has a certain complaint to make, ii. 313.

Menyllus commands the garrison which Antipater put in Athens, iii. 77. Offers Phocion a sum of money, which he refuses, 78.

Mercedinus, or *Mercedonius*, the Roman intercalary month so called, i. 145, ii. 49.

Merchant, his profession honourable, i. 158. Solon follows it some time, ib.

Mercury, his statues, i. 339. Cimon permitted to erect three with honourable inscriptions, on account of his victory in Thrace, ii. 156. Many of his statues defaced in one night at Athens, 202. For which Alcibiades and his friends are accused of sacrilege, ib.——Of Ægeus's gate, i. 45.

Merope, daughter of Erectheus, and mother of Dædalus, i. 50.

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Mesabates, the eunuch, won of Artaxerxes at dice by Parysatis, and ordered to be flayed alive, for having cut off the head and hand of Cyrus, iii. 464.

Mesolabes, mathematical instruments, i. 513.

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Metagenes continues the building of the Parthenon, which had been begun by Corœbus, i. 281.

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Metœcia, a festival instituted by Theseus in remembrance of the people of Attica moving to Athens, i. 54.

Meton the astrologer, to prevent his son's going upon the Sicilian expedition, burns his own house, i. 346, ii. 232.——The Tarentine, feigns himself drunk, to excite the attention of the Tarentines, when he wanted to dissuade them from calling in Pyrrhus, ii. 18.

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Metrodorus, counsellor to Mithridates, and honoured with the title of his father ii. 191. Put to death by him for want of fidelity in an embassy to Tigranes, ib.

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Micion commands a party of Macedonians, iii. 75. Is defeated and killed by Phocion, ib.——The Athenian, opposes Aratus, iii. 504.

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Midias, an Athenian exile, begs Sylla to spare the city, ii. 123.——Demosthenes drops his accusation against him for a sum of money, iii. 225.

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Miltiades, the first in dignity and authority of the ten Athenian generals at Marathon, i. 539. The olive crown denied him after his victory, ii. 150. The father of Cimon, 153. His trophy excites the emulation of Themistocles, i. 214. Is fined, and dies in prison, ii. 153.

Milto, the favourite concubine of Cyrus the younger, is called Aspasia. See *Aspasia*, i. 291.

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Mnesicles, the Athenian architect, five years in finishing the portico of the citadel, i. 282.

Mnesiphilus, Themistocles's preceptor in political knowledge, i. 212.

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Mothers, what goddesses so called, i. 520, *n*.

Mourning, the time allowed for it at Rome, i. 137, and at Sparta, 120.

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Mucia, wife to Pompey, false to his bed while he is upon his Asiatic expedition ii. 393. He divorces her, ib.

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Myrto, grand-daughter of Aristides, i. 564. Socrates is said to have married her out of charity, ib.

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Nice, in Bithynia, i. 56.

Niceratus, the poet, the contest between him and Antimachus, which should write the best poem in praise of Lysander. ii. 97.——The father of Nicias, ii. 219.

Nicias, son of Niceratus, ii. 219. Younger than Pericles, yet often his colleague in the wars, ib. The nobility hope he will prove a barrier against the insolence of Cleon, ib. He is equally favoured by the people, ib. Naturally timid and cold-hearted, ib. Applies his wealth to the purposes of popularity, particularly in public exhibitions, ih. Enfranchises a slave who had appeared with applause in the character of Bacchus, 220. His regulations with respect to the chorus that was sent to the isle of Delos in honour of Apollo, ib. He consecrates a palm-tree of brass, and a piece of ground, to Apollo, ib. Is pious to a degree of superstition, 221. Has silver mines in the borough of Laurium, ib. Gives money not only to those who deserved his bounty, but to such as might be able to do him harm, ib. Goes seldom into company, and pretends to be for ever intent upon the business of the state, 222. His retainer Hiero holds out these pretences to the people, ib. His life is in fact a life of great fear and care, ib. When he takes the command, makes it his business to proceed upon a sure plan, 223. He takes Cythera, an island well situated for annoying Laconia, ib. Recovers many places in Thrace, ib. Makes himself master of the isle of Minoa, and the port of Nisæa, ib. Defeats the Megarensians and Corinthians, ib. Chooses to lose his trophy, rather than leave two of his men unburied, ib. Takes the fortress of Thyræ. The affair of Pylos and the isle of Sphacteria is drawn out to a considerable length, ib. Cleon, the enemy of Nicias, who had prevented a peace with the Lacedæmonians, now raises a clamour against him about the business of Pylos, 224. Nicias declares he will freely give up to him the command, ib. Cleon promises to finish the expedition in twenty days, and performs his promise, 225. Nicias is no sooner clear of Cleon, than Alcibades begins to oppose him in the administration, 226. Nevertheless he effectuates a peace with the Lacedæmonians, ib. Alcibiades endeavours to embroil the two powers again, 227. Draws the Lacedæmonian ambassadors from Nicias by false promises, and makes them appear to prevaricate, 228. Nicias desires to be sent to Sparta, to adjust the matters in dispute, but does not succeed in that commission, ib. The Athenians enter into alliance with the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, 229. Alcibiades is appointed general, and the war breaks out afresh, ib. The quarrel rises so high between Nicias and Alcibiades, that the people propose to banish one of them by the ostracism, ib. Nicias and Alcibiades join interests, and turn the ostracism upon Hyperbolus, ib. The Ægesteans and Leontines desire the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition, 230. Nicias opposes it, but is overruled by the arts of Alcibiades, ib. The sanguine and vain hopes of the Athenians, ib. Though Nicias is appointed general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, he still protests against the war, 231. Demostratus procures a decree that the generals shall have discretionary powers, ib. The oracle of

Jupiter Ammon is consulted, and gives an ambiguous answer, ib. All the Hermæ, except one, are mutilated, 231. Other ill omens, 232. The colleagues of Nicias are for proceeding immediately to action, but he opposes them both, 232. Alcibiades is soon called home to take his trial, 233. There is now no end of Nicias's delays, ib. The Athenians take a ship in which were the Syracusan registers, 233. In this the oracle of Ammon is supposed to have its accomplishment, ib. Though Lamachus remains colleague to Nicias, Nicias has the chief authority, ib. He lays siege to the little town of Hybla, and does not take it, 234. Razes Hyccara, ib. Draws the Syracusan forces to Catana by stratagem, and in the mean time seizes the ports of Syracuse, and encamps in an advantageous situation, ib. Attacks with some success the Syracusans on their return, ib. The Syracusans choose three generals, instead of fifteen, and empower them to act at discretion, 235. Nicias prevents his troops from taking the temple of Jupiter Olympius, ib. Winters in Naxos, a city between Syracuse and Catana, ib. The Syracusans make another excursion as far as Catana, ib. Nicias, who is as vigorous in executing as he is slow in resolving, returns to Syracuse, gains the peninsula of Thapsos, and gets possession of Epipolæ, ib. Beats not only the Syracusan infantry, but their cavalry, ib. Encloses Syracuse almost entirely with a wall. ib. Lamachus engages the Syracusans during the sickness of Nicias, and falls in the action, 236. Nicias saves his camp, by setting fire to the machines before the intrenchments, 236. The cities declare for Nicias, and supply him with provisions in great abundance, ib. The Syracusans are thinking of a capitulation, when Gylippus arrives in Sicily, 237. He collects a considerable army, and comes to Syracuse, 237. Offers Nicias a safe conduct, provided he will quit Sicily, ib. Is treated with scorn, ib. Defeated in the first engagement, 238. Beats the Athenians in the second, by only altering the disposition of his forces, ib. By a cross-wall cuts through theirs, ib. Gains an interest in other towns in Sicily, ib. Nicias falls into his old despondence, and applies to the Athenians, either for another army, or else to be recalled, ib. They send a reinforcement and money by Eurymedon, and resolve to send Demosthenes with a respectable fleet in the spring, ib. In the mean time, Euthydemus and Menander are appointed colleagues to Nicias, 238. Nicias gains some advantage by sea, ib. Gylippus takes the fort of Plemmyrium, in which were lodged the Athenian stores and money, ib. This also cuts off their convenience of convoys, 239. Menander and Euthydemus force Nicias to give battle at sea, and he is beaten, ib. Demosthenes arrives with a formidable fleet, 239 He, too, is ambitious to come immediately to a decisive action, ib. Nicias represents to him the want the Syracusans were in of money, and their being tired of Gylippus, but cannot prevail upon him to wait, 240. Demosthenes attacks Epipolæ in the night, and has some advantage at first, but proceeds too far, and is entirely defeated, ib. and 241. Demosthenes gives his opinion for returning to Athens; but Nicias, afraid of impeachments there, opposes it, ib. Fresh forces coming in to the Syracusans, and sickness prevailing in the Athenian camp, Nicias agrees to return, ib. Loses his opportunity by his superstitious fears of an eclipse of the moon, 242. Intent upon his sacrifices, till he is surrounded both by sea and land, 243. His fleet is defeated, and Eurymedon slain, ib. The Athenians insist on his leading them off by land, but he resolves to risk another naval action, ib. Abandons his great camp and his walls, ib. The great sea-fight described, 244. After the defeat of Nicias, Hermocrates, by a stratagem, prevents him from retiring in the night, when he might have done it safely, ib. and 245. The Athenians at last begin their march, with every circumstance of misery before them, ib. Nicias behaves on this occasion with spirit and propriety, 245. Through a march of eight days, keeps his own division tolerably entire, ib. Demosthenes is surrounded at Polyzelium, and stabs himself, but the stroke does not prove mortal, ib. Nicias in vain offers conditions of peace, 246. Marches on to the river Asinarus, ib. A bloody scene in the river, ib. Nicias throws himself at the feet of Gylippus, who gives orders that the Athenians should have quarter; but those orders are slowly obeyed, ib. The Syracusans erect trophies, ib. March, with their prisoners, in a triumphant manner to Syracuse, 247. The Athenians are sent to the quarries, and their generals, Nicias and Demosthenes, suffer death, ib. Many die in the quarries, 248. Some are branded in their foreheads with the figure of a horse, ib. Some are released for their good behaviour in servitude, and some for repeating a few verses of Euripides, ib. A poor barber is put to the torture for carrying the first news of this great disaster to the magistrates of Athens, 248, and 249.——Of Enguium, i. 521.

Nico, or *Nicon*, the name of an ass which Octavius met, and which he considers as a favourable omen, iii. 361.——The name of

an elephant; his fidelity to his master, ii. 40.

Nicon, a slave that belonged to Craterus, ii. 487.

Nicocles kills Paseas, and sets himself up tyrant of Sicyon, iii. 476. Expelled by Aratus, 446.——A friend of Phocion, iii. 69. Is condemned to die, 380.

Nicocreon, king of Salamis in Cyprus, one of the presidents in the theatrical entertainments of Alexander the Great, ii. 458.

Nicodemus, a Theban, both blind and lame, Epaminondas's observation upon him, 174.——The Messenian, his excuse for changing sides, iii. 226.

Nicogenes entertains Themistocles at Ægæ in Æolia, i. 231. Gets him conveyed to the Persian court in a woman's carriage, ib.

Nicolaus, the philosopher, iii. 447.

Nicomacha, daughter of Themistocles, i. 236.

Nicomachus, his paintings, though excellent, appeared to be wrought off with ease, i. 430.——A Greek settled at Carræ, attends young Crassus in his Parthian expedition, ii. 274.——Informs his brother Balinus of a conspiracy against Alexander, ii. 493.

Nicomedes, the Athenian, i. 236.——King of Bithynia, reconciled to Mithridates by Sylla, ii. 131 and 132. Visited by Cæsar, iii. 3.

Nicomedia, ii. 132.

Nicomides, the Thessalian, an engineer in the service of Mithridates, ii. 180.

Nicopolis, city of, iii. 360.——The courtesan, leaves Sylla her heir, ii. 104.

Nicostrata, the same with Carmenta.

Niger, a friend of Antony's sent to him by Octavia, iii. 354.

Nigidius, Publius, a friend of Cicero, iii. 254.

Nile, water of the Nile, as well as of the Danube, kept in the treasury of the kings of Persia, ii. 481.

Nimea, i. 287.

Nisæa, ii. 162. and 223.

Nisibis, a city in Mygdonia, by the Greeks called Antioch, taken by Lucullus, ii. 203.

Nola, i. 509, ii. 117.

Nomades, Thracians so called, ii. 257.

Nomentum, marshes about it Cæsar intended to drain, iii. 48.

Nonacris, rocks of, ii. 1.

Nones of the Goats, *Nonæ Caprotinæ*, a feast kept by the Romans, in memory of Philotas, and the other servant-maids who imposed upon the Latins, i. 100, and 261.

Nonius, killed by Saturninus, his competitor for the tribuneship, i. 454.——Nephew to Sylla, rejected in his application for the consulate, ii. 119.

Nora, castle of, ii. 321.

Norbanus, the consul, and young Marius, defeated by Sylla, ii. 137.——Escapes with difficulty from Brutus, iii. 436.

Noricum, ii. 54.

Novocomum, iii. 26.

Numa Pompilius, several Roman families trace their pedigree up to him, i. 126. Rather cotemporary with Pythagoras the Spartan, than with Pythagoras the Samian, ib. On the demise of Romulus, various debates ensue about the choice of a king, 127. It is agreed at last that the Romans shall choose one out of the body of the Sabine people, 128. The interregnum, how settled, ib. Numa is the person pitched upon, ib. He was a citizen of Cures, the son of Pomponius, and had married Tatia daughter of Tatius, Romulus's colleague, ib. His character, ib. Believed to converse with the goddess Egeria, 129. In his fortieth year when invited to the throne, 130. His answer to the ambassadors on that occasion, ib. His father and his friend Marcius prevail with him to accept the crown, 131. Vettius the interrex receives him in the forum, and his election is confirmed, 132. He has happy presages in the flight of birds, ib. Immediately dismisses the guards that had been kept on foot by Romulus, ib. To the priests adds one for Romulus, ib. Moulds the people to a softer temper by the force of superstition, 133. Has just conceptions of the first cause of all things, ib. Allows no images nor bloody sacrifices, ib. Said to have a son named Mamercus, to whom he gives the surname of Æmilius, 134. Institutes the order of priests, called pontifices, and is himself pontifex maximus, 135. The office of the pontifex maximus described, ib. The holy fire to be preserved by the vestal virgins, ib. In what manner lighted again, when it happened to be extinguished, 136. The number of the vestals, ib. Obliged to preserve their virginity for 30 years, ib. Their privileges, ib. Their punishments, 137. The ceremony of their being buried alive, when they broke their vow of chastity, ib. The temple of Vesta built in an orbicular form, ib. Numa teaches the Romans to look upon the touching of a dead body as no pollution, 138. Teaches them to venerate the goddess Libitina, ib. Fixes the time of mourning, ib. His regulations concerning widows, ib. He institutes the sacred orders of the Salii and Feciales, ib. The Ancilia, what, ib. He builds a palace near the temple of Vesta, and spends most of

his time in religious exercises, 141. Makes the people reverent and attentive, ib. Many of his precepts resemble those of Pythagoras, ib. He brings the people to believe the most improbable tales concerning his connexion with the gods, 142. Not only with Egeria, but with Picus, Faunus, and Jupiter himself, ib. The ridiculous charm for thunder and lightning, 143. He builds a temple to *Fides*, or Faith, and to Terminus, ib. Draws the people to agriculture, as another means of peace, 144. Distributes the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades, ib. This effectually incorporates the Sabines with the Romans, 145. He corrects the severity of the law which empowered fathers to sell their children, ib. Attempts the reformation of the kalendar, ib. The temple of Janus shut for the space of forty-three years in the reign of Numa, 148. The happy influence of his example, ib. Various accounts of his wives and children, and nothing certain but that he had a wife named Tatia, and a daughter named Pompilia, 149. Pompilia has Ancus Marcius by the younger Marcius, ib. Numa goes off by a gentle decline, ib. Buried with great honour, and sincerely lamented by his subjects, ib. His books buried with him, and found some ages after; but the senate think proper to burn them, 150. The misfortunes of the succeeding kings add lustre to his character, 151. Comparison between him and Lycurgus, ib. and 152 to 156.

Numantia, Scipio's, expedition against it, ii. 44.

Numantines beat the consul Mancinus, seize his camp, and take the Romans prisoners, iii. 185. Out of respect to Tiberius Gracchus, they grant the consul terms of peace, and let the Romans go, ib. This peace annulled at Rome, ib.

Number eight, why sacred to Neptune, i. 63.——*Twenty-eight*, i. 201, 202.——*Three*, the perfection of it, i. 308.

Numerius, a friend to Marius, provides him a ship for his escape to Africa, ii. 72.——A partisan of Pompey's, taken prisoner by Cæsar, and sent to Pompey with offers of peace, iii. 148.

Numidian, cavalry, ii. 42.

Numistro, i. 525.

Numitor, his equity and prudence, i. 68. Ejected from the throne of Alba by his brother Amulius, 66. Restored by Romulus and Remus, 68.

Nundinæ, the Roman market-days, why so called, i. 384.

Nurses, Spartan, in great esteem, i. 113. The method they took with children, 117.

Nursia, a city of the Sabines, ii. 290.

Nymphæa, ii. 63.

Nymphæum, a place near Apollonia where are constant springs of fire, ii 135.

Nymphs Sphragitides. See *Sphragitides*.

Nymphidia, natural daughter of Calistus, Cæsar's freedman, iii. 255.

Nymphidius Sabinus promises the soldiers of the prætorian cohorts, and those quartered in the provinces, much larger sums than could ever be paid, for declaring Galba emperor, iii. 515. Attempts to set up for himself, 519. The measures he pursues, 520, 521. His death, 522.

Nypsius, the Neapolitan, gets provisions and money to pay the troops in the castle of Syracuse for Dionysius, iii. 403. He is defeated by the Syracusans, but they make an ill use of their victory, ib. Sallies out, and sets fire to the city, 412. Driven back by Dion, 406.

Nysa, a city in India, besieged by Alexander, ii. 501.

Nyssa, sister of Mithridates, released by Lucullus, ii. 187.

O.

OAK; every Roman who saved the life of a fellow-citizen was presented with an oaken crown, i. 371. Sacred to Jupiter, ib.——Under which Alexander pitched his tent before the battle of Chæronea, shown in Plutarch's time, ii. 454.

Oarses, said to have been the original name of Artaxerxes Mnemon, iii. 451.

Oath the method of taking the great oath amongst the Syracusans, ii. 20. The oath taken by the young Athenians, in the temple of Agraulos, i. 343. Red hot iron, by way of symbol thrown into the sea by Aristides, upon taking an oath, 321.——Between the kings of Epirus and their subjects, i. 397.——Taken with respect to the judges at public exhibitions, ii. 157. By the consuls, iii. 256.

Oboli, ii. 96.

Ochus, Darius, would not visit the kingdom of Persia, though his native country, for fear of the expense in giving every woman a piece of money, ii. 509.——One of the sons of Artaxerxes Mnemon, iii. 470. Finds means to get two of his brothers destroyed, succeeds to the crown, and outdoes all his predecessors in cruelty, 474.

Octavia, half sister of Augustus, and widow of Caius Marcellus, is married to Antony, iii. 339. Reconciles her brother and husband, 347. Goes to Athens, and carries Antony considerable supplies, 354. Returns to Rome, ib. Is commanded by Antony to quit his house, which she does with great reluctance, 357. Laments that she should be numbered amongst the

causes of the civil war, ib. Takes the rest of Antony's children after his death, 376.

Octavius, Cneius, permits Perseus to enjoy the protection of the temple in Samothrace, but guards against his escaping by sea, i. 458. Perseus surrenders himself to him, ib.——The consul, drives Cinna out of Rome, ii. 77. Is a man of great probity, but adheres too scrupulously to the laws in time of civil war, and superstition has too much hold of him, 78. Declares he will not make slaves free of that city; from which, in maintenance of the laws, he excludes Marius, ib. Too much attached to diviners, ib. Seized and put to death by order of Marius and Cinna, 79.——Governor of Cilicia, dies, and Lucullus applies for that province, ii 175.——Lieutenant to Crassus, in vain endeavours to console him after his defeat in Parthia, ii. 277. Insists on accompanying Crassus to Surena, 279. Is killed in endeavouring to prevent the Parthians from carrying Crassus off, ib.——Lucius, sent by Pompey to supersede Metellus in Crete, ii. 393. Is treated by him with contempt, ib.——Marcus, his message to Cato about the command at Utica, iii. 134.——Caius, assumes the merit of being in the conspiracy against Cæsar, when he was not, and suffers for his vanity, iii. 54.——Marcus, tribune with Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 190. Tiberius deposes him, 191.——Marcus, and Marcus Justeius, command the centre of Antony's forces against Augustus, iii. 261.——See *Augustus*.

Odeum, or Music Theatre, built by Pericles, with many seats and rows of pillars, and a conical roof, in imitation of the king of Persia's pavilion, i. 282.

Odours, sweet ones, how produced, ii. 447.

Oeconomics, a constituent part of politics. ii. 250.

Oedipus, ii. 7.

Oenanthes, an infamous minister to young Ptolemy's pleasures, is also a minister of state, ii. 131.

Oeneis, tribe of, ii. 160.

Oeneadæ, their territories ravaged by Pericles, i. 287. Forced to take refuge within their walls, ib.

Oeniadæ, Alexander undertakes to revenge their cause against the Ætolians, ii. 412.

Oenopion, son of Theseus by Ariadne, i. 51.

Oenus. See *Cnacion*.

Ofella, Lucretius. See *Lucretius Ofella*.

Oil, the opinion of the ancient physicians, that it is salutary when applied outwardly, and pernicious if taken inwardly, iii. 180.——*Springs*, found on the banks of the Oxus, and the water of that river itself oily, ii 504.

Olbians, ii. 296.

Olbius, tutor to Nicogenes's children breaks out into a prophetic verse, i. 231.

Old age much honoured at Sparta, i. 115.

Oligarchy, at Samos, abolished by Pericles, i. 292. Alcibiades makes a feint of proposing one at Athens, 356.

Olive, the sacred olive at Athens, i. 166. Bough of the sacred olive, bound with wool, and offered to Apollo. See *Eiresione*.

Olive, one spring called so, and another *the Palm*, i 484.

Olovrus, Mount, i. 454.

Olopuntum, iii. 172.

Olthacus, prince of the Dardarians, pretends to desert from Mithridates to Lucullus, ii. 185. Attempts to kill Lucullus, but miscarries, ib.

Olympia, oracle of, iii. 143.

Olympian Games. See *Games*. Several Olympic games before the common era of Olympiads, i. 333, *n*.——*Earth*, i. 61.

Olympias, the fidelity of Eumenes to that princess, ii. 324. She invites him into Macedon, ib. Early initiated in the mysteries of Orpheus and Bacchus and greatly addicted to enthusiasm and superstition, 446. The night before the consummation of her marriage with Philip, she dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her womb, ib. Soon after a serpent was observed to lie close by her, ib. A saying of her's upon Alexander's pretending to be the son of Jupiter, 454. Jealous and implacable in her temper, ib. Her inhumanity to Cleopatra, Philip's other wife. She advises Alexander not to be so profuse to the objects of his bounty, 485. She and her daughter Cleopatra raise a party against Antipater, and divide the government during Alexander's absence, 510.

Olympiodorus, an Athenian officer, behaves with great bravery in the battle of Platæa. See *battle of Platæa*.

Olympius, a surname given to Pericles, on account of his eloquence, i. 276. Propriety of this surname, 303.

Olympus, the height of that mountain, ii. 459.——A city in Pamphylia, ceremonies of Mithra and other mysteries performed there, ii. 386.

Olynthians, iii. 23.

Omen, that happened to Agesilaus, ii. 60. To Alcibiades, i. 347. To Alexander, ii. 166, 468, 476, 514. To Antigonus, iii. 301. To Mark Antony, iii. 359, 368. To Antony, iii. 369. To Aratus, iii. 506. To Brutus, iii. 436.

443. To Cassius, iii. 440, 441. To Cimon, ii. 168. To Cicero, ii. 168. To Cæsar, iii. 404, 418, 419. To Crassus, ii. 267, 268. To Dion and Dionysius, ii. 393. To Galba, iii. 530. To Tiberius Gracchus, iii. 194. To Marcellus, i. 528. To Mithridates, ii. 119. To Octavius, iii. 361. To Paulus Æmilius, i. 444. To Romulus and Remus, i. 71. To Themistocles, i. 219. To Timoleon, i. 409, 410. See *Prodigies.*

Omestes, i. 223. See *Bacchus Omestes.*

Omisus presents Artaxerxes with a large pomegranate, and he accepts it with great civility, iii. 453.

Omphale, Hercules gives himself up as a slave to her, in order to expiate his fault, or misfortune, in killing Iphitus, i. 43.

Onarus, a priest of Bacchus, said to have married Ariadne, after she was deserted by Theseus, i. 50.

Onatius Aurelius relates his vision, in consequence of which Pompey and Crassus are reconciled. See *Caius Aurelius.*

Onesicritus attends Alexander in his eastern expedition, ii. 508. Sent by Alexander to the Indian philosophers, ib. Pilot to the fleet of which Nearchus was admiral, in the voyage round the southern point of India, ib.

Oneian mountains, iii. 166.

Onomarchus commits sacrilege at Delphi, and falls in the Sicilian wars, i. 428.

Onomarchus who had the custody of Eumenes for Antigonus, his conversation with Eumenes concerning the fear of death, ii. 330.

Onomastus, one of Otho's freedmen, iii. 530.

Opheltas, the king of that name, and such as he could influence, conducted by Peripoltas the diviner from Thessaly into Bœotia, ii. 135.

Opheltas, prince of Cyrene, iii. 290.

Opima Spolia, what, and by whom won, i. 78. 506.

Opimius, Lucius, of the patrician party, loses his election for consul through the opposition of Caius Gracchus, iii. 205. Is afterwards chosen, and endeavours to annul the acts of Caius, 207 Upon the ruin and death of that tribune, builds a temple to Concord, 211. Uses a dictatorial power in his consulate, in condemning so many citizens of Rome unheard, ib. Is convicted of taking bribes of Jugurtha, and grows old in dishonour, ib.

Oplacus, the Italian, fixes his aim on Pyrrhus in particular in an engagement, ii. 22.

Oppius, Caius, a friend of Cæsar, some account of his writings, iii. 54.

Optiletis. See *Minerva Optiletis.*

Optio, or centurion's deputy, iii. 530.

Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, iii. 242. Of *Apollo Tegyræus*, i. 485. Of *Amphiaraus*, i. 555. Of *Jupiter Ammon*, ii. 168. Of *Dodona*, i. 232. Of *Triphonius*, ii. 120.

Oracle of Pasiphæ, iii. 141, 156.

Oracle, by Necromancy, ii. 155.

Oracles, concerning the succession of the Spartan kings, to be opened only by a son of Apollo, ii. 105. The death of Lysander, 108. To Alexander the Great, ii. 457, 461. Concerning Cæsar in the battle of Pharsalia, 471. To Cicero, iii. 242. Concerning the battle of Chæronea, 229. Three Cornelii to reign at Rome, 251. Concerning of the untying of the Gordian knot, ii. 461. That the Scipios should be always victorious in Africa, 42. Concerning the burial of Aratus, iii. 512. To Otho, 530.

Oracles and prophecies, concerning Ægeus, i. 43. Concerning the future greatness of the Romans, 89. Concerning the waters of the Alban lake, i. 240. The coming of the Gauls into Italy, i. 505. The death of Cimon, ii. 168. To Marius, that he should be a seventh time consul, i. 75. Concerning a lame king of Sparta, 334.

Orations and speeches of Alexander, ii. 485, 490. Of Afranius to Pompey, 427. Of Appius Claudius to the senate, ii. 24. Of Aratus to Philip iii. 507. Of Brennus, i. 247. Of Cleopatra out of the tomb of Antony, iii. 373. Of Cato to the three hundred, iii. 128. Of Chelonis the daughter of Leonidas, iii. 149. Of Cornelia to Pompey, ii. 430. Of Cleomenes concerning the institution of the ephori, iii. 159, 160. Of the same concerning death, 177. Of Coriolanus to Tullus, i. 386. Of the same against the insolence of the people, 380, 381. Of Crassus to the army after the death of his son, ii. 276. Of the same, on the going to meet his own death, iii 381. Of Dion, 384. Of Eumenes, before his death to the Argyraspides, ii. 329. Of Fabius Maximus to his army, i. 315. To Paulus Æmilius, 317. Of Caius Gracchus, iii. 200. Of Tiberius Gracchus, 188, 192. Of Hannibal before his death, ii. 78. Of Hersilia, i. 81. Of Licinia, the wife of Caius Gracchus, iii. 209. Of Lucullus to the army. Of Marius Celsus, 427. Of Minutius to his troops, i. 316. Of Numa refusing the offered crown, 131. Of the father of Numa in answer, ib. Of Otho to his troops, ii. 546. Of Paulus Æmilius to Perseus, i. 459. Of the same to the young officers, on the taking of Perseus, ib. and 460. Of the same to the people of Rome, 466. Of Perpenna against Sertorius, ii. 409. Of Pompey to Cornelia, ii. 435. Of Remus to Numitor, i. 69.

Of Sertorius, on the force of perseverance, ii. 300. Of Sylla to his men, ii. 124. Of Themistocles, i. 231. 233. Of Thericion to Cleomenes, on the contempt of death, iii. 176, 177. Of Tiribazus to Darius ii. 471. Of Valeria, sister to Publicola, to Volumnia, the mother of Coriolanus, i. 395. Of Volumnia to the Roman matrons, 394. Of the same to her son, 396. Of Vinius to Galba, iii. 560.

Orations, Funeral. See *Funeral Orations*.

Oratory, the conciseness of that of Phocion, ii. 60.

Orator prevails more from the goodness of his heart than the eloquence of his tongue, ii. 60.

Orchalion hills, ii. 107.

Orchomenus, ii. 106. iii. 506.

Orcynia in Cappadocia, ii. 320.

Orestes, the consul of that name, iii. 189.

Orexartes, river ii. 490.

Oricum, i. 461. ii. 426.

Oritæ, Alexander marches through their country, ii. 509.

Ormeum, i. 443.

Orneus, of the family of Erectheus, i. 61.

Ornytus and Ioxus, plant a colony in Caria, i. 45.

Oroandes, the Cretan takes in Perseus's treasure, and then leaves him in the isle of Samothrace, i. 458.

Orbazus comes from Arsaces to wait on Sylla, the first ambassador the Parthians sent to the Romans, i. 113. Put to death by Arsaces for suffering Sylla to take the place of honour, ib.

Orodes or *Hyrodes*, king of Parthia, sends an embassy to Crassus, ii. 267. Restored to his throne by Surena, 5. Conquers Crassus, 281. Is murdered by his son Phraates, 298.

Orœsus the Cretan kills Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus, in an engagement on the march to Argos, i. 591.

Oromasdes, or *Oromazes*, the god who is the author of good, so called by the Persians, iii. 473. *n.*

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Ovicula, a name Fabius Maximus had in his youth, on account of his seeming tameness and stupidity, i. 304.

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Oxathres, the brother of Darius, Alexander takes him into his friendship, ii. 489.——Brother to Artaxerxes Mnemon, iii. 451.

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PACCIANUS, sent by Sylla to assist Ascalis the son of Iphtha to recover his kingdom of Mauritania, is defeated and killed by Sertorius, ii. 30.

Paches, who had taken Lesbos, being called to account by the Athenians for some misdemeanor, killed himself in open court, ii. 222.

Pachynus, promontory of, iii. 129.

Pacianus, Caius, a Roman that resembled Crassus, obliged by the Parthians to personate him, ii. 281.——Vibius, Crassus takes refuge with him in Spain from the cruelty of Marius, iii. 251.

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Palilia, a pastoral feast, i. 73, 84.

Palladium, or image of Pallas, i. 252.

Pallantidæ, next heirs to Ægeus, if Theseus had not been acknowledged his son, have recourse to arms, but are defeated, i. 47.

Palantium, iii. 500.

Pallas, brother of Ægeas, i. 45.

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Pallaneans, an Athenian tribe, do not intermarry with that of Agnus, i. 47.

Palm, one spring so called, and another Olive, i. 486.

Palm-tree, shooting up near the statue of Cæsar in a temple at Tralles, consi-

dered as prefigurative of his victory at Pharsalia. See *Prodigies*.

Pammenes, Philip, king of Macedon, brought up in his house at Thebes, i. 255.

Pamphilius, of Sicyon, a celebrated painter, iii. 482.

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Panætius commands a galley of Tenos in the service of Xerxes, and revolts from him, i. 222.——The philosopher, what he said of Demosthenes, iii. 226.

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Pansa and *Hirtius*, the acquisitions were so great in the time of Paulus Æmilius, that the Romans paid no taxes from his time to the consulate of Hirtius and Pansa, i. 467. See *Hirtius*.

Pantaleon, a man of great power and interest amongst the Ætolians, iii. 497.

Pantauchus, left by Demetrius to command in Ætolia, against Pyrrhus, and is overcome, ii. 12.

Panteus, sent by Cleomenes to seize on Megalopolis, iii. 169. Kills himself in Egypt on the body of Cleomenes, 180. His wife a woman of great beauty, courage, and dignity of sentiment, ib.

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Parapotamians, ii. 126.

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Pariscas, an eunuch belonging to the younger Cyrus, iii. 459.

Parma, ambassadors from that place, ii. 65.

Parmenio, father of Philotas, warns Alexander of a supposed design of poison from his physician, ii. 463. Tells him, he would accept the offers of Darius, if he was Alexander, 474. Alexander's answer, ib. As also to his advice to fight in the night, 476. His party, in the great battle of Arbela, disordered by the Bactrian horse, 480. Sends to Alexander for succours, ib. Censured for it, ib. Alexander gives him Bagoas's house, 484. Parmenio says to Philotas, "My son, be less," 492. He is put to death by order of Alexander, 493.

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Parricide, no punishment for appointed by Romulus, i. 85. See *Ostius*.

Parsley, used in adorning the sepulchres of the dead, i. 425. Crowns of it bestowed on the victors in the Isthmian and Nemean games, ib.

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Parysatis, wife of Darius, and mother of Artaxerxes Mnemon, iii. 451. Her attachment to her younger son Cyrus, ib. Encourages his ambitious designs, and contributes greatly to the war between the two brothers, 454. Her character, ib. Her extreme cruelty to all that were concerned in the death of Cyrus, or in cutting off his head and hand, 461, 464. She poisons Statira the wife of Artaxerxes, 465. Is confined for some time to the city of Babylon, ib. Artaxerxes is reconciled to her, ib.

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Pasicrates, king of Soli in Cyprus, ii. 473.

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Paulus Æmilius, Lucius, consul with Terentius Varro, i. 316, *n*. Fabius Maximus advises him to avoid an engagement with Hannibal, 317. His answer, ib. Killed in the battle of Cannæ, 436.——

Æmilius, his family supposed to be descendants of a son of Numa, i. 436. Is the son of Lucius Paulus Æmilius, who fell at Cannæ, ib. Sets out in a different track from the rest of the young nobility, 436. Carries the office of ædile against twelve competitors, 437. When taken into the college of augurs, studies their rules and ceremonies with great attention, ib. Strict in military discipline, ib. Is sent prætor into Spain, with double the usual number of lictors, and reduces the barbarians who had revolted, 438. Returns to Rome not a drachma the richer, ib. Divorces his first wife Papiria, after he had lived long with her, and she had brought him fine children, ib. Marries a second wife, by whom he has two sons, ib. His sons by the first wife are adopted, the one by Fabius Maximus, the other by the son of Scipio Africanus, 439. One of his daughters is married to the son of Cato, and the other to Ælius Tubero, ib. The poverty and content in which the Ælian family lived, ib. In his first consulship reduces the Ligurians, and takes from them the ships which they had employed in piracy, 440. Is candidate again for the consulship, and loses it, ib. Inspects the education of his children, and procures them not only Roman but Grecian masters, ib. Circumstances which led to the war with Perseus king of Macedon, 441. Perseus, though a man of slender capacity, by the advantage of his father Philip's preparations, defeats several Roman generals, 442. Solicits succours from several nations, 443. The Romans call Paulus Æmilius to the consulship, ib. Omen of success to him, 444. His speech to the people, on being appointed to the command in Macedonia, ib. Perseus, by his avarice, loses the assistance of the Bastarnæ, 445. And imposes upon his friend Gentius, king of Illyria, 446. Æmilius, after a safe and speedy passage, finds Perseus strongly fortified by the sea-side at the foot of Mount Olympus, ib. He finds water for his troops, by digging at the foot of the mountains, 447. Finds out a way of coming at the enemy, through Perrhæbia, ib. Scipio Nasica undertakes to lead the troops that were to take this circuit, and executes it with great ability, 448. A Cretan deserter informs Perseus of his danger, ib. Perseus sends Milo with ten thousand men, to seize the heights of Olympus, ib. Scipio defeats Milo, 449. Perseus quits his camp, and retires to Pydnæ, ib. His friends encourage him to give the Romans battle on the adjacent plains, ib. Æmilius is astonished at the numbers and good order of the enemy, ib. Has the art to encamp without being disturbed by the Macedonians, 450. The different effects, which an eclipse of the moon has upon the Romans and Macedonians, ib. Paulus sacrifices till he finds the desired tokens, and then announces victory to the Romans, provided that they stood upon the defensive, ib. A circumstance which brings the Macedonians to begin the attack, ib. The battle described, 451, 452. Marcus son of Cato, and son-in-law to Æmilius, loses his sword, and finds it again with much difficulty under a heap of the slain, 453, 454. Scipio, the younger son of Æmilius, is missing, but returns to the camp late in the night, 454. Perseus flies to Pella, and there despatches Euctus and Eudæus, two of his treasurers, with his own hand, 455. All his troops forsake him, except a few Cretans, and from them he artfully gets back some gold plate which he had given them, ib. He sails to Samothrace, and takes sanctuary there, 456. Æmilius in two days time becomes master of all Macedonia, 456. Perseus engages one Oroandes, a Cretan, to carry off both him and his treasure, but the Cretan deceives him, 458. His favourite Ion betrays his children to the Romans, ib. He surrenders himself to Octavius, ib. Behaves meanly when brought before Æmilius, ib. Æmilius's rebuke to him, ib. His speech to the officers of his army, on the instability of fortune, 459. He visits Greece, reforms abuses, and gives specimens of his bounty, ib. Erects his own statue at Delphi, on

a pedestal designed for that of Perseus, 460. With ten commissioners from Rome, settles the government of Macedonia, ib. Exhibits games, ib. Has a happy talent for making entertainments, ib. Takes nothing of Perseus's treasures for himself, ib. Sacks seventy cities of Epirus, and yet the soldiers to whom the plunder was given, have no more than eleven drachmæ a man, 461. Returns to Italy, and sails in great pomp up the Tiber, ib. The soldiers endeavour to prevent Æmilius's triumph, 462. Servilius's speech on that occasion, ib. The triumph described, 465, 466. Æmilius loses his two younger sons, who were not adopted into other families, 466. The magnanimity he discovered in his speech on that occasion, ib. Different accounts of the death of Perseus, 467. One of the sons of that prince becomes clerk to the Roman magistrates, 468. Æmilius brings so much money into the treasury, that the people had no occasion to pay any taxes till the time of Hirtius and Pansa, ib. Acceptable to the people, though he was in the interest of the nobility, ib. Is elected censor with Martius Philippus, 468. His moderation in that office, ib. Sickens during his censorship, 469. The cordial regard expressed for him at his funeral, not only by the Romans, but by persons of the countries he had conquered, ib. Leaves a very small estate behind him, ib. Saying of his relative to a good general, 470. Comparison between him and Timoleon, 471.——The consul, bribed by Cæsar, iii. 420, iii. 27.——Given up to the proscription by his brother Lepidus, iii. 275, 330.

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Pellene, recovered from the Æolians by Aratus, ii. 16. Taken by Cleomenes, ii. 164, iii. 497.

Pelopidas, the son of Hippoclus, nobly descended, i. 473. Makes a generous use of his wealth, ib. Cannot prevail on his friend Epaminondas to partake of his riches, and therefore partakes of his poverty. Marries into a noble family, yet afterwards, by his munificence, lessens his fortune, 474. Delights in the exercises of the palæstra and the field, ib. The happy consequences to the public from the perpetual friendship and harmony that subsisted between him and Epaminondas, ib. Rescued in battle by Epaminondas, 475. The Lacedæmonians become jealous of the Thebans, their late allies, ib. The party in Thebes, which was inclined to an oligarchy, betrays the Cadmea to Phœbidas the Lacedæmonian, 476. The Spartans lay a fine upon Phœbidas, but keep the citadel notwithstanding, ib. Put Ismenias, one of the popular party in Thebes, to death, and pass sentence of banishment on Pelopidas and others, ib. Epaminondas is disregarded as a poor philosopher, ib. Archias and Leontidas become tyrants in Thebes. Leontidas sends persons to Athens to assassinate the exiles, but only one of them falls, ib. The Athenians encourage the exiles, ib. Pelopidas prevails upon them to attempt the deliverance of their country, ib. They acquaint their friends in Thebes with their resolution, ib. Charon offers his house for their reception, 477. Phillidas, one of their party, finds means to get himself appointed secretary to the tyrants, ib. Epaminondas inspires the youth with an ambition to throw off the Spartan yoke, ib. Twelve of the exiles, of whom Pelopidas was one, having left the rest of their party at Thriasium, set out in disguise with dogs and hunting-poles, ib. One of

their friends is staggered by the approaching danger, and the design near being disconcerted, ib. and 478. They enter the city in different quarters, under favour of their disguise and the snowy weather, and get safe to Charon's house. The exiles and others make up the number of forty eight. Phillidas had previously invited the tyrants to an entertainment at his house that evening, ib. A report is brought to Archias that the exiles were concealed in the city, and he sends for Charon, ib. His intrepidity before Archias prevents his being suspected. Phillidas drinks up the tyrants to a high pitch, and keeps up their expectation of some women he had promised, ib. A narrative is sent to Archias, from Athens, of the whole affair, but he refuses to read it, and says, "Business to-morrow," ib. Charon and others enter the banqueting-room, disguised as women, and despatch Archias and Philip, 480. Pelopidas goes against Leontidas, who was at home in his own chamber, and despatches him with much difficulty, 481. Hypates shares the fate of Leontidas, ib. Epaminondas and Gorgidas join the deliverers of their country with a considerable body of men, ib. The error of the Spartan officers in not sallying out immediately upon them from the citadel, ib. Pelopidas is elected by the people one of the governors of Bœotia, ib. Takes the Cadmea a little before succours arrived from Sparta, 482. This action of Pelopidas justly called sister to that of Thrasybulus, ib. The Athenians, alarmed at the arrival of a Spartan army on the borders of Bœotia, draw off from the Theban leagues; but Pelopidas finds means to embroil them with the Spartans again, 483. His agents persuade Sphodrias the Spartan to make an attempt upon the Piræus, ib. He defeats the Spartans in several rencounters, ib. Circumstances which led to the battle of Tegyræ, 484. The battle, ib. The sacred band, how composed, 485, and *n.* first formed by Gorgidas, and improved by Pelopidas, 486. His answer to his wife, who desires him to take care of his person, 487. Marches with Epaminondas against Cleombrotus, ib. Story of the Leuctrides, daughters of Scedasus, whose *manes* were to be appeased by the sacrifice of a red-haired virgin, ib. The battle of Leuctra, 489. Pelopidas, then captain of the sacred band, has a considerable share in the honour of the victory, ib. Pelopidas and Epaminondas are appointed joint governors of Bœotia, and make very considerable progress in Peloponnesus, ib. They venture to keep their commission beyond the expiration of the year, though the penalty was capital, ib. Lay waste Laconia with an army of seventy-thousand men, ib. Drive the Spartans out of Messenia, and re-establish the ancient inhabitants, 490. In their return defeat the Athenians, ib. Are capitally tried for keeping the command beyond the time allowed by law, ib. Acquitted, ib. Menaclidas forms a party against them, 491. Endeavours to put Charon upon a footing with them, ib. A heavy fine is laid upon that envious man, 491. The Thessalians apply to the Thebans for assistance against Alexander the tyrant of Pheræ, 492. Pelopidas takes the command of the succours, and recovers Larissa, ib. Endeavours to humanize the tyrant, but in vain, ib. The tyrant escapes out of his hands, ib. *Pelopidas* goes into Macedonia, as arbitrator between Alexander and Ptolemy, ib. Brings Philip and thirty other hostages to Thebes, ib. Philip proposes Epaminondas as his pattern in the art and conduct of war, 493. Ptolemy kills the king of Macedon, and assumes the sovereignty, ib. Pelopidas permits him to keep it on certain conditions, for the performance of which he gives his son Philoxenus as an hostage, ib. Besieges Pharsalus, ib. Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, approaches it with his army, and Pelopidas is imprudent enough to go to him without guards, ib. The tyrant seizes him and Ismenias, and makes himself master of Pharsalus, 493. Thebe, the tyrant's wife, visits Pelopidas in the prison, ib. Epaminondas recovers him and Ismenias out of the tyrant's hands, 495. Pelopidas goes ambassador to the Persian court, and is highly honoured by Artaxerxes, 496. Obtains all he desires, ib. Accepts none of the king's presents, ib. The tyrant of Pheræ extends his conquests and oppressions, 497. An eclipse of the sun happens, when Pelopidas is marching out against him, ib. He has the advantage in the battle, notwithstanding his inferior numbers; but falls a sacrifice to his resentment against the tyrant, 498. The sorrow of the allies, as well as Thebans, for his death, 499. His funeral solemnized by the Thessalians, ib. The Thebans send an army to revenge his death upon Alexander, 500. The tyrant is slain by his wife and her three brothers, 501.

Peloponnesian War, ii. 91. Lasts twenty-seven years, ii. 226, *n.*

Peloponnesus, iii. 167.

Pelops, after he was settled in Peloponnesus, formed alliances in his family with the neighbouring princes, and became the most powerful king in those parts, i. 41. Father of Pittheus and Lysidice, 44.—

Of Byzantium, Cicero expostulates with him by letter for not providing for his honourable reception there, iii. 257.

Pelusium, iii. 311, 369.

Peneus, river, i. 565.

Pentacosiomedimni, an order of men in Athens according to the constitution of Solon, i. 172, 535.

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Pentele, a borough of Attica, famed for its marble, i. 200.

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Peplum, or sacred veil of Minerva, i. 54, *n.*

Perulus the sacred galley of the Athenians near being taken by Lysander, ii. 90.

Percote, a city given Themistocles by the king of Persia, to supply his wardrobe, i. 234.

Perdiccas, on the death of Hephæstion, supplies his place, iii. 46. He establishes Eumenes in Cappadocia, 49. Marches against Ptolemy, 50. Is killed in a mutiny in Egypt, 53. Had assisted Roxana in taking off Statira and her sister, iii. 517.

Pergamus, ii. 119. The library there, ib.

Pergamenians, Brutus's letter to them, iii. 415.

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seduces all Lucullus's soldiers, except sixteen hundred, ib. Lucullus departs for Rome, and Pompey marches in quest of Mithridates, 396. Pompey's operations against Mithridates, ib. He routs him entirely near the Euphrates, 397. Mithridates flies with only three attendants, one of which was his concubine Hypsicratia, ib. Tigranes sets a price upon his head, ib. Mithridates directs his flight through Colchis, ib. Pompey enters Armenia, on the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, ib. Tigranes the elder receives a Roman garrison into his capital, and makes his personal submission to Pompey, 398. Pompey continues to Tigranes the dominions that he has in his hands, and offers to make his son king of Sophene, ib. The father is very happy in these conditions; but the son murmurs, and is reserved in chains for Pompey's triumph, ib. Pompey marches in search of Mithridates, ib. the Albanians attack him, and are defeated, 399. He grants them peace, ib. Defeats the Iberians, who were never conquered till his time, ib. Enters Colchis, in order to pursue Mithridates, who concealed himself about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis, ib. Is called back by the revolt of the Albanians, ib. Defeats them again, and kills Cosis, the king's brother, with his own hand, ib. Designs to visit Hyrcania, but is prevented by the great number of serpents he finds on the way, 400. Takes the route from Armenia the Less, ib. Gives audience there to the ambassadors of the Elymæans and the Medes, ib. Sends Afranius against the Parthians, who were laying waste Gordyene, ib. Afranius defeats and pursues them as far as the province of Arbelis, ib. Pompey's polite behaviour to Stratonice, favourite concubine to Mithridates, ib. The king of Iberia sends him rich presents, and he delivers them to the quæstors, to be applied to the public revenue, 401. Finds in the castle of Cænon Mithridates's private papers, by which he discovers him in his real character to be cruel and libidinous, ib. Goes to Amisus, where he distributes governments, before the war is finished, though he had blamed that measure in Lucullus, ib. Twelve kings appear before him there, 402. He is desirous to recover Syria, and push his conquests as far as the Red Sea; and in the mean time takes measures for reducing Mithridates by famine, ib. Inters the bodies of those Romans who fell under Triarius three years before, ib. Subdues the Arabians about Mount Amanus, ib. Converts Syria into a Roman province, ib. Reduces Judea, and takes its king Aristobulus prisoner, ib. Administers justice, and decides disputes between cities and princes, particularly between the Armenians and Parthians, 403. Too indulgent to his own ministers, ib. The insolent use that his freedman, named Demetrius, made of his favour, ib. Pompey's theatre beautiful and grand, but his house not ostentatiously great, ib. He marches against Petra in Arabia, 404. Near that place, he receives the news of the death of Mithridates, ib. Marches to Amisus, where he finds presents from Pharnaces, together with the body of Mithridates, ib. Moves with great pomp towards Italy, 405. His bounty to philosophers and other learned men at Rhodes and at Athens, ib. At his return to Italy, has the mortification to find that his wife Mucia had dishonoured his bed, ib. He divorces her, 406. Apprehensions in Rome that he will keep his army on foot, and make himself absolute master, ib. Removed by his disbanding it immediately, ib. The cities pour out their inhabitants to welcome and conduct him to Rome, ib. Finding Cato the only person that ventured to oppose him in the administration, he endeavours to gain him by proposing a family alliance, but is rejected, ib. Bribes publicly for one of his friends, ib. His triumph remarkable in being over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two, 407. He advances the Roman revenues from fifty to eighty-five millions of drachmæ, and brings the value of 20,000 talents into the treasury, ib. Ruined by the weight of his own power, 408. Lucullus gets his acts confirmed, which Pompey had annulled, ib. Pompey having lost his majority in the senate, has recourse to the tribunes of the people, ib. Clodius insists on his sacrificing Cicero, and he complies, ib. Cæsar, on his return from Spain, reconciles Pompey and Crassus, 409. Cæsar, in consequence of that union is appointed consul, and proposes several laws agreeable to the people, but not to the senate, ib. Pompey declares he will defend those laws with the sword, ib. Marries Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had been promised to Cæpio, ib. Gives his own daughter to Cæpio, who had been promised to Faustus, ib. The consul Bibulus and others are driven out of the forum by violence, and the law for the division of lands is carried, ib. The acts of Pompey are confirmed, and the two Gauls with Illyria are given to Cæsar for five years, ib. Cato foretels the calamities that would fall upon the commonwealth and on Pompey himself, ib. Lucullus retires from state affairs, ib. Pom-

pey becomes extremely uxorious, ib. Clodius behaves to him with extreme insolence, ib. and 411. Culleo advises Pompey to repudiate Julia, others to recal Cicero, 411. He embraces the counsel of the latter, ib. Cicero, at his return, reconciles the senate to Pompey, and procures for him the important charge of supplying Rome with corn, ib. He executes it with great ability, 412. During the wars in Gaul, Cæsar is privately making preparations in Rome for his future sovereignty, 413. Pompey and Crassus give him the meeting at Lucca, where it is agreed that they two shall have the consulship the ensuing year, and Cæsar his command continued for five years more, 413. Marcellinus attempts to bring the matter to an eclaircissement, ib. The answers that Pompey and Crassus gave him, ib. Domitius is persuaded by Cato to stand for the consulship; but he and all his firiends are driven out of the forum by an armed force, ib. and 414. Pompey prevents Cato from being elected prætor, by a pretence of having seen an inauspicious flight of birds, ib. The greatest part of the Roman empire is divided amongst the triumvirate, ib. Pompey is to have Africa and both the Spains for his share, ib. Crassus repairs to his province of Syria, ib. Pompey exhibits games, on the dedication of his theatre, 414. Julia's great affection for Pompey, 415. She dies in child-bed, and the child does not long survive her, ib. Crassus is slain by the Parthians, and thus the last obstacle to a civil war is removed, ib. Pompey affects to despise Cæsar, 416. Suffers anarchy to prevail, in order that he himself may be appointed dictator, ib. Is prevented by Cato for a time, ib. Suffers confusion to take place again, ib. Bibulus makes a motion that Pompey should be declared sole consul, and Cato approves of it, 417. Pompey marries Cornelia the daughter of Metellus Scipio, ib. Her great accomplishments, ib. He makes laws against bribery, and against encomiums upon persons accused, but is extremely partial in the execution of them, 418. Takes his father-in-law for his colleague the last five months of his time, ib. His governments are continued to him for four years more, and he has a thousand talents a-year allowed for the subsistence and pay of his troops, ib. Cæsar's friends demand that he should either have another consulship, or the term of his governments prolonged, and Pompey favours that requisition: but Cato's ill-timed severity prevents any accommodation, 419. Pompey sends for the two legions he had lent Cæsar, and Cæsar sends them home liberally rewarded, ib. Great rejoicings are made in Italy for Pompey's recovery from sickness, ib. He is lulled asleep with the pride of power, and makes no preparations for war, ib. Cæsar, now not far from Italy, sends his soldiers to vote in elections, and makes powerful friends in Rome by his money, 420. Curio, the tribune, makes plausible proposals in the name of Cæsar, ib. The consul Marcellus insists that Cæsar should be declared an enemy to the state, if he did not lay down his arms, 421. Cæsar's friends remonstrate, and make other motions, but in vain; and Marcellus, at the head of the senate, marches out of the city to Pompey, ib. Pompey has no success, in the new levies, ib. Cicero endeavours to bring about a reconciliation, but without effect, ib. Cæsar having seized Ariminum, marches with a small body of men, and passes the Rubicon, 422. Tullus asks Pompey what forces he has ready for the war, and receives an unsatisfactory answer, ib. Pompey is invested with discretionary powers, ib. He declares he will consider those who remain in Rome as the partizans of Cæsar, 423. Cæsar arrives at Rome, and is severe to no man but the tribune Metellus, who endeavours to prevent his touching the money in the public treasury, ib. Cæsar hastens to drive Pompey out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain, ib. Pompey sails from Brundusium to Dyrrhachium, having first filled the principal streets of Brundusium with sharp stakes, and covered them with earth, 424. Cæsar, having made himself master of all Italy in sixty days, marches into Spain with an intent to gain Pompey's forces there, ib. Pompey exercises his new-raised troops with great diligence and activity, ib. Many kings and princes repair to his camp, and he has a complete senate about him, 425. Even Labienus and Brutus repair to his standard, ib. Cicero, though he had advised otherwise, and Tidius Sextius, though extremely old, do the same, ib. The humane decree made at the motion of Cato, 426. Cæsar, having made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, marches back through Italy, sails to Oricum, and sends Vibullius Rufus to Pompey with proposals of peace, ib. Pompey, instead of accepting the proposals, secures the ports and strong-holds, ib. Cæsar often attacks Pompey's intrenchments, and in one of those attacks is in danger of losing his whole army, ib. Pompey does not pursue his advantage, 427. Cæsar, for want of provisions, is forced to decamp, and takes his way to Thessaly, ib. Upon this, Pompey's

troops are too much elated, and impatient for a decisive action, ib. Afranius advises Pompey to regain Italy, ib. His reasons for refusing that advice, ib. and 428. He pursues Cæsar, and comes up with him on the plains of Pharsalia, 429. Is teazed into a battle, against his better judgment, ib. His dream, ib. Another presage of his defeat, ib. Cæsar's saying when he perceived the enemy prepared for battle, 430. The disposition of the two armies, 431. Pompey orders his to wait for the enemy's charge, ib. The numbers on each side, ib. The battle, ib. and 432. Pompey quits his ranks, and retires to his camp; but, finding that not secure, he changes his habit, and flies, 433. The number of the slain, ib. The enemy find Pompey's camp full of preparations of festivity, ib. Pompey, finding himself not pursued, quits his horse, passes by Larissa, and comes to Tempe, ib. Goes down to the sea coast, and passes the remainder of the night in a fisherman's cabin, ib. Coasts along in a small river boat, ib. Is taken up by Petitius, a Roman citizen into a ship of burden, ib. The persons he took with him, 435. Steers for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son ib. Their distressful meeting, 436. The advice he gave the people of Mitylene, ib. He complains to Gratippus of Providence, ib. Sets sail with his wife and friends, ib. Touches at Atalia, where he is joined by some Cilician galleys, ib. Finds in a little time sixty senators about him, ib. Is informed that his fleet is entire, and that Cato is gone with it to Africa, ib. Laments his great error in giving Cæsar battle at a distance from his fleet, ib. Raises men and money, 437. Deliberates about the country he should retire to, and fixes at last upon Egypt, 438. Notifies his arrival to Ptolemy, ib. The young king demands of his council in what manner he ought to treat him, and concludes to put him to death, ib. A boat is sent to receive him, ib. Cornelia divines his fate, 439. The last words he said to her, ib. Ptolemy's people sit sullen in the boat, ib. Assassinate Pompey as he is getting out, ib. Dies the day after his birth-day, at the age of fifty-nine, ib. Cornelia makes her escape, 440. The body of Pompey is thrown out naked, ib. Buried by his freedman Philip, and an old Roman soldier, who was a sojourner in Egypt, ib. Cæsar arrives in Egypt, and executes vengeance on the murderers of Pompey, 440, and ib. *n.* Compared with Agesilaus, 441 to 445.

Pompey the younger, (Sextus), seizes Sicily, and infests the Italian coasts, iii. 339. His answer to Mark Antony, ib. Menas proposes to make him master of the world, ib. His answer to Menas, 340.

Pompon, son of Numa, i. 392.

Pomponia, the wife of Quintus Cicero, iii. 276.

Pomponius, the father of Numa, persuades his son to accept the Roman crown, i. 130.——The prætor, gives a concise but plain account of the loss of the battle at the Thrasymenian lake, i. 307.——Wounded and taken prisoner by Mithridates, ii. 184. He answers, with a dignity becoming a Roman, to Mithridates's proposal, ib.——Killed in defence of Caius Gracchus, iii. 210.

Pontifices, instituted by Numa, i. 135.

Pontifex Maximus, his office, i. 136.

Pontius Cominius ascends the capitol to inform the senate of Camillus's victory over the Gauls, i. 325.——A servant of a Roman of that name, meets Sylla in a prophetic rapture, and tells him he brings him success from Bellona, ii. 136.——*Glaucus*, the title of one of Cicero's poems, iii. 241.

Pontus, ii. 119.

Popedius Silo attempts to intimidate Cato, when a child, iii. 88.

Popilius, the prætor, banishes the friends of Tiberius Gracchus, ii. 477. Obliged to quit Italy himself, ib.——The tribune, murders Cicero, though defended by him under an accusation of parricide, iii. 276.——*Læna*, his address to Brutus and Cassius, iii. 422. His discourse with Cæsar, 423.

Poplicola. See *Publicola*.——One of Antony's lieutenants, iii. 361.

Poppæa, the wife of Crispinus, her connexions with Otho and Nero, iii. 526, 527.

Populace, whether most insolent to good men when government prospers, or in the contrary circumstances, iii. 57.

Popularity, iii. 138, 139.

Porcia, sister to Cato the younger, iii. 86.——The daughter of Cato, first married to Bibulus, iii. 103. Her excellent character, iii. 415. Gives herself a private wound by way of trial of what she could bear, 421. Her discourse to Brutus, ib. Her great anxiety on his account, 423. How affected at the sight of a picture at Elea, 428. Said by some to have swallowed hot ashes, by others to have died in another manner, 447.——*Basilica*, or *Porcian Hall*, built by Cato the censor, i. 581.

Porcii, whence that family name, i. 197.

Porcius, son to Cato of Utica, gives into debauchery, i. 138. Atones for it by

the valour he exerted in the battle in which he fell, ib.

Porsena adopts the cause of Tarquin, and declares war against the Romans, i. 200. They retire before him, ib. Besieges Rome, 202. The bold attempt of Mucius Scævola, ib. Porsena's generous behaviour to him, and to the Romans in general, 203. They erect his statue in brass, 204.

Porus, one of the principal kings in India, his prodigious stature, ii. 503. Taken prisoner by Alexander, ib. When asked how he desired to be treated, answers only, "Like a king," ib. Restored to his dominions, ib.

Posideon, one of the Athenian months, ii. 31.

Posidonius the philosopher, ii. 311. Cicero his disciple, iii. 241.

Two Posidonii, ii. 405.

Posthuma, Sylla's daughter by Valeria, ii. 130.

Posthumius, the soothsayer, requires to be bound and imprisoned till Sylla had conquered Marius, ii, 119.

Posthumius Albinus rallied by Cato for writing a history in Greek, and asking pardon for improprieties of language, i. 575.——*Tubertus* created consul, i. 133. Appointed dictator to act against the Æqui and Volsci, 237.——Spurius, rivals Tiberius Gracchus, iii. 187.

Potamos, a place in Attica, where the Athenians assign the daughter of Aristides a farm for her dowry, i. 564.

Pothinus, iii. 357.

Potidæa, i. 337.

Poverty, i. 337.

Power, its effect, ii. 140. Arbitrary power a burden to the possessor, as well as to the people, i. 417.

Præcia, a courtesan, her influence in Rome, ii. 175.

Prænestines, ii. 142.

Prætexta, a Roman garment edged with purple, i. 82, *n.*

Prætorian cohorts, iii. 520.

Pranicus, the poet, ii. 494.

Prayer, i. 139. Of Camillus, i. 240.

Prexagoras advises the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods for Pompey's recovery from sickness, iii. 419.

Praxiergidæ, the persons who performed certain ceremonies about the image of Minerva, i. 363.

Priene, i. 60, 291.

Prima, said to be the daughter of Romulus by Hersilia, i. 76.

Principia, the general's quarters in the Roman camp, esteemed sacred, on account of the images of the gods being placed there, iii. 521.

Priscus. See *Helvidius Priscus*.

Priapus, i. 64.

Procrustes. See *Damastes*.

Proculeius, employed by Augustus to get Cleopatra alive into his hands, iii. 370.

Proculus, Julius, makes oath that Romulus had appeared to him in a form more than mortal, i. 90. Sent to offer Numa the crown, 130.——Captain of the guards to Otho, iii. 539.

Prodici, the guardians of kings who were minors, so called by the Lacedæmonians, i. 99.

Prodigies, the sweating of the image of the god Adranus, and the brandishing of his spear, i. 310. The preternatural overflowing of the Alban lake, 239. The vanishing of the body of Alcmena, 90. What happened in marking out the foundation of Alexandria, ii. 471. Stone said to fall from heaven, 91. What happened to a person who leaped upon the altar of the twelve gods, 231. One of Antony's statues at Alba sweats for many days, iii. 362. An altar emits a bright flame, when the fire seems to be extinguished, iii. 252. At Argos the priestess of the Lycian Apollo runs into the street, and cries out that she sees the city covered with blood and gore, ii. 37. The vanishing of Aristeas the Proconesian, i. 90. Incidents relating to Bees interpreted as prodigies, iii. 393. The raining of Blood, i. 87. Ceres and Proserpine attiring themselves for a journey, i. 409. The vanishing of Cleomedes the Astypalensian, i. 90. The entwining of a snake about the face of Cleomenes on the cross, iii. 18. A child born with an elephant's head, i. 528. Crows conduct Alexander through the Lybian deserts to the temple of Ammon, i. 474. Eagles, and standards so called, prodigies relating to them, i. 78, ii. 227. iii. 392. Entrails slip out of the hands of Crassus, ii. 260. A Fish seizes the hinder parts of a hog intended for sacrifice, iii. 78. A Flame issues from the standard, ii. 118. A globe of Fire falls between two armies, ii. 177. A double Gall belonging to one victim, and enclosed in one caul, iii. 516. The Hermæ defaced in Athens in one night, ii. 231. Liver without a head, i. 424, 529, ii. 515. Lightning, prodigies relating to it, 526. iii. 353. Moons, three seen at one time, i. 503. Orpheus's statue of cypress wood sweats profusely, ii. 458. Oxen, prodigies relating to them, i. 528. Palm-tree grows up by the base of Cæsar's statue, i. 43. Ram with one horn, i. 274. River in the Picene appears to flow with blood, i. 502. Ravens devour their young in the city of Rome, ii. 116. Rats gnaw the consecrated gold, i. 528. Serpents creep

into a helmet, and lay their eggs there, ii. 471. Shields and spears, and persons fighting, seen in the sky, ii. 56. Sound of a Trumpet in a mournful tone heard in the air, ii. 116. Crown of Victory falls upon the head of Timoleon in the temple of Delphi, i. 410. Tumbles down at Pergamus, ii. 119. Victim without a heart, ii. 57. Voice from heaven announces the coming of the Gauls, i. 246. See *Omens.*

Prolyta and *Apolia,* daughters of Agesilaus, ii, 348.

Promachus, victorious in a drinking-match dies in three days, ii. 510.

Promathion, the historian, i. 64.

Prometheus, ii. 370.

Prophantus, brother to Clinias; his wife saves Aratus, ii. 475.

Propontis, ii. 174.

Proserpine, the wife of Aidoneus, king of the Molossi, i. 51.——The ceremonies of her feast, ii. 179. Her robe worn by the person who took the great oath, iii. 411.

Prosperity, ii. 199, 320.

Protagoras, the philosopher, i. 298. Banished Athens for ascribing extraordinary phenomena to natural causes, ii. 242.

Proteas desires of Alexander a proof of his being reconciled to him, and he gives him five talents, ii. 484.

Protheus, the Spartan, endeavours to prevent the war with the Thebans, ii. 358.

Prothytes and *Phœnix* demanded by Alexander of the Thebans, as authors of the war, ii. 454.

Protogenes the Caunian, a celebrated painter, iii. 296.

Protus, a merchant, founder of Massilia, or Marseilles, i. 158.

Proverbs. Nothing without Theseus, i. 59. Business to-morrow, i. 480. A platter will not hold a dolphin, ii. 192. He plays the Cretan with a Cretan, 98. He wears wisps on his horns, 254. Dead men do not bite, 438, iii. 434. Such a one has need of nothing but parsley, i. 424. The die is cast, ii. 422, iii. 533. In wine there is truth, 462. Woe to the conquered, i. 258.

Providence, particular, i. 418.

Proxenus, the Macedonian, discovers a spring of an oily nature on the banks of the river Oxus, ii. 500.

Prusias, king of Bithynia; Hannibal flies to his court, and is demandad of him by the Romans, ii. 2.

Prytanes, members of the Athenian senate who composed a court of judicature, and continued in office the tenth part of a year, i. 297, *n.*

Prytaneum, i. 50, 54, 167.

Prytanis, the grandfather of Lycurgus, i. 98.

Psammo, the philosopher, asserts the Divine Power and Providence, ii. 473.

Psenophis, priest of Heliopolis, i. 181.

Psyche, the wife of Marphadates the Cappadocian, corrupted by the sons of Cato of Utica, i. 138.

Psylii, Africans who cured persons bitten by serpents, by sucking the parts affected, iii. 125.

Ptœodorus, of Megara, vindicated by Dion, iii. 388.

Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy, given in marriage to Demetrius, iii. 303, 314.

Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedon, killed in battle by the Gauls, ii. 28, *n.* News of that event is carried to Pyrrhus, ib.——*Lamyrus,* king of Egypt, appoints Lucullus a table in the palace, and offers him presents to the value of eighty talents; but he refuses them, and takes nothing but ships, which he was sent by Sylla to procure, ii. 172.——*Dionysius,* king of Egypt, deliberates on the measures he should take with respect to Pompey, ii. 438. An account of his vile ministers, who persuade him to destroy that great man, ib. Defeated in battle by Cæsar, and never heard of afterwards, iii. 41.——King of Cyprus, the proposals Cato made him. iii. 111. He poisons himself, ib.——Governor of Alexandria, killed by Cleomenes, iii. 180.——The diviner, his prediction to Otho, iii. 264. ——Restored to his kingdom by Gabienus and Mark Antony, iii. 321.——Natural son of Amyntas the second, makes war upon his brother Alexander, king of Macedon, i. 492. Is the father of Philoxenus, ib.——Son of Pyrrhus and Antigone, ii. 10. Killed in the battle with the Lacedæmonians on the way to Argos, 38.——Nephew to Antigonus, sent as hostage for Eumenes to come and treat, ii. 322.——*Lagus,* afterwards king of Egypt, one of Alexander's principal officers, marries Apama, ii. 313.——*Philometer,* makes proposals of marriage to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, iii. 182.——The son of Chrysermus, visits Cleomenes in prison. He is killed.——*Euergetes,* his friendship to Aratus, and favours to the Sicyonians on his account, iii. 482. Declared head of the Achæan league, 490. Demands of Cleomenes his mother and children as hostages, 168 Behaves with some degree of generosity to that prince, but refuses to send him back to Greece, 175. His death, ib.——*Philopater,* son of Euergetes, his effeminate life, and ill treatment of Cleomenes, iii.

176. Orders the body of Cleomenes to be fastened to a cross, 179. A serpent entwines about the head of Cleomenes, 180. The superstitious fears of Philopater on that occasion, ib.

Ptoum, i. 485.

Publicola, Valerius, descended from the ancient Valerius, who was the chief author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines, i. 187. Distinguished under the kings by his eloquence and riches, ib. Employs both with great propriety, ib. The people rise against Tarquin the Proud, on account of the injury done Lucretia; and her unhappy fate, 188. Valerius assists Brutus in expelling the king and his family, ib. Stands for the consulship with Brutus and loses his election, ib. Is the first that takes the oath proposed by Brutus, to support the Roman liberty; though before he had retired from public business in discontent, ib. Tarquin, by his ambassadors, proposes to treat, but Valerius will not suffer them to be heard, 189. The exiled king demands his effects, and obtains a grant of them, notwithstanding the opposition of Brutus, who calls his colleague Collatinus traitor, ib. The ambassadors during their stay in Rome, corrupt the Aquilii and Vitellii, who were nephews to Collatinus the consul, 190. The Vitellii draw in two of the sons of Brutus, ib. They assemble in the house of the Aquilii, to bind the conspiracy with a dreadful sacrifice and oath, ib. A slave named Vindicius discovers the plot to kill the consuls, and informs Valerius of it, ib. and 191. He and his brother secure the conspirators, and seize the letters that were to be sent to Tarquin, ib. The conspirators acknowledge their crime, ib. Brutus condemns his own sons, and gives orders for their execution, ib. The firmness with which he beholds that scene, 192. The consul Collatinus being accused of favouring his relations who had conspired against the commonwealth, is degraded, 193. Those relations of his suffer death, ib. Publicola is substituted in his place, ib. Vindicius is rewarded for his information, ib. The goods of the Tarquins are plundered, and their palace levelled with the ground, ib. A field which had been in their possession is consecrated to Mars, ib. Tarquin applies to the Tuscans who give the Romans battle, 194. Aruns, the son of Tarquin, and Brutus the Roman consul, fall by each other's hand, ib. The armies, after great slaughter, are separated by a storm, ib. The Tuscans desert their camp, and near five thousand are taken prisoners, 195. Valerius triumphs, and is the first consul that enters Rome in a chariot and four, ib. Pronounces the eulogium of Brutus, ib. Thence the custom of funeral orations, ib. Valerius is envied for his governing without a colleague, and for his lofty house, 196. Gains the name of Publicola, ib. Fills up the senate, 197. Passes an act for liberty of appeal from the consuls to the senate, ib. Exempts artificers and others from taxes, ib. What the value of an ox and a sheep was in his time, ib. He makes it lawful, without form of trial, to kill any man who should attempt to set himself up for king, ib. Places the public treasure in the temple of Saturn, and permits the people to choose quæstors for the management of it, 198. Takes Lucretius, and afterwards Marcus Horatius, for his colleague, ib. Is desirous to have the dedicating of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was built by Tarquin, ib. But the senate gives that honour to Horatius, ib. History of that temple, ib. Tarquin having applied to Porsena for assistance, that prince declares war against the Romans, 201. Porsena gains a considerable advantage, and pursues the Romans to the neighbourhood of Rome, ib. Publicola gives him battle, in which he is defeated, and carried off wounded, ib. Horatius Cocles, with two other brave Romans, defends the wooden bridge, till the Romans break it down behind him, 202. Publicola stands chiefly upon the defensive, ib. Defeats a flying party that was ravaging the country, ib. Provisions extremely scarce in Rome, ib. The story of Mucius's attempt upon the life of Porsena, ib. and 203. Publicola refers the dispute between the Romans and Tarquin to Porsena, ib. Tarquin refuses to abide by his arbitration, ib. Porsena makes peace with the Romans, ib. The conditions of the peace, and the hostages which the Romans were to give, ib. The story of Cœlia, one of the hostages, 204. Porsena leaves the camp full of provisions for the Romans, ib. They erect a statue to him, ib. The Sabines invade the Roman territories, 205. Marcus brother to Valerius, defeats them in two battles, and is honoured with a triumph, ib. Publicola consults the Sibyl's books upon certain natural appearances of an alarming kind, ib. Appius Clausus, founder of the Claudian family, migrates, with a very considerable number of Sabines to Rome, ib. The Sabines renewing the war, form an ambuscade for the Romans, 206. Publicola, by a counter stratagem, defeats them with great slaughter, ib. and 207. He is honoured with a triumph, ib. Dies soon after, and is buried at the public charge, 208. The women continue the mourning for him a whole year, ib. Com-

parison between him and Solon, 208, *et seq.*

Publicus steals the scabbard of Mithridates's sword, and sells it to Ariarathes, ii. 360.

See all the PUBLII *under their family names.*

Purple; that of Hermione much esteemed, ii. 482. Preserves its colour an hundred and ninety years, ib. In what manner prepared, ib.

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Pyanepsion, the month so called, iii. 237,

Pydna, i. 426, ii. 498.

Pylades, the musician, i. 603.

Pylius adopts Hercules, previous to his initiation, i. 62.

Pylos, ii. 223.

Pyramia, ii. 40.

Pyrenees, i. 246, ii. 257.

Pyrilampes, a person connected with Pericles, i. 283.

Pyrrha, ii. 7.

Pyrrhidæ, the successors of Neoptolemus so called, ii. 7.

Pyrrhus, the son of Æacides and Phthia, ii. 7. His saying concerning the Romans, i. 551. Some account of the peopling and polishing of his country, ib. Has two sisters named Deidamia and Troias, ib. His father is deposed, and the sons of Neoptolemus brought in, ib. Carried off when an infant, by two faithful servants, named Androclides and Angelus, to the court of Glaucias king of Illyria, and laid as a suppliant at his feet, ii. 8. Glaucias, after some hesitation, takes the infant into his protection, 9. Cassander, king of Macedon, demands him of Glaucias, who refuses to deliver him up, ib. Glaucias conducts him, at an early period, into Epirus, and places him on the throne, ib. His person described, ib. Believed to cure the swelling of the spleen, by touching the part affected with his toe, ib. About five years after he goes out of his own territories, to attend the nuptials of one of Glaucias's sons, ib. The Molossians take that opportunity to revolt to Neoptolemus again, ib. Pyrrhus applies for protection to Demetrius, who had married his sister Deidamia, ib. Accompanies Demetrius at Ipsus, and distinguishes himself in that battle, ib. Keeps for Demetrius the cities of Greece, 10. Goes a hostage into Egypt, where he gains the favour of Ptolemy and Berenice, ib. Marries Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, by Philip, her former husband, ib. Antigone procures him men and money, which enable him to recover the kingdom of Epirus, ib. He associates Neoptolemus in the kingdom, ib. The kings of Epirus took an oath in the manner of the kings of England, ib. Neoptolemus attempts, or it is pretended that he attempts, to poison Pyrrhus, ib. Pyrrhus despatches Neoptolemus, ib. Has a son by Antigone, whom he names Ptolemy, ib. Builds the city of Berenices, ib. Alexander the son of Cassander, applies to him for assistance against his brother Antipater, who had driven him out of Macedonia, ib. Demands the maritime part of Macedonia for his reward, ib. Lysimachus, who was inclined to assist Antipater, forges letters as from Ptolemy king of Egypt, to retard the progress of Pyrrhus, 12. Pyrrhus detects the fraud, ib. Demetrius, who had likewise been applied to, arrives, kills Alexander, and gets himself proclaimed king of Macedon, ib. Demetrius is jealous of the growing power of Pyrrhus, and goes to seek him in the field, ib. They inadvertently pass each other, ib. Pyrrhus finds Pantauchus, Demetrius's lieutenant, and gives him a great overthrow, 12, and 13. The Macedonians conceive a high opinion of his valour, and discover in him a strong resemblance to Alexander the Great, 13. Antigonus's saying concerning him, 13. Not easily provoked, quick to repay a kindness, 14. Saying of his, ib. After the death of Antigone, he marries several wives for the purposes of interest and power, ib. Besides his son Ptolemy, already mentioned, he has Alexander by Lanassa, the daughter of Agathocles, and Helenus by Bircenna, the daughter of Bardyllis, ib. Says he will leave his kingdom to the son who has the sharpest sword, ib. The Epirots give him the name of Eagle, ib. Has intelligence that Demetrius is sick, enters Macedonia, and penetrates as far as Edessa, ib. Demetrius marches against him, and he retires, 15. Demetrius meditates an expedition for the recovery of his paternal kingdom, ib. The other kings desire Pyrrhus to exert himself on this occasion, ib. Pyrrhus loses his wife Lanassa, and the isle of Corcyra, both of which are gained by Demetrius, ib. He marches against Berœa, 16. His dream concerning Alexander the Great, ib. Takes Berœa, ib. Demetrius, apprehending that his army might revolt to Lysimachus, if he continued his march against him, turns against Pyrrhus, 16. The Macedonians revolt to Pyrrhus, and he is proclaimed king of Macedon, 17. Lysimachus makes his appearance soon after, and pretending that he had contributed equally to the flight of Demetrius, demands his share of the kingdom, which Pyrrhus agrees to, ib. Insignificance of treaties between kings, ib. Pyrrhus enters the

citadel of Athens, ib. Advises the Athenians never to admit another king within their walls, 17. Takes the Grecian cities from Demetrius, notwithstanding the peace he had made with him, ib. Demetrius's affairs being entirely ruined, Lysimachus marches against Pyrrhus, debauches his army, and dispossesses him of his share of Macedonia, ib. and 18. Pyrrhus's impatience of inaction is relieved by an application from the Tarentines for assistance against the Romans, 18. Meton the Tarentine endeavours to dissuade his countrymen from calling in a foreign prince; and, to excite their attention, feigns himself intoxicated, ib. Cineas, first minister to Pyrrhus, draws him into a conversation, in which he shows him the vanity of ambition, but does not cure him of that disease, 19, 20. He meets with a dreadful storm in his passage to Italy, ib. Makes the land with great difficulty, and marches with the scattered remains of his forces to Tarentum, 21. Corrects the luxury of the Tarentines, and introduces strict discipline, ib. Has intelligence that Lævinus, the Roman consul, is coming against him, ib. Goes to the river Siris, to reconnoitre the enemy's army, ib. What he said on the occasion, ib. His proposal of acting as mediator is rejected, ib. The action on the banks of the Sirus, in which Pyrrhus proves victorious, chiefly by means of his elephants, 22. The battle described, ib. and 23. Notwithstanding his victory, he sends Cineas to Rome with propositions of peace, which are rejected, 24. The speech of Appius Claudius against those propositions, ib. Cineas calls the senate of Rome an assembly of kings, 25. Fabricius sent ambassador to Pyrrhus, to treat about the ransom and exchange of prisoners, ib. Pyrrhus offers him money, which he refuses, though his circumstances were very mean, ib. Pyrrhus's physician makes Fabricius an offer of poisoning him, 26. Fabricius discovers the traitorous design to Pyrrhus, ib. Pyrrhus defeats the Romans again at Asculum, 27. Says to those who complimented him upon it, "Such another victory, and we are undone," 28. Receives invitations from the Macedonians on one hand, and from the Sicilians on the other, ib. Leaves a garrison in Tarentum, contrary to the inclinations of the people, and passes into Sicily, ib. Finds the most agreeable reception there, 29. Ravages the Carthaginian province, takes Eryx by storm, and celebrates the games which he had vowed to Hercules, ib. Defeats the Mamertines, a numerous and warlike people about Messene, ib. The Carthaginians court his friendship; but he insists on their evacuating Sicily, which they refuse, ib. His next object is Africa; and, wanting mariners, he compels the Sicilians to supply him, 30. Degenerates from a moderate prince into a tyrant, ib. Ungrateful to Thonon and Sostratus, the persons who first introduced him into Syracuse, ib. Loses his influence in Sicily, ib. What he said on leaving it, ib. The Mamertines attack him after his return to Italy, ib. He cleaves down one of their soldiers who challenged him to single combat, 31. Marches against Manius Curius, who lay at Beneventum, and is defeated, 32. The battle described, ib. Returns to Epirus, enters Macedonia, defeats Antigonus, and is once more raised to the throne of Macedonia, 33. Marches to Sparta, at the request of Cleonymus, 33. His operations before Sparta, 34, 35. He is repulsed, ib. On the invitation of Aristæus, marches to Argos, 37. His son Ptolemy is killed by the way, 38. He sends a challenge to Antigonus, ib. That prince's answer, ib. He enters Argos, 39. His actions there, ib. His orders are mistaken, 40. He takes the plume from his helmet, 41. Struck down by a poor old woman with a tile, ib. Despatched by Zopyrus, who cuts off his head, ib. A magnificent funeral pile provided for him by Antigonus, who gives his ashes to his son Helenus, ib.

Pythagoras, the philosopher, went into Italy about five ages after Numa, i. 107. Affects to be thought something superior to the rest of the human race, 198. Uses a tame eagle to serve that purpose, and shows his golden thigh, ib. Believes the Supreme Being to be incorruptible, impassive, invisible, and an object only of the mind, ib. Sacrifices nothing to him that has life, ib. His precepts, ib. A statue erected to him at Rome, as the wisest of the Greeks, ib. Eulogium of him, i. xxxiii.——A Spartan, remarkable in the gymnastic exercises, visits Italy, i. 126.

Pythagoras, the diviner, ii. 514.

Pytheas, the orator, severely reproved by Phocion for his impudence in speaking to the people, iii. 72. Tells Demosthenes that his orations smell of the lamp, 221. Demosthenes's answer, ib. Joins Antipater, 235. Speaks to the Arcadians against the Athenians, 237. Is answered by Demosthenes, ib.

Pythian Apollo. See *Apollo Pythius*.——Games. See *Games*.

Pythionice, the mistress of Harpalus. iii. 73. He erects a magnificent monument to her memory, ib.

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Pythocles, son of Polycrates, a de-

scendant of Aratus, iii. 475. Plutarch writes the life of Aratus for the benefit of him and his brother. ib.——One of those that suffered death with Phocion, iii. 84.

Pythoclides said to teach Pericles music, i. 271.

Pythodorus lies in wait for Themistocles, i. 231.

Pytholaus, brother to Thebe, the wife of Alexander of Pheræ, assists her in despatching him, i. 501.

Python, one of Alexander's officers, ii. 515.——The musician, ii. 13.——The Byzantine orator, answered by Demosthenes, iii. 219.——The serpent killed by Apollo, i. 484.

Pythopolis, i. 57.

Q.

QUADRANS, a small piece of brass coin, iii. 261. Which each Roman citizen contributed towards Publicola's funeral, i. 208.

Quadrantaria, or *Quadrantula*, a name given an infamous sister of Clodius, iii. 261.

Quails, i. 338.

Quarrels. See *Dissensions*.

Quæstor, the office what, i. 198. By whom first instituted, ib.

Quinda, ii. 324, and *n*. iii. 303.

Quintilis, i. 88, 146.

Quintio, one of Cato the Censor's freedmen, i. 584.

Quintius, Lucius, the tribune, attempts to rescind the acts of Sylla, but is opposed by Lucullus, ii. 175. Obtains a decree for recalling Lucullus, 204.——Titus and Lucius, brothers. See *Flaminius*.——See *Capitolinus*.

Quintus Cassius goes with Antony to Cæsar, iii. 375.——One of Crassus's lieutenants, and his quæstor Seropha, fly from Spartacus, ii. 260.

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R.

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Ram with one horn, found in the grounds of Pericles, i. 274. Explained in the way of omen, ib. Accounted for philosophically, ib.

Rape of the Sabine virgins, i. 76. Occasions a war, 109. Productive of better consequences. Rape of Helen by Theseus. See *Helen*.——How punished by Solon's laws, i. 171.

Rat heard to cry, when Minucius named his general of horse, i. 505.

Ratumena, one of the gates of Rome, near the capitol, i. 199.

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Registers, the Syracusan, taken by the Athenians, ii. 223.

Religion, its exercises to be performed with great reverence and attention, i. 139. How defined, 422. The regard the Romans paid to it for a long time, 506.

Remonium, a strong situation on Mount Aventine, where Remus proposed to build the city, i. 71.

Remus, twin-brother of Romulus, seized and carried before Numitor, i. 68. His speech, 69. Faustulus carries to court the trough, or cradle, in which he and Romulus were taken up, and he is acknowledged by Numitor, ib. What occasioned his death, 72. He is buried in Remonium, ib.

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Rhadamanthus, a judge under Minos, i. 47. Said to have married Alcmena after the death of Amphitryon, ii. 107. The Haliartians show his tomb at Alea, ib.

Rhamus, iii. 75.

Rhamnus, one of Antony's freedmen, iii. 351.

Rhamnenses, i. 82.

Rhea, Ilia, or *Sylvia*, daughter of Numitor, and mother of Romulus and Remus, i. 66.——The mother of Sertorius, ii. 290.

Rhegians, ii. 412.

Rhegium, i. 324. iii. 393.

Rhenia, a little island near Delos, in which Nicias prepared the procession and choirs, that were to perform in honour of Apollo, ii. 220.

Rhetoric, the art of ruling the minds of men, i. 284.

Rhetræ, the fundamental statutes of Lycurgus, i. 101. He calls them so, because he would have them thought oracular, ib.

Rhine, Cæsar lays a bridge over it, iii. 20.

Rhodes taken by Cassius, iii. 295.

Rhodians, their brave defence against Demetrius, iii. 294. They desire him to leave one of his engines as a monument of the siege they had undergone, ib.

Rhodogune, daughter of Artaxerxes, married to Orontes, iii. 471.
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Rhyndacus, river, ii. 179.
Rhystaces, a Persian bird so called, iii. 464.
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Romans rise to the height of empire by means of temperance and fortitude, i. 89. Admit no use of images in the worship of the gods, for an hundred and seventy years after the building of Rome, 134. Retire into the capitol on the coming of the Gauls, 250. Distressed by famine, 256. Delivered by Camillus, 257. Defeated by Hannibal in the great battle of Cannæ, 319. Behave with dignity on that occasion, ib. Their attention to religious ceremonies, 388. Offer human sacrifices on the invasion of the Gauls after the first Punic war, 505. For some ages, unpolished, and skilled only in agriculture and war, 522. Marcellus first gives them a taste for paintings, and other curiosities of art, for which he is blamed by the graver citizens, ib. Lose both their consuls by one of Hannibal's stratagems, 528. Degenerated in the time of Cato the Censor, 567. He compares them to sheep, 572. They reject the presents of Pyrrhus, and all propositions of peace, while he remains in Italy, ii. 24. Proclaim liberty to the Greeks, 623.
Roma, one of the Trojan matrons, who came with Æneas into Italy, i. 64. Advises her female companions to burn the ships, ib. Rome said to be called after her, or after Roma, the daughter of Italus and Leucaria, ib.
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Romulus, various accounts of his origin, as well as that of Rome, i. 65. The son of Ilia, Rhea, or Sylvia, the daughter of Numitor, 66. Amulius, the brother of Numitor, orders Romulus and his brother Remus to be destroyed, but the servant only exposes them by the river, ib. There they were suckled some time by a she-wolf, ib. Taken up by Faustulus, and nursed by his wife Acca Larentia, 67. Sent to Gabii for education, 68. Their powers of body and mind, generous inclinations and actions, ib. They distinguish themselves in a fray between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, ib. While Romulus is employed in divination, Remus is taken prisoner, and brought to answer for the late violence, ib. The reigning prince leaves the correction of him to Numitor, who feels an instinctive kindness for him, ib. His speech to Numitor, 69. who conceives hopes of his being his grandson, ib. Faustulus desires Romulus to assist his brother, and informs him of the particulars of his birth, ib. Faustulus hastens with the cradle to Numitor, but is questioned by Amulius's guards, who inform that prince of their suspicions, ib. Romulus arrives, brings a considerable force with him, and many of the citizens join him, 70. Amulius is taken and slain, ib. The two brothers resolve to build a city in the place where they had their first nourishment, 71. Open a place of refuge for fugitives, ib. A dispute arises between them about the situation of their intended city, which is referred to the decision of augury, and carried in favour of Romulus, ib. Remus ridicules, and leaps over the ditch which Romulus opened, 72. Remus is slain, probably by the hand of Romulus, ib. Faustulus falls in the scuffle, ib. Ceremonies observed in founding Rome, under the direction of proper persons from Hetruria, 72. The twenty-first day of April celebrated as the birth-day of Rome, 73. Forms the most warlike of the people into legions, 74. Constitutes a senate, ib. Appoints the connexion between the patricians and plebeians, as patrons and clients, 75. Exhibits games, at which the intended rape of the Sabine women is put in execution, 76. Marries Hersilia, and has by her Aollius and Prima, ib. The original of the nuptial acclamation Talasia, ib. The Sabines demand their women, 77. Romulus kills Acron, king of the Ceninensians, with his own hand, and dedicates the Spolia Opima to Jupiter Feretrius, 78. Tatius leads the rest of the Sabines against the Romans, 79. Tar-

peia betrays the capitol to the Sabines, ib. A battle ensues between the Sabines and the Romans, in which the Romans give ground, 80. Romulus prays to Jupiter, and the Romans return to the combat, 81. The Sabine women interpose, ib. The speech of Hersilia, on that occasion, ib. and 82. A peace is concluded, ib. The conditions of it, ib. The Sabines are incorporated with the Romans; an hundred additional senators are elected; and the number of soldiers in a legion is doubled, ib. The tribes and wards of Rome, originally what, ib. The privileges of the Sabine women, 83. Romulus and Tatius meet each his hundred senators separately for some time, but afterwards assemble together, 83. Story of the cornel-tree propagated from the shaft of Romulus's spear, ib. The Sabines receive the Roman months, and the Romans come into the use of their shields, ib. The feasts of Matronalia and Carmentalia instituted, 84. The Lupercalia, ib. Romulus introduces the sacred fire at Rome, and appoints the vestal virgins, 85. Is skilled in divination, ib. The Lituus what, ib. His law concerning divorces, ib. Appoints no punishment for actual parricides, but calls all murder parricide, ib. Tatius is killed at Lavinium, for the criminal behaviour of some of his people to certain ambassadors, 86. Romulus gives the body of Tatius an honourable interment, but does not punish his murderers, ib. Thought accessory to his death, ib. The Sabines remain quiet, ib. The Latins send ambassadors to him, ib. Takes Fidenæ, and makes it a Roman colony, ib. The plague breaks out at Rome, 87. The Camerians attack the Romans, ib. Romulus defeats them, takes and colonises their city, ib. The Veientes declare war against the Romans. Extravagant account of the valour of Romulus, 88. The Veientes obtain a truce for a hundred years, by giving up the district of Septembagium, ib. Romulus triumphs for his victory, ib. After he has reduced the neighbouring countries, assumes the monarch to an odious degree, ib. Gives offence by his dress, by his guards, and lictors, ib. On the death of his grandfather Numitor, he leaves the administration of Alba in the hands of the inhabitants, ib. The Sabines in Rome have also a magistrate of their own, ib. Specimens these of a free commonwealth, ib. Romulus dictates to the senate, and the patricians go into the house only to learn the news of the day, 89. Other arbitrary acts of his, ib. He disappears unaccountably, ib. Various stories concerning his death, ib. All agree in this, that the senators despatched him, ib. The senators tell the people that Romulus was caught up to heaven, ib. Julius Proculus confirms it on the strength of a pretended apparition, 90.

Romus, son of Æmathion, i. 64.

Roscius, the actor, ii. 130. iii. 242. ——Defended by Cicero against Sylla's prosecution, iii. 241.

Roxana, sister to Mithridates, ii. 187. Dies untimely, execrating her brother, ib. ——Pregnant by Alexander, ii. 516. Is jealous of Statira, and procures the death both of that princess and her sister, ib.

Roxanes, a Persian officer, addresses Themistocles in reproachful terms as he passes him in the court, i. 233.

Rubicon, Cæsar passes it, but first deliberates, ii. 422. iii. 18, 29.

Rubrius, prætor, in Macedonia, iii. 92.

Rufinus, one of the ancestors of Sylla, expelled the senate for being possessed of more than ten pounds weight of plate, ii. 108.

Rufus, Lucius, boasts of being concerned in killing Caius Gracchus, iii. 197. ——Cluvius, iii. 536.

Rullus, ancestor of Fabius Maximus, i. 304.

Rumilia, the tutelar goddess of children at the breast, i. 64.

Ruminalis, what so called, and why, i. 64.

Rumours, extraordinary ones, i. 454.

Rustius, or *Roscius*, ii. 282.

Rutilius, lieutenant to Metellus, ii. 49. ——*Rufus*, the historian, ii. 66, 67.

S.

SABACO, Cassius. See *Cassius Sabaco*.

Sabbas, one of the kings of India, his revolt from Alexander, ii, 506.

Sabines, supposed to be a colony of Lacedæmonians, i. 76, 127. Attack the Romans on account of the rape, 205. Invade the Roman territories, and are defeated by Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, losing thirteen thousand of their men, ib. Again defeated by Publicola, 207.

Sabine women carried off by the Romans, i. 76. Run in between the Romans and the Sabines, 81. Their eloquent remonstrance on that occasion, which conciliates a peace, 82. The honours paid them by the Romans on that account, 83.

Sabines, iii. 285.

Sacred Mount, i. 373.——Band of Thebans. See *Band*.——War, i. 340. *n*.

Saculio, a buffoon, iii. 441.

Sadales. See *Adallus*.

Sagra, river, i. 456.

Salamis, said to be the first given up to the Athenians by Philæus and Eurysaces, the sons of Ajax, i. 163. The Athenians lose it, and after many vain trials, make a law that there shall be no more attempts for recovering it, 162. Recovered by Solon, ib. The Grecian and Persian fleets engage in the straits of Salamis, 224.

Salaminian galley, i. 275, *n.* 350.

Salamis, city of, pillaged by Lysander, ii. 89.

Salii, priests instituted by Numa, to take charge of the brazen scield that fell from heaven, i. 138. An account of their procession, 139.

Salinator, Julius. See *Julius Salinator.*

Salius, commander of the Pelignians, throws his standard amongst the enemy, i. 134.——A person of Samothrace or Mantinea, said to have taught the dance in armour, i. 139.

Salonium, ii. 72.

Salonius, steward to Cato; Cato the Censor, in his old age, marries his daughter, i. 587.——Cato. See *Cato Salonius.*

Salt-springs, or salt-works, i. 86.

Sallust, the historian, mistaken in saying that camels were first seen by the Romans in the battle fought by Lucullus near the river Rhyndacus, ii. 180.

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Y.

YEAR, the Roman year somewhat reformed by Numa, more perfectly by Julius Cæsar. *For these two articles, see* KALENDAR.——In which Rome was built, i. 70.——The great year, ii. 116.

Z.

ZACYNTHIANS, assassinate Dion, iii. 412.

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Zela, city of, i. 216.

Zeno, of Elea, in natural philosophy, a follower of Parmenides, and a subtle disputant, i. 273. Pericles was his disciple, ib. See also iii. 147, *n*. His character of Pericles, 274.——The Citieian, iii. 153. ——The Cretan, iii. 466.

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Zeugitæ, the third class of citizens at Athens, i. 172. Why so called, ib. *n*.

Zeuxidamus, king of Sparta, father of Archidamus, ii. 165.

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Zoilus, an artificer in steel, iii. 295.

Zophyrus, though a slave, appointed by Pericles schoolmaster to Alcibiades, i. 112, 329.

Zopyrus, an officer in the army of Antigonus, cuts off Pyrrhus's head, ii. 42.

Zoroaster, king of the Bactrians, and lawgiver, supposed to be inspired, i. 129.

Zosima, the wife of king Tigranes, led captive in Pompey's triumph, though he restored the kingdom of Armenia to Tigranes, ii. 407.

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ALPHABETIC TABLE

OF

COMPARATIVE GEOGRAPHY.

In which the ancient names of Places are alphabetically arranged, and the corresponding modern Names attached.

BEING ADAPTED TO HERODOTUS, THUCYDIDES, XENOPHON, ARRIAN, PLUTARCH, &c.

A.

ABDERA, a Greek town of Thrace, on the coast of the Ægean sea—now Ruins on Cape Baloustra.

Abia, a town of Messenia.

Abydos, a Greek town in Asia, on the Hellespont—now Nagara, a village and ruins.

Academy, a garden and gymnasium, without the walls of Athens.

Acarnania, a country of Greece—now La Carnia, a province.

Acanthus, a town of Chalcidice—now Hierisos, a town.

Achaia, a country of Greece, in the Peloponnesus—the northern part of the Morea.

Acharnæ, a borough of Attica—Menidi, a village.

Achelous, a river of Acarnania—now the Aspro-Potamo, or White River.

Acheron, a river of Epirus—a river which flows out of the lake Joannina.

Adranum, a Greek town in Sicily—Aderno, a small town.

Adriatic Sea. See Sea.

Ægaleus, a mountain of Messenia.

Ægean Sea. See Sea.

Ægesta, a Greek town in Sicily—Calatafimi, a place in ruins.

Ægina, an island in the Saronic Sea—Engia Isle.

Ægira, a town of Achaia—Ruins.

Ægium, the principal town of Achaia—Vostitza, a small town.

Ægos-Potamos, a river of the Thracian Chersonesus—the river Indgir-Liman.

Ænianes, a people of Thessaly.

Ænos, a Greek town of Thrace, on the coast of the Ægean sea—Eno, town.

Æolis, or Æolia, a country of Asia Minor, opposite the island of Lesbos, which also made a part of it—the coasts of the Liva of Karasi.

Æolians of Greece. Under this name were comprehended all the nations of Greece which derived their origin from Æolus, son of Hellen; as the Thessalians, Locrians, &c. and their colonies.

Ætna, a mountain in Sicily—Mount Etna, or Gibel.

Ætolia, a country of Greece—the country to the north of Lepanto.

Africa. See Libya.

Aganippe, a fountain in Bœotia.

Agrigentum, a Greek city in Sicily—Girgenti, a town.

Ajax, (Tomb of), in Troas, on the shore of the Hellespont—In-Tepé, a barrow, or hill.

Alesiæum, a town of Elis.

Alephira, a town of Arcadia.

Alpenus, a town of the Locrians, near Thermopylæ.

Alpheus, a river of Peloponnesus—Raphia, river.

Altis, a sacred grove near Olympia.

Amazons, a warlike nation of Asia, composed of women, which dwelt on the banks of the Thermodon, on the southern side of the Pontus Euxinus.

Ambracia, a town of Epirus—L'Arta, a town.

Ambracia, (Gulf of), between Epirus and Acarnania—Gulf of L'Arta.

Ambryssus, a town of Phocis—Distome, a village and ruins.

Ammon, a place in Libya—Sant-Rich, an inhabited district, surrounded by sands.

Amorgos, (Island), one of the Cyclades—Amorgo isle.

Amphipolis, a Greek town of Macedonia—Emboli, a small town.

Amphissa, the capital of the Ozolian Locrians—Salone, a town.

Amyclæ, a town of Laconia—Sclavo Chori, a village.

Anactorium, a town of Acarnania—Azio, a place in ruins.

Anaphe (Island), one of the Cyclades—Nanfio, isle.

Andros (Island), one of the Cyclades—Andro, isle.

Anthedon, a town of Bœotia.

Anthela, a town of Thessaly, near Thermopylæ.

Anthemus, a town of Maritime Thrace, or Macedonia.

Anticyra, a town of Phocis, on the Gulf of Crissa—Aspro-Spitia, a village and ruins.

Antissa, a town of the island of Lesbos—Porto-Sigri, a village and castle.

Aornus, or Avernus, a place in Epirus—Val dell'Orso.

Aphetæ, a place and promontory in Thessaly—Cabo Passara.

Aphidna, a borough of Attica.

Apollonia, a Greek town of Sicily.

Arabia, a great country of Asia—Arabia.

Araxus, a promontory of Achaia—Cap. Papa.

Arcadia, a country of Greece, in Peloponnesus—The interior of the Morea.

Arethon, a river of Epirus—The river L'Arta.

Arethusa, a fountain in the city of Syracuse, in Sicily.

——— a fountain in the city of Chalcis, in Eubœa.

Argolis, a country of Greece, in Peloponnesus—The eastern part of the Morea.

Argos, the capital of Argolis—Argos, a town.

Arisba, a town of the island of Lesbos—Long since destroyed: no remains at present exist.

Armenia, a great country of Asia, subject to the king of Persia—Armenia, and a part of Mesopotamia; at present called Al-Gezira.

Arne, a town of Thessaly.

Artemisium, a temple of Diana, in the island of Eubœa, on the coast.

Arvisia, a district of the island of Chios—The territory of St. Helena.

Ascra, a small town of Bœotia.

Asia, one of the three great divisions of the ancient world—Asia.

Asia Minor, or rather Lower Asia, a large part of Asia, which was the nearest to Europe, and in which the Greeks had their principal settlements. It contained several provinces, and was entirely subject to the king of Persia—Asia Minor, or Anadoli.

Asinarus, a river of Sicily—The river Nota.

Asopus, a town of Laconia—Asopo, or Castel Rampani, a small town and castle.

Asopus, a river of Bœotia—Asopo, river.

Asopus, a river of Thessaly, in Trachinia.

Assyria, a great country of Asia, of which Babylon was the capital, and which was subject to the king of Persia—Curdistan, part of Mesopotamia, or Al-Gezira, and Irak Arabi, provinces of Turkey.

Astacus, a maritime city of Bithynia—Long since destroyed: no remains at present existing.

Astypalæa (Island), one of the Sporades—Stanpalia, isle.

Atarnia, a town of Mysia—Aiasma-Keui, a town.

Athamania, a district of Epirus—Ano-Vlakia, a country.

Athens, the capital of Attica, and one of the most powerful cities of Greece—Athenes, city and ruins.

Athos (Mount), in Chalcidice, on the coast of the Ægean sea—Athos, or Monte Santo.

Atlantic Sea. See Sea.

Atlantica, an imaginary island, in the sea of that name, which appears to have been a fiction of Solon or Plato, and never to have really existed.

Attica, a country of Greece—The territory of the city of Athenes.

Aulis, a town and port of Bœotia—Micro-Vathi, or the little port.

Avernus. See Aornus.

B.

Babylon, the capital of Assyria, and one of the residences of the kings of Persia—Ruins near Hella.

Bactriana, a great country of Asia, subject to the king of Persia—The country of Balk, part of Independent Tartary.

Belmina, a strong town of Laconia.

Bœotia, a country of Greece—The territories of Livadia and Thiva.

Biblinus, a river in the island of Naxos.

Biblis, a fountain near Miletus—A fountain near the village of Iechil-Keui.

Bisanthe, a town of Thrace, on the Propontis—Rodosta, a town.

Bithynia, a country of Asia Minor, on the coast of the Propontis and Pontus Euxinus—The Liva of Kodgea-ïili.

Boristhenes, a great river of Scythia—The Dnieper.

Bosphorus (Cimmerian), a strait which joins the Palus Mœotis to the Pontus Euxinus—Strait of Caffa.

Bosphorus (of Thrace), the strait which joins the Pontus Euxinus to the Propontis—The canal or strait of Constantinople.

Brauron, a borough of Attica—Vraona, a village.

Brutii, a people of Italy—They inhabited the Two Calabrias, provinces of the kingdom of Naples.

Brysea, a town of Laconia.

Bulis, a town of Phocis—Ruins.

Bura, a town of Achaia—Peruitza, a town.

Buthroton, a town of Epirus—Butrinto, a small town.

Byblos, a town of Phœnicia—Gebail, a small town.

Byzantium, a Greek town in Thrace, on the Propontis—Part of the city of Constantinople.

C.

Cadir, (Strait of). See Pillars of Hercules.

Cayster, a river of Ionia—Kontchouk-Minder, or the Little Mæander.

Calydon, a town of Ætolia.

Calypso (Isle of), on the coast of Italy, near Croton—A Rock near Cape Colonna.

Camarina, a Greek city of Sicily—Camarana, a village and ruins.

Camirus, a small town of the island of Rhodes—Camira, a village.

Caphyæ, a town of Arcadia.

Cappadocia, a country of Asia Minor—Caramania.

Caressus, or Coresus, a town and port of the Isle of Ceos—Port Cabia.

Caria, a country of Asia Minor—Mentech-ïili, or the Liva of Mentech, and part of that of Aidin.

Carthage, a great city on the coast of Libya, or Africa—Ruins near the city of Tunis.

Carystus, a town of the island of Eubœa—Caristo, or Castel Rosso, a town and castle.

Caspian Sea. See Sea.

Cassiterides, islands in the Atlantic ocean—The Scilly Isles; or perhaps the British Islands.

Castalia, a fountain near the town of Delphi.

Catana, a Greek town of Sicily—Catania.

Caunus, a maritime town of Caria—Kaiguez or Quingi, a town.

Celts, a great people of Europe, inhabiting Gaul or Celtica—The French.

Cenchræa, the port of Corinth, or the Saronic Sea—Kikrios, a village and port.

Centaurs, an ancient people of Thessaly.

Ceos (Isle of), one of the Cyclades—Zea, isle.

Cephallenia, an island in the Ionian Sea. Cefalonia.

Cephisus, a river of Phochis.

Cephisus, a river which flows near Athens—The river Cefissia.

Cephisus, another river near Eleusis.

Ceramicus, without the Walls, a village of Attica, near Athens—Sepolia, a village.

Chaerœnea, a town of Bœotia—Caprena, a town.

Chalcedon, a Greek town of Bithynia on the Propontis—Cadi-Keui, a town.

Chalcidice, a district of Maritime Thrace, or rather of Macedonia, on the Ægean sea—The country near Mount Athos.

Chalcis, the principal city of the island of Eubœa—Egripo, or, as commonly called, Negropont.

Chaldæans, a people of Asia, in the environs of Babylon—They inhabited Irac Arabi, a province of Asiatic Turkey.

Chaonins (Chaones), a people of Epirus—They inhabited a part of Albania, on the coast.

Chen, a place in Laconia.

Chersonesus (Thracian), a peninsula between the Propontis and the Ægean sea—Peninsula of Gallipoli.

Chersonesus (Taurica), a peninsula between the Palus Mœotis and the Pontus Euxinus—The Crimea.

Chios, an island of the Ægean Sea, making part of Ionia—Chio, isle.

Chrysopolis, a small town of Asia, on the Bosphorus of Thrace—Scutari, a village.

Chrysorrhoas, a river near Troezen—The river Damala.

Cilicia, a country of Asia Minor—The country of Itchïil and Anadolui.

Cirphis, a mountain of Phocis—Mount Stiva.

Cirrha, a maritime town of Phocis—Port of Salone.

Cissians, a people of Susiana in Asia—They inhabited the territory of Ahwaz, in Khusistan, a province of Persia.

Cithæron, a mountain between Attica and Bœotia—Mount Elatea.

Clazomenæ, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Isle St. John, and ruins in the gulf of Smyrna.

Clitor, a town of Arcadia—Gardichi, a town.

Cnidus, a city of Doris, in Asia Minor—Port Genevois, and ruins.

Cnossus, one of the two principal cities of the island of Crete—Enadieh, convent and ruins.

Cocytus, a river of Epirus—a river which flows out of the lake Joannina.

Colchis, or Colchos, a large country of Asia, on the shore of the Pontus Euxinus—Mingrelia, Guriel, and Imeritia.

Colonos, a borough of Attica—Church of St. Euphemia.

Colonides, a small town of Messenia.

Colophon, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—No vestige of it now remains.

Copais (Lake), in Bœotia—Lake of Livadia.

Corcyra, more anciently the island of the Phæacians, in the Ionian sea—Corfu, isle.

Corinth, the capital of Corinthia, in Peloponnesus.

Corinth, a town at present almost in ruins.

Corone, a town of Messenia—Coron, town.

Coronea, a town of Bœotia.

Corsica, or rather Cyrne, an island in the Tyrrhene sea—Corsica.

Coricius (Cave), in Phocis—Cavern of the fountain Drosenigo.

Cos (Island), one of the Sporades, making part of Doris—Stan-Co, island

Cotylius, a mountain of Arcadia.

Crete (Island), the most southern and largest island in the Ægean sea—Candia.

Crissa (Sea of). See Sea.

Cromyon, Crommyon, or Cremmyon, a place in Corinthia—Soussa Keui, village.

Croton, a Greek city in Italy—Cortona, town.

Cumæ, a Greek town in Italy— Ruins near Naples.

Cyclades, a cluster of islands in the Ægean sea—They have at present no collective name.

Cydnus, a river of Cilicia in Asia—River Tarsus.

Cydonia, a town of the island of Crete—Acladia, village and ruins.

Cyllene, a maritime town of Elis—Chiarenza, town.

Cyllene, a mountain of Arcadia—Tricara, mountain.

Cyme, the principal city of Æolis, in Asia Minor—Nemourt, a small town.

Cynætha, a town of Arcadia—Calavrita, town.

Cynosarges, a garden and gymnasium, without the walls of Athens.

Cynthus, a mountain in the isle of Delos.

Cyparissia, a town of Messenia—Arcadia, town.

Cyrenaica, a country of Africa or Libya, subject to the king of Persia—Country of Derna.

Cyrene, a Greek city, the capital of Cyrenaica—Curin, a small place, and ruins.

Cythera, an island to the south of Laconia—Cerigo, isle.

Cythnos (Island), one of the Cyclades—Thermia, isle.

Cyzicum, or Cyzicus, a Greek city, on an island of the same name, in the Propontis—Ruins near the town of Artaki.

D.

Decelia, a village and castle of Attica.

Delium, a small town of Bœotia.

Delos (Island), the smallest, but most celebrated of the Cyclades—Delos, the smallest of two islands called Sdiles by the pilots.

Delphi, a celebrated town of Phocis—Castri, a village.

Dodona, a town of Epirus.

Dolopes, a people of Thessaly.

Doris, a district of Caria in Asia Minor, which also included several islands of the Ægean sea—The peninsula, situate between the gulf of Stan-Co, and that of Simia.

Dorians of Greece—Under this name were comprehended all the nations of Greece, which derived their origin from Dorus the son of Hellen, as the Lacedæmonians, the Messenians, the Argives, the Corinthians, &c. &c. and their colonies.

Doriscus (Plain of), in Thrace—Plain of Roumigick

Dyme, a town of Achaia.

Dyspontium, a town of Eli-

E.

Ecbatana, the capital of Media, and one of the residences of the kings of Persia—Hamadan, city.

Egypt, a great country of Africa, or Libya, subject to the king of Persia—Egypt.

Eira, a mountain and fortress of Messenia.

Elaias, a mountain of Arcadia.

Elatea, a town of Phocis—Tarco-Corio, village.

Elatia, a town of Thessaly.

Elea, a Greek town in Italy—Castello a mare della Brucca, a small town.

Eleusis, a town of Attica—Lefsina, village and ruins.

Elis, a district of Greece, in Pleoponnesus—The western part of the Morea.

Ephesus, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Aiosolouk, village and ruins.

Epidamnus, a Greek town in Illyria—Durazzo, town.

Epidaurus, a town near Argolis, on the Saronic sea—Epitavro, village and ruins.

Epirus, a country of Europe to the north-west of Greece—The southern part of Albania.

Eressus, a town of the island of Lesbos—Hiersa, village.

Eretria, a town of the island of Eubœa—Rocho, village and ruins.

Erymanthus, a river of Arcadia—River Dimizana.

Erythræ, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Ritre, village and ruins.

Ethiopians, the inhabitants of the interior of Africa or Libya—The inhabitants of Nubia and Abyssinia.

Eubœa, a large island of the Ægean sea—Egripo, or more commonly Negropont, island.

Eubœa, a mountain of Argolis, near Mycenæ.

Euripus, the strait which separates the island of Eubœa from the continent of Greece—Egripo.

Europe, one of the three parts of the world—Europe.

Eurotas, a river of Laconia—Vassili-Potamo, or the Royal river.

Euhesperidæ (Port of the), in Africa or Libya, where afterwards was built the town of Berenice—Bernic, town.

F.

Five Hills (the), a place near Sparta.

G.

Gadir, the Phœnician name of a town of Iberia—Cadiz, a town of Spain.

Gargaphia, a fountain of Bœotia.

Gaul, or rather Celtica, a great country of Europe, inhabited by the Celts—France.

Gela, a Greek city in Sicily—Terra-Nuova, village.

Gerenia, a town of Messenia—Tarnata, a small town.

Gomphi, a town of Thessaly—Stagi, village.

Gonnus, a town of Thessaly—Goniga, village.

Gortyna, one of the two principal cities of the island of Crete—Novi Castelli, village and ruins.

Gortynius, a river of Arcadia—Garitena, river.

Gortys, a village of Arcadia—Garitena, a small town.

Greece, a large country of Europe, inhabited by the Greeks—The southern part of Turkey in Europe.

Under the name of Greece were frequently comprehended, not only the continent of Greece, but the islands likewise, and sometimes even the Greek colonies.

Greece (Great), Magna Græcia—The name given to the southern part of Italy, which was inhabited by Greek colonies.

Gyaros (Island), one of the Cyclades—Joura, isle.

Gyrton, a town of Thessaly.

Gythium, a town of Laconia, and port, thirty stadia from the town—Colochina, town, and port one league from the town.

H.

Hæmus, a mountain of Thrace—Balkan, mountain, or Emineh-dag.

Haliartus, a town in Bœotia.

Halicarnassus, a Greek city in Caria—Bourdoun, castle and ruins.

Halonesus, an island in the Ægean sea—Machriso, isle.

Halus, or rather Alos, a town of Thessaly.

Hebrus, a river of Thrace—Marizza, river.

Hecuba (Tomb of), in the Thracian Chersonesus, on the Hellespont—Old castle on the European side of the Dardanelles.

Helice, a town of Achaia, destroyed by an earthquake, and covered by the sea.

Helice, a village of Achaia, on the sea-shore, near the ancient town—Trypia, village.

Helicon, a mountain of Bœotia—Zagara, mountain.

Helisson, a river of Arcadia.

Hellespont, the strait which joins the Propontis to the Ægean sea—The Strait of the Dardanelles.

Helos, a town of Laconia—Tsyli, village.

Heraclea, a Greek city of Asia, on the Pontus Euxinus—Erekli, town.

Heraclea, a town of Thessaly, near Thermopylæ. It had succeeded that of Trachis, being built at a small distance from its site. See Trachis.

Hercules Melampygus (Stone of), an altar or statue of Hercules, in the country of the Locrians, near Thermopylæ.

Hercyna, a river of Phocis—River of Livadia.

Heræa, a strong town of Thrace, on the Propontis—Mouria, village.

Hermione, a city near Argolis, on the Ægean sea—Castri, village and ruins.

Hermus, a river of Asia Minor—Sarabat, river.

Hero (Tower of), near Sestus, in the Thracian Chersonesus—It no longer exists.

Hesperides (Garden of the), an imaginary place, supposed by the Greeks to be situated at the western extremity of the world.

Himera, a Greek city of Sicily—Ruins near the town of Termini.

Hippocrene, a fountain in Bœotia.

Homer (Grotto of), at the source of the Meles, in Ionia.

Homolis, a small town of Thessaly—Baba, village.

Hylica, a lake in Bœotia—Lake of Thiva.

Hymettus, a mountain of Attica—Telovouni.

Hypata, a town of Thessaly—Patratziki, or new Patras, town.

Hyperboreans, an imaginary people, said, by the Greeks, to inhabit the north of Greece, but whose name only signifies those who dwell above, or beyond the north.

Hysiæ, a town of Argol

I.

Ialysus, a small town in the island of Rhodes—Ruins near Mount Philerme.

Iasus, a town of Caria, in Asia Minor—Assem Kalasi, castle and ruins.

Iberia, a great country of Europe—Spain.

Icarus, or Icaros, an island in the Ægean sea—Nicaria, isle.

Icaria, a borough or village of Attica.

Ida, a great mountain in the island of Crete—Ida, or Psiloriti, mountain.

Ida, a mountain of Troas, in Asia Minor—Ida, mountain.

Ilissus, a small river near Athens—Ilisse, river.

Ilion or Ilium, see Troy.

Illyria, or Illyricum, a large country of Europe, in part subject to Philip, king of Macedon—This country comprehended the whole of Dalmatia and Albania.

Imbrasus, a river of the island of Samos—River of the Mills.

Imbros, an island of the Ægean sea—Imbro, isle.

Inachus, a river of Argolis—Petri, river.

India, a great country of Asia, the most eastern, inhabited by Indians, and in part subject to the king of Persia—India, or Hindoostan.

Indus, a great river of Asia, the boundary of the empire of the Persians to the east—The Sind or Indus, river.

Inopus, a river of the island of Delos.

Ionia, a district of Asia Minor, which included the coasts of Lydia, and a part of those of Caria, with the isles of Chios and Samos—The coast of the Livas of Sarukhan and Aidin.

Ionian Sea. See Sea.

Ionians of Greece. Under this name were comprehended all the nations of Greece which derived their origin from Ion the grandson of Hellen; as the Athenians, &c. and their colonies.

Ios (Island of), one of the Cyclades—Nio, isle.

Ioulis, the principal city of the island of Ceos—In ruins.

Ister, a great river of Europe, which falls into the Pontus Euxinus—The Danube.

Isthmus of Corinth—The isthmus which joins Peloponnesus to the continent of Greece—Hexa Milia.

Ithaca, an island in the Ionian sea—Teaki, isle.

Ithome, a mountain and fortress of Messenia—Vulcano, mountain.

J.

Juno (Temple of), near the city of Samos—One column of it still remains standing.

Juno (Temple of), between Mycenæ and Argos.

Jupiter (Cave and Tomb of), in the island of Crete near Cnossus—Grotto, still called the Tomb of Jupiter.

L.

Labyrinth of Crete, near Gortyna—Cavern in Mount Ida.

Lacedæmon. See Sparta.

Laconia, a district of Greece, in Peloponnesus—Tzaconia, and the country of the Mainotes, in the Morea.

Ladon, a river of Arcadia.

Lamia, a town of Thessaly—Zeitoun, town.

Lampsacus, a Greek city in Asia, on the Hellespont—Lampsaki, village.

Lapithæ, an ancient people of Thessaly.

Larissa, the principal city of Thessaly—Larissa in Greek, or Iegnisher, in Turkish, that is to say, the new city.

Larissus, the river which separated Elis from Achaia.

Latmus, a mountain of Ionia, or of Caria.

Laurium, a mountain of Attica.

Lebadia, a town of Bœotia—Livadia, town.

Lebedos, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Ruins, on the sea-shore.

Lechæum, the port of Corinth, on the sea of Crissa—Alica, village.

Lelantus, a river of Eubœa.

Lemnos, an island in the Ægean sea—Lemno, or Stalimene, isle.

Leontium, or rather Leontini, a Greek city in Sicily—Lentini, town.

Lepethymnus (Mount), in the island of Lesbos.

Lerna (Marsh of), in Argolis—The Mills, a lake so called, because at its mouth there are mills which it turns.

Leros (Island of), one of the Sporades—Lero, isle.

Lesbos, a large island of the Ægean sea, which made a part of Æolis—Metelin, isle.

Lethe, a fountain near Lebadea, in Bœotia.

Letrines, a small town of Elis, near the mouth of the Alpheus.

Leucadia, a peninsula, or island, on the coast of Acarnania—Santa Maura, isle.

Leucate, a promontory in the island of Leucadia, on which was a temple of Apollo—Cape Ducato.

Leuctra, a town of Bœotia—Parapogia, village.

Libya, or Africa, one of the three parts of the world—Africa.

Libya, (Sea of). See Sea.

Lilæa, a town of Phocis—Lampeni, village.

Lindus, a small town of the island of Rhodes—Lindo, village.

Locri, or Locri Epizephyrii, a Greek town in Italy, the inhabitants of which were called Epizephyrian Locrians—Motta di Bruzzano, village and ruins.

Locrians (Ozolian), a people of Greece, inhabiting between Phocis and Ætolia—The territories of Salona and Lepanto.

Locris—Under this generic name were comprehended three small countries of Greece, separated from each other, but inhabited by nations of the same origin, and called, one Epicnemidian Locrians; another, Opuntian Locrians; and the third Ozolian Locrians.

Lucania, a district of Italy—Basilicata and Principato Citeriore, provinces of the kingdom of Naples.

Lycabettus, a hill within the city of Athens.

Lycæus, or Olympia, a mountain of Arcadia.

Lycia, a country of Asia Minor—Parts of the Livas of Mentech and Tekieh.

Lycorea, the highest summit of the Mount Parnassus, in Phocis—Liacoura, mountain.

Lycosura, a town of Arcadia.

Lyctos, a very ancient city of the island of Crete—Lassiti, town.

Lydia, a country of Asia Minor—A great part of the Livas of Aidin, and Sarukhan.

M.

Macedonia, a great country of Europe to the north of Greece—That part of Romelia, or Roumiili, which lies to the north of Salonica, and extends to the mountains.

Under this name were likewise comprehended all the states of Philip, king of Macedon, who possessed Thrace, and a great part of Illyria.

Magnesia, a district of Thessaly, inhabited by the Magnetes—The countries of Zagora and Macrinitza.

Magnesia on the Mæander, a Greek city of Caria, near the Mæander—Ghermansik, village and ruins.

Malea, a promontory of Laconia—Cape Malio, or St. Angelo.

Malea, a promontory of the island of Lesbos—Zeitin-Boroun.

Malians, a people of Thessaly—They inhabited the modern territory of Zeitoun.

Mantinea, a town of Arcadia—Mandi, village and ruins.

Marathon, a large borough of Attica—Marathon, village.

Marpessa, a mountain in the island of Paros.

Massilia, a Greek city in the country of the Celtæ—Marseilles, a city of France.

Mæander, a great river of Asia Minor—Bejouk Minder, or the great Meander.

Mænalus, a mountain of Arcadia.

Media, a great country of Asia, inhabited by the Medes, and subject to the king of Persia—Irak Ajami, a province of Persia.

Megalopolis, the principal city of Arcadia—Sinano, village and ruins.

Megara, a small Greek town of Sicily—Peninsula delli Maguesi.

Megara, the principal city of Megaris—Megara, a small town.

Megaris, a small district of Greece—The territory of Megara.

Melas, a river of Pamphylia—Alarasoui, river.

Meles, a small river near Smyrna—River of Smyrna.

Melite, an island to the south of Sicily—Malta.

Melos (Island), one of the Cyclades—Milo, isle.

Memphis, the capital of Egypt—No vestiges of this city now remain.

Mende, a town of the peninsula of Pallene, in Macedonia.

Menelaion, a mountain of Laconia.

Messana, or Messene, more anciently Zancle, a Greek city of Sicily—Messina.

Messene, the principal city of Messenia—Mawra Matia, town in ruins.

Messenia, a district of Greece, in Peloponnesus—The south-west part of the rea.

Messenia (Gulf of), between Messenia and Laconia—Gulf of Coron.

Metapontum, a Greek town of Italy—Torre di Mare, tower and village.

Methone, a town of Macedonia.

Methymna, a town of the island of Lesbos—Molivo, town and castle.

Midea, a town of Argolis—Mezzo, village.

Miletus, the principal city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Palatsha, village and ruins.

Milichus, a river of Achaia.

Minoa, a maritime town of Sicily—Torri di Capo Bianco, tower and ruins.

Mnemosyne, a fountain near Lebadea, in Bœotia.

Molossi, a people of Epirus—They inhabited a part of Albania.

Mopsium, a town of Thessaly.

Mothone, a town of Messenia—Modon, town.
Munychia, one of the ports of Athens—Porto.
Mycale, a mountain of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Samsoun, mountain.
Mycenæ, a city of Argolis—Carvathos, village and ruins.
Mycone (Island), one of the Cyclades—Myconi, isle.
Mylasa, a town of Caria, in Asia Minor—Mylasa, town.
Myndus, a city of Caria, in Asia Minor—Myndes, village and ruins.
Mysia, a country of Asia Minor, which extended from the Propontis to the Ægean sea—The Liva of Karasi, and part of that of Kodavendikiar.
Mytilene, the principal city of the island of Lesbos—Metelin, town.
Myus, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Long since destroyed, and no vestige of it remaining.

N.

Narcissus (Fountain of), in Bœotia.
Naucratis, a Greek city in Egypt.
Naupactus, a town in the country of the Ozolian Locrians—Lepanto, town.
Nauplia, a town of Argolis—Napoli di Romania, town.
Naxos (Island), one of the Cyclades—Naxia, isle.
Naxos, a Greek town in Sicily—Castel Schisso, castle.
Neapolis—See Parthenope.
Neda, a river which separated Elis from Messenia—The river Avlon.
Nemea, a village, anciently a great town of Arcadia—Ruins.
Nemea (Forest of), near the town of the same name.
Nemea (Cave of the lion of), in Argolis—Cavern between Argos and Corinth.
Neptune (Promontory and temple of), in the island of Samos—Cape and church of St. John.
Nestus, a river of Thrace—Kara-sou, or Mesto, river.
Nicæa, a fortress in the country of the Locrians, near Thermopylæ.
Nile, a great river of Africa or Libya—The Nile.
Nisæa, the port of Megara, on the Saronic Sea—The Twelve Churches, village.
Nunacris, a small town in Arcadia.

O.

Ocha, a mountain in the island of Eubœa—Caristo, mountain.
Œnoe, a borough or hamlet of Attica, near Eleusis.
Œta, a mountain which separated Phocis from Thessaly—Coumaïta, mountain.
Œtæans, a people of Thessaly, who inhabited Mount Œta.
Olbius, a river of Arcadia; the same with the Aroanius.
Olympias, an intermitting fountain in Arcadia.
Olympus, a mountain which separated Thessaly from Macedonia—Olympus, mountain.
Olympus, a mountain of Arcadia—See Lycæus.
Olympia, or Pisa, a celebrated city of Elis—Miraca, village and ruins.
Olynthus, a city of Chalcidice, in Macedonia—Agio Mama, village.
Ophiusa—See Rhodes.
Opus, the capital of the Opuntian Locrians—Talanda, a small town.
Orchomenus, a town of Bœotia—Scripous, village and ruins.
Orchomenus, a town of Arcadia.

Oreus, a town of the island of Eubœa—Oreo, town and harbour.

Oropus, a town of Bœotia, long disputed by the Thebans and Athenians—Oropo, village.

Ossa, a mountain of Thessaly—Kissabo, mountain.

P.

Pachynum, a promontory of Sicily—Cape Passaro.

Pactolus, a river of Lydia—Sart, river.

Pæonia, a district of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace—The country near the source of the river Marizza.

Pagæ, a town of Megaris—Psato, village.

Pagasæ, a town and port in Thessaly—Castle and harbour of Volo.

Pallene, a peninsula of Chalcidice, in Macedonia—Peninsula of Cassa

Palus Mæotis, a great lake or sea which communicates with the Pontus Euxinus, by the Cimmerian Bosphorus—The sea of Azof.

Pamisus, a river of Messenia—Spirnazza, river.

Pamphylia, a country of Asia Minor—The Livas of Hamid and Tekieh; and the countries of Versak and Alanieh.

Pangæus, a mountain of Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace—Castagnatz, mountain.

Panopeus, or Phanoteus, a town of Phocis.

Panormus, a harbour of Attica—Port Rafti, or the Port of the Taylor.

Panticapæum, a town of the Tauric Chersonesus, on the Cimmerian Bosphorus—Kertch, town.

Paphlagonia, a country of Asia Minor—The Liva of Castamoni, and part of that of Boli.

Paralos, a district of Attica, situate to the south-east of Athens—Mesogia, district.

Parapotamii, a town of Phocis.

Parnassus, an extensive chain of mountains in Phocis—See Lycorea.

Paros (Island of), one of the Cyclades—Paros, isle.

Parthenope, or Neapolis, a Greek city in Italy—Naples, city.

Pasagarda, a city of Persia proper—Pasa, or Fesa, town.

Patmos (Island of), one of the Sporades—Patmos, isle.

Patræ, a town of Achaia—Patras, town.

Pelion, a mountain of Thessaly—Petra, mountain.

Pella, the capital of Macedonia—Ruins in the lake of Ostrovo.

Pellana, a town of Laconia.

Pellene, or Pallene, a town of Achaia—Xylo Castro, village.

Peloponnesus, a peninsula which forms the southern part of Greece to the continent by the isthmus of Corinth—The Morea.

Peneus, a river of Thessaly—Salampria, river.

Penejus, a river of Elis—Igliaco, river.

Penelope (Tomb of), in Arcadia.

Pentelicus, a mountain of Attica—Penteli, mountain.

Peparethus, an island in the Ægean sea—Piperi, isle.

Perinthus, a Greek city in Thrace, on the Propontis; afterwards called Heraclea—Ruins of Heraclea.

Permessus, a river of Bœotia.

Perrhæbians, a people of Thessaly, who inhabited the district called Perrhæbia—The territories of Elasson and Tormovo.

There were also Perrhæbians in Thessaly.

Persepolis, the capital of Persia, properly so called, and the ancient residence of the kings of Persia—Issthakhar, a city in ruins.

Persia, a vast kingdom, otherwise called the Dominions of the Great King. This kingdom comprehended almost the whole of Asia then known, and in Africa, or Libya, Egypt, and Cyrenaica.

Persia, properly so called, a large country of Asia, inhabited by the Persians, and of which Persepolis was the capital—Fars or Farsistan, a province of Persia.

Phæacians—See Corcyra.

Phæstus, a city of the island of Crete, long since destroyed—No vestiges of it now remain.

Phalanna, a town of Thessaly.

Phalerum, a borough of Attica, and one of the ports of Athens—Saint Nicholas, village and harbour.

Pharæ, a town of Achaia.

Pharsalus, a town of Thessaly—Palæ Pharsalus, ruins.

Phasis, the river of Colchis—Fach, river.

Pheneus, a town of Arcadia—Phonia, town.

Pheræ, a town of Messenia—Calamata, town.

Pheræ, a town of Thessaly—Pheres, or Sidiro, town.

Phigalea, a town of Arcadia.

Phineus, or rather Sphingius, a mountain of Bœotia—Mazaraci, mountain.

Phlius, the capital of Phliasia, in Peloponnesus—Sta-Phlica, village and ruins.

Phocæa, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Phokia Vicchia, town and ruins.

Phocis, a district of Greece—Territory of Turco Chorio, and a part of that of Salona.

Phœnicia, a country of Asia, on the sea, of which Tyre was the capital, and which was subject to the king of Persia—The coast of Syria.

Phœnix, a small river of Thessaly, which falls into the Asopus, near Thermopylæ.

Phrygia, a country of the interior of Asia Minor—The Livas of Kutaieh, Degnizla, Afiom-Cara-Hissar, Angouri, and others.

Phthiotes, a people of Thessaly, who inhabited the district called Phthiotia.

Phyle, a town and fortress of Attica—Vigla Castro, an old castle.

Pierians, a people between Macedonia and Thrace; they inhabited Mount Pangæus.

Pillars of Hercules, or Strait of Cadir, or rather Gadir, which separates Europe from Africa, or Libya—The strait of Gibraltar.

Pindus, a chain of mountains which separate Thessaly from Epirus—Metzovo, mountain.

Piræus, a large borough of Attica, and one of the ports of Athens—Porto Leone.

Pirene, a fountain in the citadel of Corinth.

Pisa. See Olympia.

Platanistas, a place of exercise near Sparta.

Platæa, a town of Bœotia—Cocla, village and ruins.

Plistus, a river of Phocis, which flows down from Delphi—Sizalisca, river.

Pontus Euxinus, a great sea between Europe and Asia—The Black sea.

Potidæa, a Greek city in Maritime Thrace, or Macedonia, afterwards called Cassandria —The gates of Cassander, ruins.

Prasiæ, a town of Attica—Ruins.

Priene, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Samsoun, castle and ruins.

Proconnesus, an island of the Propontis—Isle of Marmara.

Propontis (The), a small sea, inclosed between Europe and Asia, which communicates with the Pontus Euxinus, by the Bosphorus of Thrace, and the Ægean sea, by the strait of the Hellespont—The sea of Marmara.

Psophis, a town of Arcadia—Dimizana, town.

Psyttalia, a small island of the Saronic sea, near that of Salamis—Lipsocoutalia, isle.

Ptons, a mountain of Bœotia—Cocino, mountain.

Pydna, a town of Macedonia—Kitro, town.

Pygela, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor.

Pygmies, an imaginary nation, notwithstanding what Aristotle may have said, which the Greeks placed in the most southern part of Africa.

Pylos, a town of Messenia—Zonchio, or Old Navarins, town and ruins.

Pyrenees, the chain of mountains which divided Iberia from the country of the Celtæ—The Pyrenees, mountains.

Pyrrha, a town of the island of Lesbos—Port Pira, and ruins.

R.

Rhamnos, a borough or village of Attica—Hebræo-castro, village and castle.

Rhegium, a Greek city in Italy—Reggio, town.

Rhenea (Island), one of the Cyclades—The great Delos; one of the two islands called Sdiles by the pilots.

Rhoda, a Greek town in Iberia—Roses, a town in Spain.

Rhodes (Island), more anciently Ophiusa; the last island in the Ægean sea, on the coast of Caria, and making a part of Doris—Rhodes, island.

Rhodes, the principal city of the island of Rhodes—Rhodes, town.

Road of the Ladder, a road leading from Arcadia into Argo

S.

Sacæ, a great nation of the interior of Asia, in part subject to the king of Persia —They inhabited the country of Sakita, near that of Balk, in Independent Tartary.

Sais, a city of Egypt—Sa, a place in Egypt.

Salamis, an island of the Saronic sea, which made part of Attica—Coulouri, isle.

Salapia, a Greek city of Italy, which was afterwards removed to some distance from the sea—Torre delle Saline.

Salganeus, a town of Bœotia—Saint George, convent and ruins.

Samos, an island of the Ægean sea, making part of Ionia—Samos, isle.

Samothrace (Island of), in the Ægean sea—Samothraki, isle.

Sardes, the capital of Lydia—Sart, town.

Sardinia, or rather Lardo, a large island in the sea of Tyrrhenia—Sardinia, island.

Saronic sea. See Sea.

Saturn (Mount of), in Elis, near the town of Olympia.

Saurus, a fountain in the island of Crete.

Scamander, a river of Troas, mentioned by Homer—Kirke-Keuzler, river.

Scamander, another river of Troas, which is the Simois of Homer—Mendere-sou, river.

Scandea, the town and port of the island of Cythera—Saint-Nicholas, fort and harbour.

Scillus, a town of Elis, in Peloponnesus.

Sciritis, a small district of Arcadia, in the environs of Scirtonium, and on the confines of Laconia, which, for a long time, appertained to the Lacedæmonians.

Sciron (the road of), which led from Megaris into Corinthia, and which passed over rocks on the edge of the sea—Kaki-Scala, at present a ruinous road.

Scyros, an island in the Ægean sea—Skeyros, isle.

Scythia, a great country of Europe, which extended from the Ister to the Tanais. It included what was formerly called Little Tartary, the Crimea, Moldavia, and Wallachia.

Sea (Adriatic), the sea on the northern coast of Italy—The Adriatic sea, or Gulf of Venice.

Sea (Ægean), between Greece and Asia Minor: it is full of islands—The Archipelago.

Sea (Atlantic), beyond the pillars of Hercules: it was even believed to wash the coasts of the Indies—The Atlantic ocean.

Sea (Caspian), in the interior of Asia—The Caspian sea.

Sea of Crissa, between Achaia and Phocis—Gulf of Lepanto.

Sea (Ionian): it separated Greece from Italy and Sicily—Part of the Mediterranean sea, situate between Turkey, Italy, and Sicily.

Sea (Red), or Gulf of Arabia; separating Arabia from Egypt—Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea.

Sea (Saronic), between Attica, Corinthia, and Argolis—Gulf of Engia.

Sea of Tyrrhenia: it washed the southern coasts of Italy, those of Sicily, and the islands of Corsica and Sardinia—The Sea of Tuscany.

Selinus, a Greek city in Sicily—Torre di Polluce, tower and considerable ruins.

Selinus, a small river of Elis, which flowed by Scillus.

Selymbria, a Greek city in Thrace, on the Propontis—Selivria, a small town.

Scriphus (Island of), one of the Cyclades—Serpho, isle.

Sestos, a town of the Thracian Chersonesus, on the Hellespont—Ak-Bachi-Liman, port, castle, and ruins.

Sicily, or Sicilia, a large island, near to Italy, almost entirely inhabited by Greeks, part of which was subject to the Carthaginians, and the rest free—Sicily.

Sicyon, the capital of Sicyonia, in Peloponnesus—Basilico, town and ruins.

Sidon, a city of Phœnicia—Said, city.

Sinope, a Greek city on the southern shore of the Pontus Euxinus—Sinope town.

Siphnos (Island of), one of the Cyclades—Siphanto, isle.

Smyrna, a city of Ionia, in Asia Minor—No vestiges of it are now remaining.

This city is the ancient Smyrna, which has been removed to the place where the present city of Smyrna stands.

Soron, a grove in Arcadia.

Sparta, or Lacedæmon, the capital of Laconia, and one of the most powerful cities of Greece—Ruins at a little distance from the town of Misistra.

Sperchius, a river of Thessaly—Potami-tees-Hellados, or the river of Greece.

Sphacteria, an island on the coast of Messenia—A large island in front of the port of Navarins.

Stagira, a city of Chalcidice, in Macedonia—Port Libezade, and ruins.

Stymphalus, a mountain, town, lake, and river, in Arcadia—Gumnus, town.

Styx, a celebrated stream in Arcadia.

Sunium, a promontory of Attica—Cape Colonno.

Sunium, a town and fortress of Attica—Ruins.

Susiana, a great country of Asia, subject to the king of Persia—Khozistan, a province of Persia.

Suza, or rather Susa, the capital of Susiana, one of the residences of the kings of Persia—Toster, city.

Sybaris. See Thurium.

Sycurium, a town of Thessaly.

Syracuse, a great Greek city in Sicily, and the principal in the island—Siracusa, town.

Syros, or Syra (Island of), one of the Cyclades—Syra, isle.

T.

Tænarus, a town of Laconia—Caibares, village.

Tænarum, a promontory of Laconia—Cape Matapan.

Taletus (The), the summit of Mount Taygetus, in Laconia.

Tamynæ (Plain of), in the island of Eubœa.

Tanagra, a town of Bœotia—Sicamino, town.

Tanais (The), a great river of Scythia, which falls into the Palus Mæotis—The Don, river.

Tarentum, a Greek city in Italy—Taranto, town.

Tartessus (Island of), in the Atlantic sea, on the coast of Iberia—A large island at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, in Spain.

Tauromenium, a Greek city in Sicily—Taormina, town.

Taygetus, a chain of mountains in Laconia, Vouni-tees-Misistras; and Vouni-tees Portais.

Tegea, a town of Arcadia—Palæo Tripolizza, a place in ruins.

Telchinians, an ancient people of the island of Crete, who afterwards emigrated and settled in the island of Rhodes.

Temesa, a Greek city in Italy—Torre di Nocera.

Tempe, a celebrated valley of Thessaly, near the mouth of the Peneus.

Tenedos, an island of the Ægean sea, making part of Æolis—Tenedo, isle.

Tenos (Island of), one of the Cyclades—Tino, isle.

Teos, a town of Ionia, in Asia Minor—Bodroun, village and ruins.

Thasos, an island in the Ægean sea, near the coast of Thrace—Thaso, isle.

Thaumaci, a town of Thessaly—Thaumaco, town.

Thebais, a district of Egypt, of which Thebes was the capital—The Said, or Upper Egypt.

Thebes, a city of Egypt, the capital of the Thebais—Aksor or Luxor, village and grand ruins.

Thebes, or Thebæ, the capital of Bœotia—Thiva, a small town.

Thebæ, a town of Phthiotis, in Thessaly.

Theodosia, a town of the Tauric Chersonesus—Caffa, town.

Thera (Island of), one of the Cyclades—Santorin, isle.

Thermaic Gulf, between Macedonia and Thessaly—The Gulf of Salonichi.

Thermodon, a river of Asia Minor, which falls into the Pontus Euxinus, and on the banks of which dwelt the Amazons—Termeh, river.

Thermodon, a small river of Bœotia.

Thermopylæ, the strait between the sea, and the mountains, and which was the entrance from Thessaly into the country of the Locrians, and into Phocis—Thermi, or the Warm Springs.

Thermus, the principal town of Ætolia.

Theron, a river in the island of Crete.

Thespiæ, a town of Bœotia—Neo-Chorio, village and ruins.

Thessaly, the most northern country of Greece—The territories of Larissa, Zeitoun, and others.

Thessalians (The), properly so called, were the most powerful people of Thessaly: they inhabited the valley of Peneus, and all the country to the north—The territories of Larissa and Stagi.

Thiuns, a river of Arcadia.

Thoricus, a town and fortress of Attica—Thorico, village.

Thrace, a great country of Europe, situate on the Pontus Euxinus, and the Ægean sea, almost entirely subject to Philip of Macedon—Great part of Roum-iili or Romelia, and of Bulgaria.

Thrace (Maritime). Under this name was comprehended not only the coasts of Thrace, on the Ægean sea, but also those of Macedonia, as far as Thessaly, because the Thracians anciently extended so far; but they were driven out by the Greeks and Macedonians, and this name was only applicable to a small kingdom, formed on the coast of Thrace only, and which was, soon after, destroyed by Philip.

Thronium, the principal town of the Epicnemidian Locrians—Ruins near a guard-house.

Thurium, a Greek city in Italy, more anciently called Sybaris—Torre Brodogneto, tower and ruins of Sybaris.

Thyrea, a town of Cynuria, a district of Argolis.

Tiryns, a town of Argolis—Palæo-Nauplia, or old Napoli, a place in ruins.

Titana, a town of Sicyonia, in Peloponnesus—Phouca, village.

Titaresius, a river of Thessaly—Sarantaporos, or the River of Forty Passages.

Tithorea, a town of Phocis.

Tomarus, a mountain above Dodona, in Epirus—Tzumerca, mountain.

Trachinia, a district of Thessaly, near Thermopylæ—The territory of Zeit(

Trachis, or Trachin, a town of Trachinia.

It has been succeeded by the town of Heraclea, built at a small distance from it—See Heraclea.

Trapezus, a town of Arcadia.

Triopium, a promontory of Doris, in Asia Minor—Cape Crio.

Triphylia, a district of Elis, in Peloponnesus—The country near the mouths of the Rophia.

Troas, a country of Asia Minor, on the Hellespont, and the Ægean sea, in which stood the city of Troy—The western part of the Liva of Karasi, on the Archipelago.

Troezen, a town on the confines of Argolis, near the Saronic sea—Damala, village and ruins.

Troy, or Ilion, or Ilium, a city of Troas, destroyed by the Greeks, and afterwards rebuilt by the Æolians, under the same name, and in the same place—Bounarbachi, village and ruins.

Trophonius (Cave of), near Lebadea, in Bœotia.

Tyre, the capital of Phœnicia—Sour, a city in ruins.

Tyrrhene Sea. See Sea.

W.

White Mountains (The), in the island of Crete—Sfacciotes, mountains.

Z.

Zacynthus, an island in the Ionian sea—Zante, isle.

Zancle—See Messina.

Zaretra (Fort), in the island of Eubœa—Cuno, a small town

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